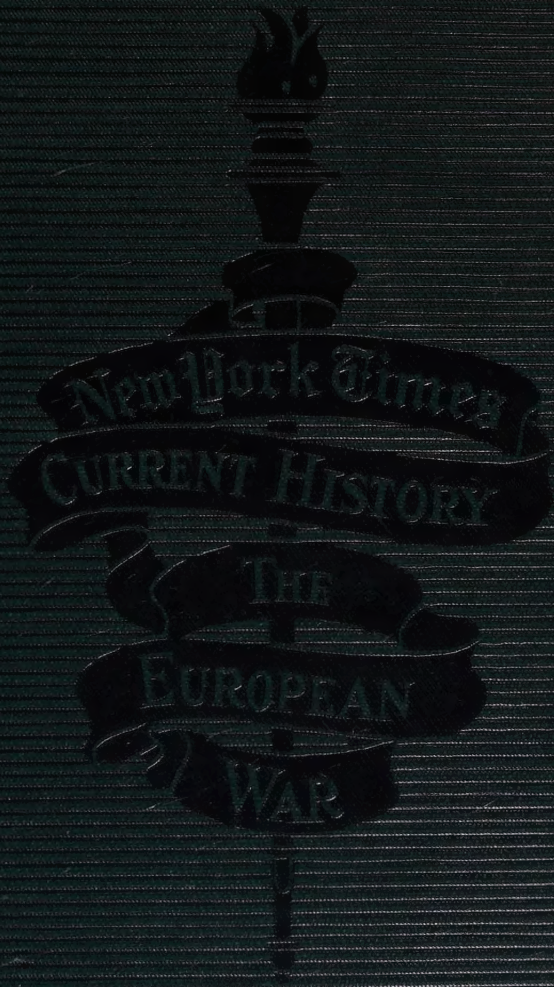
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THE EUROPEAN WAR

VOLUME XVI.

JULY—AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1918

With Alphabetical and Analytical Index
Illustrations, Maps and Diagrams

NEW YORK
THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY

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By The New York Times Company
Times Square, New York City

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THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period July, August, September, 1918

INTRODUCTION

THE outstanding military feature of the third quarter of 1918 was the passing of the initiative into the hands of the Allies. The German offensive, markedly successful in its first phases, steadily lost momentum as the Summer progressed and reached a definite end on July 18, when General Foch's terrific counterattack drove the enemy back from the Marne. From that date the initiative of the Allies was never threatened, nor even challenged.

THE GERMAN THRUST TOWARD PARIS

The second phase of the German Spring offensive culminated in the battle before Ypres on April 29, when the army of General Sixt von Arnim suffered a disastrous defeat. The four weeks that followed were comparatively quiet, marked only by brilliant local actions, rising at times almost to the dignity of major operations, on the part of the Allies, which resulted in the capture of important strategic points. These were designed to strengthen the line of defense, in anticipation of a renewed German drive for the Channel ports.

The third phase of the offensive, however, developed in a new quarter. On May 27 the Germans launched a great attack in the Aisne region on a twenty-five mile front from north of Soissons to the north and west of Rheims. The attacking force numbered 325,000 men, which was rapidly increased to 400,000, as new divisions were thrown into the battle. The barrage that preceded the onslaught was the most intense that had yet been employed in the war. In no previous attack had the enemy mobilized such a stupendous auxiliary force of tanks, machine guns, and poison gas projectors.

The success attending the first assault was almost as spectacular as that which marked the beginning of the great drive on March 21. The strong Chemin des Dames position, that had been deemed almost impregnable, was overrun at once. It was lightly held by French and English divisions, some of the latter having been sent there to rest and re-form after the Flanders battles. The defenders were outnumbered by the assailants four to one. The centre fell back rapidly, withdrawing to and thickening the flanks, which yielded more slowly. By the end of the first day the enemy had reached the Oise.

On the 28th and 29th the thrust deepened, reaching Soissons and Savigny, whence it was diverted westward toward Fère-en-Tardenois and Vezilly; but while the advance was deepening it was also narrowing under ever stiffening resistance, so that when it reached the Marne on May 30 it had contracted to a six-mile front. This represented a penetration of nearly thirty miles to the south and an approach to within forty-four miles of Paris.

By this time the attack had spent

itself. Attempts to cross the Marne were beaten back, and the narrow front made manoeuvring difficult. The next three days were employed by the enemy in a desperate attempt to extend his lines east and west. In this, however, he was only moderately successful, and on June 3, after a day of fierce attacks and counter-attacks, the drive was definitely checked.

A lull of six days ensued; but the Germans found that their advance had led them into something closely resembling a trap, and action became imperative. On June 9, therefore, began the battle of the Oise, which may be regarded as the fourth phase of the German offensive.

In this effort the objective of the German high command was plain. If the Oise at Mont Macq could be reached, the French salient on the north of the river would be flanked. Then by utilizing the valleys of the Oise and Ourcq, it might be possible to envelop the forests of Aigue, Compiègne, and Villers-Cotterets. With these taken, the investment of Paris was a possibility.

The attack began at 4:30 A. M. on June 9, against the twenty-mile front between Montdidier and Noyon. On the first day the German centre advanced two and a half miles, though heavily counterattacked. On June 10 the villages of Mery, Belloy, and St. Maur, and the Wood of Thiescourt, were taken at an appalling cost to the attackers. Four fresh divisions thrown into the fight on the third day enabled the Germans to reach the Aronde on the west, to occupy part of the northern bank of the Matz and to envelop the Forest of Ourscamps on the east. On that same evening the French made a brilliant counterattack on the west, capturing 1,000 prisoners, and on June 13 and 14 drove back the enemy at Courcelles and at Croix Ricard. On June 16 a German attempt to cross the Matz near its junction with the Oise was defeated, and at this time the fourth phase of the German offensive came to an end.

In the three weeks beginning May 27 the enemy had gained valuable territory, 85,000 prisoners, and a large amount of war material. But they had incurred frightful losses, had failed to gain their objectives, and the prestige of their leaders had suffered a sensible diminution.

THE ITALIAN VICTORY ON THE PIAVE

It is necessary at this point to direct attention to the Italian front, not only as a matter of chronological sequence, but because of its intimate relation to the abortive German effort in France. For the launching of the Austrian attack on June 15 was dictated by the need of strengthening the weakened military position of the Central Powers.

In preparation for the offensive the Austrians had massed an army of over 1,000,000 men, amply supplied with cannon and other war materials. The signal disaster that had befallen the Italian Army at Caporetto in 1917 had filled the invaders with confidence—a confidence so fatuous that medals to commemorate their triumphal entry into Venice had already been struck and distributed among their troops.

On June 15 the attack was made on a front of ninety-seven miles, extending from the Asiago Plateau to the sea. The Austrian plan was twofold. In the north it sought to reduce the Italian positions on the Asiago Plateau and the Grappa-Tomba sector, and with these formidable positions in their possession to break into the plain of Vicenza by way of Bassano. Simultaneously, the attack on the Piave positions was to be made along a twenty-five mile front from Il Montello to the vortex of the Piave Delta, and thus by threatening the destruction of Venice secure its evacuation. If the Montello Plateau, sixteen miles square and nine hundred feet high, could be taken and firmly held, it would dominate the railway centres of Montebelluna, Castelfranco, and Treviso, and probably cut off and cause the surrender of the Italian Third Army. The result of this, it was thought, would be a débâcle.

The onset was made with determination and developed some of the fiercest fighting of the war. If the Austrians had counted upon a weakened morale of the Italian troops they were quickly un-

deceived. On both wings the attackers gained some initial advantages, but none that were commensurate with their stupendous preparations. In the mountains the attack was broken up promptly by counterattacks of the Italians and their French and British allies, and by the end of the third day was brought to a complete standstill. On the Piave front their gains were more considerable. They captured Capo Sile, a position of strategic value, and on June 16 completed the occupation of San Andrea, Candelu, and Nervesa. From this latter point they extended their line over the Montello Plateau to Casa Serena on June 18, and on the 19th they had almost reached the centre of the Fossetta Canal.

This date and place marked the limit of the Austrian advance. The Italians took the initiative both in the mountains and in the plain. On June 19 the Italians captured Castalunga, in the Monte Grappa region, while their French allies on the Asiago Plateau stormed the Austrian positions at Bertigo and Pennar. On the Piave the Italians steadily drove the invaders back from the Montello Plateau. They were greatly assisted in this by heavy rains which swelled the shallow Piave into a rushing torrent and so flooded the Piave Delta that Italian gunboats were able to enter it and attack the enemy in the rear. In addition most of the bridges by which the Austrians had crossed and upon which they had relied in event of retreat were swept away by the flood, while the rest were damaged or destroyed by allied airmen.

Trapped and bewildered, drenched with rain, cut off from supplies, raked with artillery fire in front and rear, the Austrians at last broke in almost utter rout. The carnage was ghastly. The Piave was choked with dead bodies of men and horses in hideous welter and confusion. By July 6 the last detachments of the survivors had crossed the river, leaving 5,000 prisoners and vast stores in the victors' hands. The Italians followed in pursuit and established a bridgehead on the other side.

While this success was being attained, valuable positions of the enemy in the mountains had been captured. On June 29 the Italians took Monte di Valbella with 800 prisoners, and the next day captured Col del Rosso. In the Monte Grappa region a number of minor but dashing operations resulted uniformly in allied successes.

Thus the Austrian offensive ended in failure. Their army was thrown back with loss of ground, of an enormous number of cannon and machine guns, and of men variously estimated at from 100,000 to 200,000. More important still, perhaps, was an undeniable loss of morale, which was reflected in fierce recriminations between Austria and Hungary as to responsibility for the defeat.

THE LAST GERMAN OFFENSIVE

Nearly four weeks intervened between the ending of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth phase of the German offensive—the "Friedensturm" or "battle that would bring peace," as it was styled by the enemy. The interim, however, had been utilized by the Allies in a series of minor but brilliant actions which told heavily on the already depleted German forces. With the exception of one attack—that upon Rheims—the Germans were everywhere on the defensive.

The termination of the fourth phase had left the enemy forces in the form of a semicircle about Rheims, and in order to complete the circle and take the city, the Germans on the night of June 18-19 made a heavy assault with from three to five divisions of shock troops. For ferocity the battle that ensued can only be compared with that waged at Arras in the latter part of March. The assailants met with a hail of fire that cut them to pieces and suffered a bloody defeat, withdrawing their shattered ranks early on the morning of the 19th.

A remarkable series of local offensives by the Allies ensued. On almost every point of the long line, on the Lys and at Merris, at Vaux, at Villers-Cotterets, at Hamel, they cut into the enemy positions, taking prisoners and guns in operations whose full significance was only to be realized later on.

On the morning of July 15, the Germans attacked on a sixty-mile front from

Château-Thierry, on the Marne, to a few miles west of the Argonne Forest. On the east they engaged the Americans and crossed the river with 25,000 men. The Americans counterattacked and drove 15,000 back to the north bank of the river, the remaining 10,000 being killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. At Bligny, southwest of Rheims, the Germans penetrated the Italian lines while the French at Prunay were forced to give ground. East of Prunay the French, under Gouraud, fought magnificently and repelled every attack.

On the 16th the Germans again assailed the American lines only to be thrown back with heavy losses. The Germans increased their gains at Bligny and Prunay and on the following day they reached the outskirts of the Montagne Forest. In three days of enormous efforts and appalling losses they had made an insignificant gain of terrain ranging from one to seven miles in depth and were beating against a resistance that was fast becoming granite.

Then on July 18 Foch struck like a thunderbolt.

His attack was made on a twenty-eight-mile front and was irresistible. The line of assault extended from Ambleny, six miles west of Soissons, south to Bouresches, five miles west of Château-Thierry. French and American troops under General Mangin rolled up the right wing of the Crown Prince's army to a depth of six miles. In two days the Allies captured 17,000 prisoners and 360 guns. On the third day the enemy had been driven entirely from the south bank of the Marne, his line of communication between Soissons and Château-Thierry had been cut, and he was in full retreat. By July 23 the Allies were advancing rapidly up the Ourcq, the Americans had reached Epieds, while the Italians, English, and French were within two miles of the Fismes-Chatillon highway. Vast stores of ammunition and supplies were abandoned or burned by the enemy, who made no stand in force, but confined his efforts to rearguard actions.

On Aug. 2 Soissons was recaptured by the Allies. By that time the number of prisoners had increased to 33,000, and the salient that was eighty miles in extent when the attack began had contracted to forty-five miles.

Between the Ourcq and the Vesle the enemy at last halted, and the pursuit was temporarily stayed until the artillery that had been outdistanced by the rapid advance could be brought up.

On Aug. 8 Foch dealt another blow on the Picardy salient between Albert and Montdidier. Here again he utilized the element of surprise, with results as great as those achieved by the stroke of July 18. The British drove back von der Marwitz from Moreuil, while at the same time the French under Debeney flanked Montdidier on the south. On Aug. 10 Montdidier was carried by assault with 25,000 prisoners. On Aug. 12 the formidable massif of Lassigny was captured and the number of prisoners had swelled to 40,000. By the 18th the enemy was being driven back on the whole front with the allied armies in hot pursuit.

While these events were taking place in Picardy, the British under Marshal Haig delivered on Aug. 8 the first of a series of smashing blows on a front that extended rapidly for sixty miles from Ypres to Montdidier. The forces of Crown Prince Rupprecht offered bitter opposition, but were compelled to give way everywhere before the momentum of the attack. By Aug. 22 Albert had been reached and taken. On the 24th the British captured Thiepval and attained the outskirts of Bapaume, and on Aug. 28 they broke the famous Hindenburg line at Croisilles. In twenty days they had taken 50,000 prisoners and 500 guns.

AMERICAN TROOPS IN ACTION

The fighting during the period under review was notable for the magnificent part played in it by American soldiers. In dash and daring, coolness and courage, they proved that as fighting men they had no superiors in the world.

Although the mettle of American troops had been shown in minor actions, as at Seicheprey, the first real test of their leadership occurred on May 28. Cantigny was a strongly fortified village northwest of Montdidier, at the

apex of a salient pointing toward Amiens, and its reduction was a matter of the first importance. On the date named the Americans attacked on a mile-and-a-quarter front, and in a remarkably short time occupied the town, inflicted severe losses, and captured 200 prisoners. Then they quickly organized the position and held it successfully, despite fierce and repeated counterattacks. The entire operation was an example of soldierly efficiency that reflected credit on American arms and evoked warm encomiums from the allied leaders.

Three days later the Americans again distinguished themselves at Château-Thierry, on the Marne. At a moment when the capture of the town by the Germans was imminent American machine gunners, by their accurate fire, repulsed the enemy at every point, capturing a number of prisoners without themselves losing a prisoner to the foe. A little later, at Veuilly Wood, a German mass attack was broken up by United States marines. On June 6 the marines assumed the offensive, advanced to a depth of two miles, and in a fight that raged for five hours captured Bouresches and Torcy. Following this came a bitter contest for Belleau Wood, and although the Germans threw their best divisions into the fray the marines were not to be denied. On June 10-11 they swept the wood clear of the enemy, capturing many hundreds of prisoners, while the ground was strewn with German dead.

An action quite as deft and finished as the taking of Cantigny was the capture of Vaux, located on the main railroad line into Château-Thierry. On July 1 the Americans advanced their line to the depth of a mile, took the town in one powerful assault, and captured 500 prisoners in less than forty minutes. On July 4, in co-operation with the Australians, they celebrated the day by a smashing attack at Hamel, which they took with 1,500 prisoners. A dramatic feature of the fight was the cry of "Lusitania" that broke from the Americans as they swept forward to the charge.

The severest test of all, however, came in the great thrust of the Crown Prince toward Paris, when on July 15 he threw 25,000 of his choicest troops across the Marne and attacked the American positions at Jaulgonne and Dormans. Under the first shock the Americans were bent back, but they rallied promptly and after fierce fighting drove the enemy back over the river with a loss of 10,000 men in killed and captured. More than any single feature of that epic battle, the American stand crippled the German offensive and paved the way for Foch's great counterattack of the 18th.

In that attack also the Americans were a prominent factor. They were brigaded with the French and were in especial force at the vital sections of the line where the fighting was hardest. The story of that great advance has already been told. The glory of it is shared by all the Allies, but the part taken in it by American troops was exceeded by none. Everywhere they proved equal to their task, and the victories they won at Soissons, at Meunière Wood, at Sergy, at Fismes, and at the Ourcq reflected lustre on American arms.

On the Balkan front, after a long period of quiescence, there was an outburst of warlike activity. On July 6 French and Italian troops in Albania began a drive between the Tomorica Valley and the seacoast. By the 9th they had captured Fieri and important heights near Levani. July 10-11 the Italians occupied Berat. In the meantime the French had advanced between the Devoli and the Osein, and the Allies had linked up a 200-mile line from Saloniki to the Adriatic Sea. On the 13th the Greeks dispersed Bulgarian detachments on the Struma, and on the 14th the British carried out a successful raid on the Bulgarians west of Doiran. During the next three days the French extended their gains along the eastern bank of the Devoli River and on the 17th occupied Meran. The entire offensive over a wide area was strikingly successful, and inflicted a severe blow on the Austrian forces in Albania.

In Mesopotamia and Palestine there were no events of marked importance, although minor actions by the troops under Marshall and Allenby resulted in

the gain of strategic points for the allied forces and facilitated their plans for the aggressive campaigns that were in preparation.

Military operations in Russia were on a limited scale, and will be touched on in a later discussion of the Russian situation.

THE WAR IN THE AIR

Aerial supremacy in the third quarter of 1918 tended increasingly toward the side of the Allies. In the battles on the western front, the French and British aviators were a most important factor. On the first day of the German drive toward Paris, July 15, forty-four tons of high explosives were dropped on the enemy ranks. In the first eight days and nights of the battle the total amounted to 317 tons. In addition, the allied airmen brought down 171 German planes and destroyed twenty-eight observation balloons. All through the German retreat from the Marne to the Vesle, dense squadrons of French and British planes harassed the fleeing enemy, destroying bridges, breaking up concentrations, shattering convoys, and creating demoralization.

During July and August, British airmen were active in raids on railway stations and munition factories in German towns. Among important places bombed were railway junctions at Thionville, Coblenz, Karlsruhe, Metz-Sablons, and Cologne. In twenty-five separate raids they wrought great havoc on the poison factory, chemical works, and munition plants at Mannheim, blast furnaces at Urbach, powder factories at Rottweil, and airdromes at Boulay, Dieuze, and Morhange.

The effects of this persistent raiding were not measured merely by the actual destruction wrought at the time. More important still, perhaps, were the damage done to the morale of the civil population, the dislocation of railway traffic on the supply lines of the enemy armies, the diminution of munition production, due to panic among the workmen, and the depletion of German aviation strength on the actual battle lines, owing to the necessity of protecting the raided towns.

During the same period extensive aerial operations were carried on against Ostend and Zeebrugge, and Italian aviators inflicted great damage upon Austrian naval bases on the Adriatic.

The German reactions to these formidable air attacks were sporadic and ineffectual. A raid was made by five Zeppelins on the English coast on Aug. 5. They were attacked by British airplanes, and in the ensuing battle one of the Zeppelins was damaged, another was shot down in flames, while the remaining three fled. Paris was bombarded on June 26-27 and again on July 1, but there were only a few casualties and the property loss was trifling. German raids on hospitals, however, continued remorselessly. A Canadian hospital behind the British front was bombed June 24 and several doctors, nurses, and patients were killed. A raid on an ambulance park at La Panne resulted in the death of fifty-four Belgian girls. On the night of July 15 an American Red Cross hospital at Juoy was bombed. Two enlisted men were killed and nine wounded.

On Aug. 9 the Italian warrior poet, d'Annunzio, made a spectacular trip to Vienna with eight Italian planes. The Alps were crossed at a height of 12,000 feet during a windstorm. The flight to Vienna and back covered a total of 620 miles. Reaching the city the machines circled above it at a height of 1,500 feet, creating a panic among the population, who expected an attack. But instead of bombs d'Annunzio dropped thousands of pamphlets, in which he explained that he could just as easily have dropped explosives but refrained from warring upon the helpless. The leaflets which called upon the Viennese to sever their alliance with Germany were eagerly seized and read. The Austrian Government demanded that all be surrendered to the authorities under pain of heavy punishment.

A regrettable incident was the death of Quentin Roosevelt, a son of the ex-President, who was killed in the Château-Thierry salient July 14 in a gallant fight with seven German planes. He was buried by the Germans with military honors.

An official statement issued by the British Government showed that during the year ended June 30, 1918, British aviators brought down 4,102 enemy aircraft. During the same period their own losses were 1,213.

THE SUBMARINE MENACE

The decline in German air power was closely paralleled by the increasing failure of the submarine in its raids against allied shipping. The losses of allied and neutral shipping, due to enemy action, were lower during June, 1918, than in any month since September, 1916. The total record of shipping losses for the first six months of 1918 was 2,082,155 gross tons. In July the sinkings amounted to 270,000 tons, as compared with 534,839 tons sunk in July, 1917. A significant fact also was that the new tonnage constructed in July exceeded the month's sinkings by 280,000. For the first seven months of 1918 the total losses were less than half of those for the corresponding period of 1917.

The explanation of this downward trend in submarine effectiveness was due chiefly to the increase in allied naval forces employed to combat the undersea peril. America's contribution in this respect was represented by 250 new vessels in European waters.

A similar diminution in sinkings was observable in official figures published by the French Government, showing that 2,060 vessels with a total tonnage of 3,500,000 crossed the Mediterranean between Feb. 24 and April 1. Although attacks by submarines were frequent, they were so feeble that only one in four resulted in damage. A remarkable feature of the under-water campaign was the failure to sink east-bound American transports, although it was known that this was a special aim of the German Admiralty. On an average, from 250,000 to 300,000 men a month were safely carried to France. Admiral von Holtzendorff, chief of the German Admiralty Staff, admitted the failure of the U-boats in this respect, and a few days later was replaced by Admiral Scheer, commander of the German battle fleet, whose administration, however, was no more successful.

Against hospital ships, however, the submarine campaign went on with uncurbed ferocity. The British transport Barunga, bound for Australia, carrying ill and wounded Australian soldiers, was torpedoed and sunk July 15; but owing to the quick arrival of aid none were lost. Less fortunate was the Llandovery Castle, which on June 27 was sunk off the Irish coast with a loss of 234 doctors, nurses, and wounded men. More atrocious than all was the sinking on Aug. 3 in the English Channel of the hospital ship Warilda, filled with wounded men stretched helpless on cots, of whom 123 were lost amid appalling scenes. All these ships were so clearly distinguished as to character, both by night and day, that mistake was impossible.

Among the important sinkings were those of the Covington, 16,239 tons, July 1; the Carpathia of 13,000 tons on July 17, and on July 20 the White Star liner Justicia of 32,120 tons, the fifth largest steamer in the world.

Of interest to Americans was the announcement that Lieut. Capt. Schwieger, who commanded the submarine that sank the Lusitania, was lost, with all his crew, through contact with a British mine in September, 1917.

On May 25 one or more German submarines appeared off the coast of the United States and began attacks upon allied and neutral shipping. In a short space of time a number of coastwise steamers and fishing vessels were sunk, although no armed vessel was attacked. At intervals through the Summer the depredations were renewed, and although a vigilant search was made along the coast the raider or raiders were not captured. Forty or more vessels fell victims, but as most of them were small the tonnage loss was not pronounced. No attempt was made to shell the coast and no excitement was created. The most important loss resulting from the visitation was that of the United States armored cruiser San Diego, which struck a mine ten miles off Fire Island and sank with a loss of six men. A naval

board of inquiry leaned to the opinion that the mine had been laid by an enemy submarine.

On Aug. 8 a statement was made in the British House of Commons that British mercantile tonnage at the outbreak of the war amounted to 18,500,000 gross tons, and that the figure at present was 15,000,000 gross tons, representing a net loss of 3,500,000 gross tons.

To make up for these ravages of the submarine, American and allied ship construction continued to break all previous records. In July the United States sent into the water 123 vessels with a dead weight tonnage of 631,944. The launchings for the first seven months of 1918 aggregated 1,719,536 tons. From August, 1917, when the Shipping Board was created, to Aug. 1, 1918, 247 ships with a total tonnage of 1,571,856 tons were completed and put in service. As an instance of the efficiency reached in shipbuilding, a 3,500-ton steel ship was launched on July 26, fourteen days after its keel was laid. On Aug. 4 the Invincible, a 12,000-ton steamer, 457 feet long, was launched at Alameda, Cal., within twenty-four working days from the time it was begun. Throughout the entire period new construction exceeded in an ever-increasing ratio the destruction wrought by the submarine.

GERMAN AFFAIRS

Notable changes took place in German politics during the period under review. Bitter parliamentary strife resulted from the efforts of Chancellor von Hertling to secure the passage of the bill for franchise reform which had been promised by the Emperor a year earlier. The Conservatives fought it at every stage and succeeded in so emasculating it by various amendments that even its ultimate passage would carry with it no guarantee of genuine reform.

In an address at Main Headquarters on June 15 the Emperor made a statement that "in the present struggle, either German principles of right, freedom, honor, and morality must be upheld, or Anglo-Saxon principles with their idolatry of Mammon must be victorious." Apart from the appeal which this dictum made to the world's sense of humor, it met with sharp criticism from some sections of the German press.

A crisis arose in the Reichstag when Dr. von Kuehlmann asserted in a speech on June 24 that the end of the war "could hardly be expected through purely military decisions alone and without recourse to diplomatic negotiations." This provoked the ire of the Junkers and Pan-Germans, and although von Kuehlmann, alarmed by the storm he had raised, tried to explain away the meaning of his words, the demand for his removal became so great that on July 9 the Emperor accepted his resignation. Admiral von Hintze was appointed to succeed him.

On July 10 the Chancellor made a speech in the Reichstag which was regarded as a veiled bid for peace. The outstanding feature of the address was a cynical reference to Belgium as a "pawn" to be used in subsequent peace neogtiations. This evoked a caustic rejoinder from British Foreign Minister Balfour, who stated that of all the outrages to which Belgium had been subjected none had been more insulting.

The ratification of the Rumanian peace treaty by the German Reichstag on July 3 led to a bitter attack on the Government by the Socialists, who objected to many stipulations of the treaty. A sensation was created when Ledebour, a Social Democratic leader, declared it was the duty of the German proletariat everywhere to issue a summons for a revolution. Deputy Haase made a violent protest against the interference of military leaders in civil affairs and denounced the subservience of the Chancellor toward Ludendorff.

Evidence accumulated of a great wave of crime and demoralization sweeping over Germany. Statistics of companies which issue insurance policies against burglary and theft showed that payments on account of burglaries increased from $400,000 in 1914 to $5,000,000 in 1917. Compensation for stolen goods was paid by Prussian railways in 1917 to the amount of nearly $15,000,000, as against $1,050,000 in 1914. Thefts of food in Berlin were so common that an official order was issued that wheat

and flour should not be carried through the streets after dark. That social immorality had increased to an abnormal degree was shown by the alarmed comment in the German press.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

In the Dual Monarchy events moved rapidly toward a state of chaos. This was accentuated by profound disappointment at the disastrous failure of the Austrian offensive of June 15. Food conditions were somewhat bettered by the gathering of the new harvest, but suffering was still acute in every province of the heterogeneous empire.

Although in a speech by Count Czernin, former Foreign Minister, on July 18, he stated that Austrian leaders accepted German policy, and although this was reiterated by Baron von Hussarek, the new Austro-Hungarian Premier, on July 27, repeated proofs were given that the chasm between Austria and Germany was deepening. This was due in part to irritation over the conflicting claims of the two Governments regarding the Polish question, but still more to Austria's war weariness and desire to secure immediate peace on almost any terms. Personal scandals also, involving Emperor Karl and Empress Zita created disaffection in Court circles and shook the loyalty of the people to the royal house.

Far more threatening, however, to the distracted country was the tendency toward dismemberment arising from the national aspiration of the Czechoslovaks and the Jugoslavs. These movements became so formidable during the Summer of 1918 as to centre upon them the world's attention.

The Czechs inhabit Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia. These provinces are bounded by Bavaria on the west, Saxony on the north, Prussian Silesia on the east, and Austria proper on the south. The Slovaks dwell in the upper regions of Hungary, and apart from slight differences in dialect are practically one with the Czechs in language, race, and aspirations. The united provinces comprise a territory four times as large as Belgium, or 48,000 square miles, and a population of 12,000,000, including a German-speaking minority of about 2,000,000. The country is rich in natural resources and the people are the most progressive of the Dual Empire.

They have been oppressed politically and economically by their rulers, and have been in a constant state of unrest, especially since 1867, when an arbitrary territorial partition placed the Slovaks under Magyar domination. The war has never been popular with them, and Prague, the capital of Bohemia, was often the centre of anti-Government demonstrations. Ruthless confiscations and executions fostered rather than repressed the movement toward a separate national life.

A Czechoslovak National Council was formed with headquarters at Paris. Momentum was given to the movement by the great service to the allied cause rendered by the Czechoslovak forces in Russia. These consisted of former Bohemian and Slovakian soldiers who had been captured by the Russians early in the war or had surrendered to them because of their unwillingness to fight against those of Slavic blood. Many thousands had enlisted under the Russian colors, where they fought valiantly until the withdrawal of Russia from the war.

When the eastern front collapsed, the Czechoslovaks made their way across Russia and Siberia in the direction of Vladivostok, with the purpose of securing transportation to France or Italy, and there resuming the fight on the allied side. Lenine and Trotzky sent Bolshevist troops to check and disarm them. In the battles that ensued the Czechoslovaks were victorious. They seized important strategic points, including a large section of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, practically cutting off Russia and, through her, Germany from Siberian supplies.

The Entente nations had watched the progress of the Czechoslovaks with increasing sympathy and interest, and saw in it a nucleus for the rehabilitation of Russia and the rebuilding of the eastern front. Intervention was decided on, and a joint allied expedition was dispatched

to Siberia and Russia to co-operate with the Czechoslovaks.

In furtherance of this movement it was thought advisable by the Allies to recognize the Czechoslovaks as a belligerent nation. This was done by France, Italy, and Great Britain, followed on Sept. 2 by a similar recognition on the part of the United States. The action drew forth a protest from Austria-Hungary which contained a veiled threat that captured Czechoslovaks would be subject to execution.

The Jugoslav movement had its origin in the same brutal treatment by Austrians and Magyars that prompted the Czechoslovak secession. To this was added Slavic sympathy with Serbia and Montenegro. The plan looked toward the formation of an independent State, to be known as Jugoslavia, which should include Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia and Carniola. The movement received the warm indorsement of the Czechoslovaks and has been developed in harmony with their own. As part of the proposed nation would border on the Adriatic Sea, it was necessary to come to a full understanding with Italy, and this was reached at the Conference of Oppressed Austrian Nationalities held at Rome on April 10. Agitation of the project in the Austrian Reichsrat caused an abrupt closing of the session on May 4, and on May 20 a joint convocation at Prague of leaders in the Jugoslav movement was suppressed and the city placed under martial law.

The agitation, however, steadily increased. On May 29 Secretary Lansing, on behalf of the American Government, expressed sympathy with Jugoslav aspirations. This led to an outburst of warlike enthusiasm on the part of the Jugoslavs in the United States and a request that the ban that rested on them as Austrian aliens should be lifted and they be permitted to enlist in the American Army. On June 4 the Supreme War Council of the allied nations at Versailles, whose session was attended by the Premiers of France, Italy, and Great Britain, indorsed Secretary Lansing's declaration.

At the Fourth of July celebration at Washington the Jugoslavs raised for the first time officially their flag of unity and independence.

FRANCE

The execution for treason of Bolo Pacha was followed by that of Emil Duval, who was executed by a firing squad at Vincennes July 17. It was proved that Duval, who had been proprietor of the newspaper Bonnet Rouge, had received large sums of money from a German banker named Marx, and that on May 15, 1917, on his return from a visit to Marx, he had with him a check for 150,000 francs. Duval's claim that this money was in payment of debts due to previous business transactions was not substantiated.

On Aug. 6 Louis J. Malvy, former French Minister of the Interior, was convicted of holding communication with the enemy and sentenced to banishment for five years. The cases of Caillaux and Humbert, under indictment for treason, were in September still awaiting trial.

On Aug. 23 General Ferdinand Foch was raised to the rank of Marshal of France, in recognition of the victories achieved by the allied armies under his command. At the same time General Pétain, commander of the French Army, received the Military Medal of Honor for distinguished services.

GREAT BRITAIN

It was stated in the British House of Commons on June 20 that both home rule and conscription would be put aside for the present. This was due to the determined stand taken by the Roman Catholic clergy and to the Sinn Fein plots. Premier Lloyd George on June 5, while announcing that he would stand by conscription, asked first that his plan for volunteering be fully tried. It was evident at the time that the Government was not prepared to enforce conscription in view of the hostile attitude toward the project of the Nationalist section of the Irish people.

An eloquent address was made by Lloyd George in the British Parliament on Aug. 8, reviewing in detail what Great Britain had accomplished in the

war. In it he paid a glowing tribute to both the military and naval arms of the service. Some of the facts brought forward were striking. The British Navy when the war began had a tonnage of 2,500,000. At the present time it has 8,000,000. Every trade route in the world is controlled by its ships. In the month of June alone ships of the British Navy steamed 8,000,000 miles. At least 150 German submarines had been captured and sunk. In one fortnight, during the German Spring offensive, 268,000 men were thrown across the Channel. As for the army, it had grown from a few hundred thousand in August, 1914, to six and a quarter million men in August, 1918.

RUSSIAN DEVELOPMENTS

Conditions in Russia during the Summer of 1918 bordered closely on anarchy. A veritable region of terror was inaugurated by the Lenine-Trotzky régime, in an attempt to bolster up the waning power of the Bolshevist de facto Government. The prisons were crowded, confiscations were ruthless, and executions were carried out on an extensive scale and under circumstances of increasing atrocity. The Bolsheviki, though representing only a minority, continued by sheer audacity to hold the reins of power, and the conservative elements were too cowed and spiritless to free themselves from the tyranny of the proletariat.

As regards international relations, while nominally hostile to all the world, the Bolsheviki inclined much more strongly toward their German conquerors than toward their former allies. Whether through fear or connivance, Russia came more and more under the military and economic control of the Germans, who continued to work their will unchecked. The remnants of the Russian Black Sea fleet were surrendered, and in return for the promise of a loan Germany exacted an exploitation of Russia's natural resources that amounted practically to a monopoly.

It is not to be inferred that this betrayal of the national interests went on wholly without protest and resistance on the part of patriots who had at heart the regeneration of Russia and were willing to risk their lives to achieve it. But such attempts were spasmodic and futile. In some cases they took the form of establishing provisional Governments over limited areas. In others they sought the assassination of obnoxious officials.

Illustrative of this latter form of revolt was the assassination at Moscow on July 6 of General Count von Mirbach, German Ambassador to Russia. Two men entered the German Embassy under the pretext of bringing documents for examination and threw a bomb which killed the Ambassador. The act was attributed to the Social Revolutionists, at a meeting of whom, two days earlier, the Ambassador had been furiously denounced. Immediately after the killing an outbreak occurred in Moscow, led by members of the Social Revolutionary Party, which was suppressed with difficulty after several days of sanguinary street fighting. This was followed by numerous arrests, and, later on, more than 200 were executed on the charge of having been concerned in the plot against von Mirbach.

The killing created intense excitement and indignation in Berlin. The Bolshevist Government made haste to express its regrets and promised to visit condign punishment on the perpetrators. For a time Berlin wavered, but finally determined to accept the situation rather than break with the Bolsheviki. On July 10 the German Government absolved the Soviet rulers from responsibility, and on the 11th Chancellor von Hertling, in a speech in the Reichstag, blamed the assassination on the Entente, whose machinations, he alleged, had instigated the crime. Karl von Helfferich, former German Minister of Finance, was appointed to succeed von Mirbach, and proceeded to his post under heavy guard; but after a few days' incumbency of the office he fled by night from Moscow to avoid the fate of his predecessor.

Several attempts were made at widely separated points to establish local Governments. Some of these were based on patriotism and others on individual ambition, but few held promise of permanence. A Provisional Siberian Govern-

ment was proclaimed at Novonikolayevsk on July 10 under the leadership of Lieut. Gen. Horvath, who announced as cardinal features of his program the emancipation of Siberia from Bolshevist rule and the avoidance if possible of foreign intervention. While the movement was viewed benevolently by the Entente, the assumption by Horvath of dictatorial powers was vigorously objected to, and he subsequently withdrew it and co-operated with the allied forces at Vladivostok.

The Wologdaczhe Republic was established in Northern Russia July 10. It comprised a wide stretch of territory from the Asiatic frontier to the White Sea. On July 7 the whole of the Murman Coast region seceded from Russia and joined the Entente. On July 29 it was announced that a treaty had been signed by the Cossack Governments of the Don and Astrakhan districts, by which they mutually recognized their complete autonomy. Turkestan was declared to be a republic on July 26. On Aug. 7 the authorities at Archangel declared that they repudiated the Bolshevist Government.

All of these movements, however transient and precarious they might ultimately prove to be, were dictated by resentment at Russia's plight and a desire for her redemption from misrule. For this reason they were welcomed, and, as far as might be, aided by the Entente. But far more important, as affording an opportunity for allied aid in the rebuilding of the real Russia, was the Czechoslovak exodus, which, beginning as a pilgrimage, ended as a campaign.

The origin of the Czechoslovak operations has already been described. Beginning with forces variously estimated at from 50,000 to 100,000, their numbers were rapidly augmented as they progressed. The hastily levied and ill-disciplined Bolshevist forces that were sent against them were easily defeated. By July 1 the Czechoslovaks were in complete control of Vladivostok. July 5 they occupied Nikolayevsk on the Amur, and on July 13 they entered Irkutsk. July 15 they captured Klutshevsk and the important city of Kazan.

On July 26 they took Simbirsk and on Aug. 1 occupied Ekaterinburg. Several cities in the Caucasus and ports on the Black Sea were captured at about the same time. In subsequent operations they gained almost complete control of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Whatever doubts as to the wisdom or feasibility of allied intervention in Russian affairs had existed were finally swept away by the Czechoslovak successes. France and Great Britain had long been agreed on the subject, and had secured the consent of Japan to participate. Washington had held aloof on the ground that intervention might be resented by the Russian people and tend to bring about their rapprochement with Germany. On Aug. 3, however, the United States and Japan issued proclamations announcing their decision to intervene, and giving their reasons.

Both Governments disclaimed any desire of territorial aggrandizement and any intention of dictating the form of government that Russia should adopt. They alleged it to be their purpose to protect their supplies, to assist the Czechoslovaks in resisting attacks upon them by armed German and Austrian prisoners of war, and to steady any efforts at self-government and self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance.

It was announced on Aug. 7 that Major Gen. William S. Graves would command the American expeditionary force, which would number less than 10,000 men. The Japanese sent about the same number of troops, and some small contingents were furnished by Great Britain, France, and China. General Kikuzo Otani, an eminent Japanese leader, was selected as Commander in Chief of the expedition.

Prior to this, however, allied intervention had become a fact. On July 15 an allied force composed of American, British, French, and Serbians, under the command of Rear Admiral Kemp of the British Navy, landed at Murmansk, an Arctic port northeast of Petrograd. On the following day Admiral Kemp announced the occupation of part of the Murman railway. He stated his purpose of working in co-operation with the

local Government and of protecting allied supplies at Kola. The whole Murman coast was declared to be Russian territory under allied protection.

On Aug. 4 another detachment of allied troops landed at Archangel, on the southern shore of the White Sea. The population, who on the previous day had defeated the Bolsheviki, received the expedition with acclamations, and a provisional Government was formed at once, calling itself the "Government of the Country of the North." On Aug. 7 it announced its assumption of power, and on Aug. 8 British representatives at Archangel, Murmansk, and Vladivostok issued a joint "Declaration of the British Government to the Peoples of Russia," which followed closely the earlier proclamations of America and Japan.

The resentment of the Bolshevist Government at what it declared was an infringement on Russian sovereignty was quickly manifested. The Foreign Minister, M. Tchitcherin, made a demand upon Mr. Francis, the American Ambassador, and the allied diplomats that they should come at once to Moscow from Vologda. The diplomats sensed a veiled threat in the demand and removed to Archangel, where they could be under the protection of the allied expedition. From Archangel Ambassador Francis dispatched a message to Tchitcherin, reciting the hindrances and indignities that the allied representatives had suffered from Bolshevist officials. He declared his friendliness toward the Russian people, stated that his absence would be but temporary, and said that in the meantime the allied Consuls would remain in Russia.

The riposte of Tchitcherin was the arrest of British Consul Lockhart, with the members of his staff and several French representatives. The prctext was that British forces had fired on the Bolsheviki when the Allies had occupied Archangel. Great Britain retaliated by arresting the Bolshevist emissary at London, at the same time making a peremptory demand for the release of Mr. Lockhart and his companions. During the crisis United States Consul Poole, expecting a similar violation of his own consulate, destroyed his codebook and records and confided American interests to the keeping of the Swedish Consul General. As a result of the outrage a conference was held by the allied Consular body with M. Tchitcherin, and assurances were given that the persons of foreign representatives should thenceforth be inviolable. The occurrence indicated the state of tension between the Bolsheviki and the Allies, a condition which, under German pressure, threatened at any moment to develop into open rupture.

Reports of refugees from Russia to Finland and Sweden indicated that social and economic conditions in Petrograd and Moscow were intolerable. Theft and murder were so common as scarcely to excite comment. Warrants for execution by the score were signed daily. Food was extremely scarce and many people were reported to have died of starvation. Fields were in large part untilled, owing to agrarian unrest and the absence of seed for sowing. Transportation had broken down, manufactures were paralyzed, and finances were in a state of inextricable confusion.

On July 16 ex-Czar Nicholas was executed at Ekaterinburg, whither he had been transferred from Tobolsk, Siberia, in May, 1918. The sentence of death was passed by the President of the Ural Regional Council, who asserted that a counter-revolutionary conspiracy to wrest the ex-Czar from the council had been detected. The decree was subsequently approved by the Russian Central Executive Committee, and on July 17 the Bolshevist Government declared that the property of the former Czar and of all other members of the imperial house was forfeited to the Soviet republic.

Although it was rumored at various times that the ex-Czarina and her children, as well as the Grand Duke Nicholas, who had commanded the Russian armies in the earlier stages of the war, had been put to death, no proof of this was given and their fate remained unknown.

In the Ukraine conditions were almost as deplorable as in the parent State from which it had so recently seceded. There,

too, assassination was frequent. Field Marshal von Eichhorn, the author of the phrase "enhanced protection" to justify German encroachments, was killed by a bomb while driving through the streets of Kiev on July 30. The deed was committed by a member of the Social Revolutionary Party, who was immediately arrested and executed. Another act attributed to the same organization was an explosion at Kiev, which resulted in the death of 700 German soldiers.

In the provinces the Germans carried on unsparingly their work of oppression and spoliation. Whippings, hangings, and burnings of peasants who refused to surrender their grain on demand were matters of everyday occurrence. This policy caused desperate uprisings, resulting at times in pitched battles in which thousands were engaged on both sides. Late in July 75,000 peasants were said to be under arms, and the whole country was in a ferment of revolt.

In Finland German influence continued strong in the early part of the Summer. Later on the exactions of the German Government, especially in the matter of transporting Finnish laborers to Germany, caused a revulsion of feeling, and this was increased by the allied victories on the western front.

By the narrow margin of a 16 to 15 vote the Finnish Constitutional Committee decided for a monarchical form of government, though the minority succeeded in securing provisions that strongly limited the royal power. Later the Finnish Diet chose Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse as King of Finland, but, while not refusing the proffered throne, he took no immediate action toward accepting it. Meanwhile the project of a joint German and Finnish expedition against the Murman coast was abandoned.

Esthonia and Lithuania shared the restlessness of the other provinces that had come under German control. Peasant uprisings occurred in the former district, and on July 26 the President of the Provisional Government of Esthonia telegraphed the French Foreign Minister congratulating him upon the allied victories. In the same month the Lithuanian National Council protested against Germany's annexationist tendencies and stated that the Lithuanians were determined to resist them.

THE UNITED STATES

In this country war activities proceeded with unabated vigor. Production in every field of endeavor equaled and surpassed the program that had been marked out for it. The splendid showing of American troops in France stimulated patriotic ardor to the highest degree and strengthened popular determination to put forth every effort to bring the war to a speedy and triumphant conclusion.

The movement of troops to France continued at the rate of from 250,000 to 300,000 men a month. By September 1,500,000 American soldiers were on French soil. A matter of congratulation was the utter failure of the submarine to check the steady flow of men abroad.

On Aug. 11 announcement was made that the First American Field Army had been organized in France under the direct command of General Pershing. Up to that time the American forces had been brigaded with French and British troops, and had gained from that cooperation their first actual experience in warfare. While this was wise and necessary, the country hailed with gratification the news that a distinctly American Army entirely under American leadership had been formed. The army consisted of five army corps, each corps numbering from 225,000 to 250,000 men. The total strength of General Pershing's First Army, therefore, was well beyond 1,000,000 men, thoroughly trained, fully officered and ready for battle.

On Aug. 7 a general army order was promulgated by General March, Chief of Staff, by virtue of which all men who had been inducted into the military service of the United States, or were thereafter to be inducted, should be known as members of the United States Army. This order abolished the distinctions that had hitherto existed between the Regular Army, the National Army, the Reserve Corps, and the National Guard. This merging of identity looked toward a greater unity and removed the slight

friction that had existed between the different organizations. Insignia of all officers were to be alike, and the one title of the "United States Army" was to apply to all branches of the service.

The nation's forces were augmented by the operation of the draft law on June 5, 1918, which made liable to military service all youths who had become 21 years of age since the first draft law went into effect. The registrants on that date numbered 744,865 men. This was more than 260,000 less than the census bureau had estimated, but the deficit was explained by the fact that during the period in question over 200,000 young men liable to draft under the act had voluntarily enlisted in the military and naval forces of the United States.

The "work or fight" regulations, as they were popularly referred to, were issued by the Provost Marshal General on June 3. All citizens were called upon to report to the nearest local board all men of military age who were in the idle or non-productive class. Each board itself had authority to summon those who were in non-essential occupations and give them the alternative of engaging in necessary work or enlisting in military service.

On July 1 President Wilson signed the Naval Appropriation bill, which carried $1,573,468,415, the largest naval appropriation ever passed by any national assembly in the world. In addition to this, five other bills for naval development had been passed in the preceding twelve months, so that the total amount appropriated by Congress during the year reached $3,250,000,000. An important feature of the bill was the increase of the enlisted strength of the navy from 87,000 to 131,485 men.

Military service conventions between the United States and Great Britain were ratified on July 31. These provided that British subjects and Canadians in the United States must enlist under the colors of their own countries, or be subject to the conscription laws of the United States. A reciprocal clause similarly affected Americans dwelling in Great Britain or Canada. It was estimated that this would apply to 250,000 British and 60,000 Canadians on American soil and to 54,000 Americans residing in British territory.

An event of striking interest and wholly without precedent was the world-wide celebration of the Fourth of July in all the allied capitals. In London, Paris, and Rome huge demonstrations were held, and notable addresses made by eminent statesmen and diplomats. Messages of congratulation poured in upon President Wilson from every continent and almost every country of the world. The burden of all was the same —recognition of America's idealism in fighting to gain for all nations the liberty that she herself had demanded and achieved.

President Wilson made an address at Mount Vernon on July 4 that attracted worldwide attention. It was a statement of America's war aims accentuating and in some degree amplifying those put forth on previous occasions. Weight was added to them by the character of the day and the solemnity of the spot chosen for their expression.

The bases of peace, the President declared, were four, namely, the destruction of any arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; the settlement of every question upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned; the consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern States in their relations with one another; the establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of those nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit.

"All these objects," the President declared, "can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

Twelve days later this address elicited a reply from Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister. In a statement made on July 4 he declared that to a great extent he approved heartily the four points set forth by the President. His assent to these, however, was accompanied by so many modifications as to rob it of meaning. The body of his speech was devoted to a defense of the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and of Bucharest, an emphasizing of the alliance between Austria and Germany, and an assertion that the Entente persisted in continuing the war for the sake of territorial aggrandizement.

The State Department in a list of war declarations and diplomatic severances published in August, 1918, showed that twenty-four nations, large and small, had declared war on Germany, or on Germany's allies, and that twenty-eight nations in all were at war. Those which had severed diplomatic relations with one or more of the Central Powers without an actual declaration of war were Bolivia, Ecuador, Egypt, Peru, and Uruguay. Only sixteen nations in the world remained neutral, and these held less than one-sixteenth of the world's population.

A summary of the public debts of the chief belligerent nations revealed some startling figures. Great Britain's increase of indebtedness over pre-war figures was $26,542,000,000. Russia's increase was over $20,000,000,000. That of France was $18,629,000,000. The increase in the public debt of the United States was $13,800,000,000. The aggregate increase in the public debt of the Central Powers was $43,868,000,000, as against a total increase for the allied nations of $85,600,000,000.

A careful attempt was made to measure the casualties of belligerents during the four years of fighting, but this of necessity could be only an approximation. Some of the Governments involved had never published casualty figures. An elaborate calculation, however, led to the conclusion that, including losses on both sides, 8,000,000 had been killed in action or died from wounds, while 13,000,000 had been wounded or captured. The casualties of the Entente were figured at 11,052,953, while those of the Central Powers were 9,709,553.

Two speeches made in the Senate of the United States on July 25 bore eloquent testimony to the solidarity of the American people on the question of the war. They derived additional significance from two facts—one that the body to which they were addressed was the treaty-making branch of the United States Government, the other that the speakers were leaders of the two great political parties. Senator Lewis, the Democratic whip, and Senator Sherman, leader of the Republican minority, though differing in political faith, were absolutely at one in the resolve to prosecute the war to a triumphant conclusion. Both statesmen advanced as the "irreducible minimum" of peace terms that Germany must be vanquished, Belgium restored and indemnified, Alsace-Lorraine be given back to France, and the iniquitous treaties with Russia and Rumania annulled. The popular approval with which the speeches were received indicated a unity of national purpose that has few parallels in history.

The period under review ended with the Central Powers everywhere on the defensive. In Palestine and Mesopotamia the armies of Allenby and Marshall were closing upon the demoralized Turkish forces. On the Bulgarian line a great allied offensive was preparing. On the western front, from Switzerland to the sea, the armies of the Entente were sweeping everything before them. The Central Powers, ringed in by foes, though fighting obstinately, were sullenly retreating. Autocracy was dying hard—but dying.

French Chasseurs Alpins, during a visit to New York City, visiting the Statue of Liberty on Bedlow's Island

(© *International Film Service*)

Opening of Second Red Cross Campaign, May 18, 1918. The parade in New York City, which was led and reviewed by President Wilson, passing down Fifth Avenue at Twenty-fifth Street

(Times Photo Service)

PERIOD XLVI.

Battles in France and Italy—The German Offensive—Austrians at Grips with Italians—A German View of Germany's Effort—Addresses by the Kaiser—The U-Boat Raid in American Waters—New Records in Shipbuilding—American Exports Versus the U-Boats—First American Offensive a Success—Americans' Defense of Chateau-Thierry—Capture of Belleau Wood—No Limit to Size of America's Army—War Finance in Canada—War Record of the United States—Italy's Third Year of War—The War in the Air—Arrest of Irish Plotters—New Austro-German Alliance—Horrors of Austrian Prisons—Abuses in German Prison Camps—Rebuilding Disabled Soldiers—Russia Under Many Masters—Growth of the Jugoslav Movement—Rumania's Thralldom—Armenia's Sufferings in a New Phase—Secretary Lansing on War Themes—Premier Lloyd George Lauds Americans—Clemenceau's Defiance of Obstructors—Brute Force Versus Humanity—The Battle of Jutland—International Socialists' Peace Campaign—England and the War's Causes—Germany and Great Britain in 1912.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[Period Ended June 20, 1918]

A Month of Battles

MILITARY activity superseded everything else during the month under review. Europe shook with the roar of battle. From May 27 to June 15 fully 3,000,000 men were engaged in deadly conflict along the battlefronts of France, with a ghastly toll of blood, while in Italy along a front of 100 miles more than 2,000,000 joined battle on June 15 and were furiously fighting when this issue went to press. The third German offensive, which continued for three weeks, did not break the front, nor did it divide the Allies, nor were the Channel ports reached, nor was Paris invested. In all these respects the drive failed, but important new territory was won by the Germans, and they claimed over 85,000 prisoners and an enormous amount of booty; the Allies declared that the failure of the Germans to obtain any of their objectives, coupled with the frightful price they had paid in killed and wounded, the shock to the army morale, and the disappointment in the enemy leadership, operated practically as a German defeat almost approaching disaster.

American co-operation in the war became profoundly significant during the month. The announcement was authorized early in June that more than 800,000 Americans were in France and that American soldiers were occupying important sectors on the front. Their brilliant stand on the Marne and at Belleau Wood, where they were victorious over crack Prussian divisions, created great enthusiasm throughout this country and evoked warmest encomiums from all the Allies. It was announced that American forces were holding a sector on German soil in the Vosges. It was understood that United States troops were crossing the Atlantic at the rate of nearly 40,000 a week, and that with the steady gain in shipping facilities an American Army in France of 1,500,000 was assured by Oct. 15, 1918. There was evidence that the Germans had realized the gravity of American intervention, and that their great offensive was based on the fear that ultimate defeat awaited them unless they could obtain immediate victory.

The offensive launched by the Austrians in Italy on June 15 was their most ambitious undertaking during the war. It was reported that they had 1,000,000 men engaged and 7,500 guns. At the end of the fourth day it was generally felt that the offensive had failed, as none of the objectives was obtained.

There were no important military activities on any of the other fronts.

German submarines invaded American waters late in May and within three weeks torpedoed twenty vessels, among them several steamships. There was no panic; the only effect was a fuller realization that the country was at war, with a marked speeding up of recruiting and a deepened determination that the war should be waged until victory was won. The raid caused no pause in the steady flow of troops to Europe. The submarine sinkings materially diminished in European waters, and the completion of new tonnage by the Allies during the month outstripped the losses by thousands of tons. It was clear during this period that the United States had attained its full stride in building ships, airplanes, and ordnance.

The growing importance of aerial warfare was universally recognized during the month, and the deadly efficiency of air squadrons in battle was demonstrated as never before.

The Russian situation became no clearer, though there was a growing impression that the Bolsheviki were steadily declining in power, while the forces of order and moderation were strengthening. The movement for intervention by Japan in Siberia gained momentum, but Washington gave no indication of giving its assent. The German progress into Russia continued, yet there were signs that

the Ukrainians were resenting German methods and were becoming a troublesome factor to the invaders. The Germanization of Finland and the other Russian border provinces proceeded apace. In the Caucasus the Turks continued to acquire new power over former Russian territory, and the spread of Turanian dominion was advanced.

Austria-Hungary was in a ferment during the month, and there was every indication that the Poles, Czechs, and Slavs were working in harmony and were threatening the existence of the Dual Empire.

In Great Britain, Italy, and France political matters were quieter, and a better feeling prevailed than for many months, while in our own country there was more war enthusiasm and less political discord than at any previous time in the nation's history.

* * *

The Transportation of Troops in Great Wars

THE announcement on June 15 that the United States had successfully carried over three-quarters of a million troops to France, a distance of more than 3,000 miles by sea, with the statement, made at the same time, that the Allies had successfully transported the enormous number of 17,000,000 to and from the various battle zones, both with absolutely negligible losses, serves to bring up the interesting question of the movements of vast bodies of men in earlier wars. Leaving out the primitive wars, in which troops were moved only by land, and almost wholly on foot, to begin with the great Persian invasion of Europe, in the fifth century before our era: Xerxes transported an enormous army, fabled to number five millions, and certainly reaching nearly half a million combatants, across the water-barrier of Europe by building a pontoon bridge over the Hellespont, between three and four miles wide; but the Persians had also, at Salamis, between 1,000 and 1,200 ships, which was a sufficiently great achievement in transportation. On the return invasion of Asia by the Greeks, Alexander the Great likewise crossed the Hellespont, at the site of the Gallipoli fighting, by a bridge of boats; the latest crossing of a great army on pontoons being that of the Russians at the Danube, when they invaded Turkey in 1877. A feat in transportation of another kind was that of Hannibal, who carried his mixed army of Africans, Spaniards, and Gauls across the Alps, probably at Mont Genevre, in the Summer of 218; an achievement later repeated by Napoleon and the Russian General Suvoroff. A more recent feat in transportation was the bringing of British and French troops to America, in the days of Washington. But the closest analogy to the present achievement of the American Army and Navy is probably that of the transportation of British troops to South Africa, twenty years ago, the distance being over 6,000 miles, or about twice the distance of our Atlantic port from the landing place of our troops in France. The total British losses in South Africa have more than once been equaled by one week's British casualties in the present struggle in France, the ratio of killed to wounded being about the same, namely, one to five.

* * *

Armies Under Foreign Generals

THE brigading of American troops with French and English commands and the fact that the entire forces of England and Italy, as well as America, on the Continent, are commanded by a French soldier recall that in many past wars large forces of one nation served under leaders of another nation. In the Napoleonic wars there were numberless instances of these armies of composite nationality, the most striking example being, probably, the Grand Army which invaded Russia in 1811, in which there was only a minority of French soldiers, nearly all Western Europe contributing the majority. But these foreign troops served by compulsion, not of good-will. A better analogy is the war of the Spanish succession, in which both the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene commanded composite armies, voluntarily united; this war transferred Newfoundland and Nova Scotia from France to England. In the wars in India, English commanders have almost invariably had a majority of native troops in their

forces, and this was conspicuously the case in the second half of the eighteenth century, as in Clive's decisive victory at Plassey.

Considerable numbers of French troops served under an American Commander in Chief at an eventful period in this country's history; of the 16,000 who forced the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, about half were French troops, under Lafayette and Rochambeau. A generation later, when Napoleon was trying to subdue Spain, mixed forces of English, Portuguese, and Spanish troops fought, under the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues, against the invaders. At Waterloo also the Duke of Wellington had an army of several different nationalities under his command, though the Dutch and Belgian troops played no great part in the later stages of the battle. In the war of 1877, considerable Russian and Rumanian armies fought under a single commander who was, for a considerable period, Prince Charles (later King) of Rumania.

* * *

The Northern and Southern Slavs

THE conference at Rome, April 10, 1918, to settle outstanding questions between the Italians and the Slavs of the Adriatic, has once more drawn attention to those Slavonic peoples in Europe who are under non-Slavonic rule. At the beginning of the war there were three great Slavonic groups in Europe: First, the Russians with the Little Russians, speaking languages not more different than the dialect of Yorkshire is from the dialect of Devonshire; second, a central group, including the Poles, the Czechs or Bohemians, the Moravians, and Slovaks, this group thus being separated under the four crowns of Russia, Germany, Austria, and Hungary; the third, the southern group, included the Sclavonians, the Croatians, the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, the Slavs, generally called Slovenes, in the western portion of Austria, down to Goritzia, and also the two independent kingdoms of Montenegro and Serbia.

Like the central group, this southern group of Slavs was divided under four crowns, Hungary, Austria, Montenegro, and Serbia; but, in spite of the fact that half belong to the Western and half to the Eastern Church, they are all essentially the same people, though with considerable infusion of non-Slavonic blood, there being a good deal of Turkish blood in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The languages, however, are practically identical, formed largely of pure Slavonic materials, and, curiously, much more closely connected with the eastern Slav group—Russia and Little Russia—than with the central group, Polish and Bohemian. A Russian of Moscow will find it much easier to understand a Slovene from Goritzia than a Pole from Warsaw. The Ruthenians, in Southern Galicia and Bukowina, are identical in race and speech with the Little Russians of Ukrainia.

Of the central group, the Poles have generally inclined to Austria, which has always supported the Polish landlords of Galicia against the Ruthenian peasantry; while the Czechs have been not so much anti-Austrian as anti-German. Indeed, the Hapsburg rulers have again and again played these Slavs off against their German subjects. It was the Southern Slav question, as affecting Serbia and Austria, that gave the pretext for the present war. At this moment, the central Slav question—the future destiny of the Poles—is a bone of contention between Austria and Germany. It is the custom to call these Southern Slavs "Jugoslavs," from the Slav word Yugo, "south," but as this is a concession to German transliteration, many prefer to write the word "Yugoslav," which represents its pronunciation. The South Slav question was created by the incursions of three Asiatic peoples—Huns, Magyars, Turks—who broke up the originally continuous Slav territory that ran from the White Sea to the confines of Greece and the Adriatic.

* * *

Drunkenness Reduced in Great Britain

THE result of the control of the liquor traffic in Great Britain is shown by the following figures of convictions for drunkenness in the years named, the

upper line of figures referring to males, the lower line to females:

Greater London—Population, (1911,) 7,486,964

1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
48,535	49,077	35,866	19,478	10,931
16,953	18,577	15,970	9,975	5,736
65,488	67,654	51,836	29,453	16,667

Boroughs, (36,) England and Wales—Population, (1911,) 8,406,372

41,380	38,577	27,041	17,233	9,870
11,399	11,258	9,959	6,097	3,679
52,779	49,835	37,000	23,330	13,549
89,915	87,654	62,907	36,711	20,801
28,352	29,835	25,929	16,072	9,415
118,267	117,489	88,836	52,783	30,216

In England and Wales the deaths due to or connected with alcoholism (excluding cirrhosis of the liver) fell from 1,112 (males) and 719 (females) in 1913 to 358 (males) and 222 (females) in 1917; deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver, from 2,215 (males) and 1,665 (females) to 1,475 (males) and 808 (females); cases of attempted suicide, from 1,458 (males) and 968 (females) to 483 (males) and 452 (females); deaths from suffocation of infants under one year declined from 1,226 to 704.

* * *

Germany's Population Declining

A CAREFUL study of the vital statistics of Germany and Great Britain reveals the fact that the population of Germany is declining, while that of Great Britain is increasing. The German Empire, which in June, 1919, at the previous rate of increase should have had 72,000,000 people, will have no more than 64,500,000. Germany as a whole will have 5 per cent. less population than when the war began. Of those who have been killed the greater number were men in the prime of life and energy, whom Germany could least spare. By deaths in the battle zone the empire has lost at least 3,000,000 men.

The birth rate has sunk to such a figure that by next year the number of births will have fallen short of what they would have been had there been no war by 3,333,000. In the same period the annual number of deaths among the German civilian population, owing to the stress and anxiety of the war, and sickness, which has been aggravated by hardships and food troubles, has increased by 1,000,000 over the normal.

While by next year the German Empire will be 7,500,000 lower in population than it would have been had the war not taken place, the vitality of the peoples of Austria and Hungary has suffered even more. The peoples of Austria will be 11 per cent. poorer in numbers next year than if the war had not taken place. They will be 8 per cent. lower in numbers than they were in 1914. Hungary will be still worse off. It will have a population 9 per cent. lower than before the war, and 13 per cent. lower than it would have been if there had been no war.

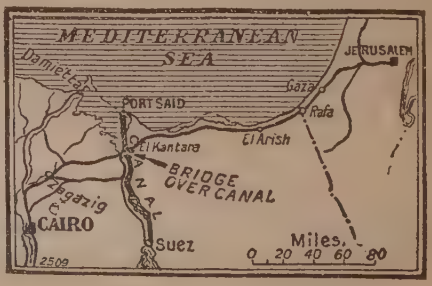
Meanwhile, despite the losses suffered in the war zone, the British population has been growing. By the middle of 1919 this population will be only 3 per cent. lower than it would have been without war. Great Britain in 1919 will have a larger population than in 1914.

* * *

Cairo to Jerusalem by Rail

IT was officially announced May 11 that the swing bridge over the Suez Canal at Kantara was completed, and that on May 15, 1918, there was direct railway service from Cairo to Jerusalem. When the war broke out there were no railways between the Suez Canal and the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, a distance of some 200 miles, mainly desert.

At that time a line ran along the western bank of the canal from Suez to Port Said. It was linked up with the main



lines of the Egyptian State railways by a single track from Ismailia to Zagazig.

A few miles to the north of that track another line from Zagazig stopped some eighteen miles short of the canal at El Salhia. At the beginning of the war, to facilitate the transport of troops and supplies to the canal and beyond, the track from Zagazig to Ismailia was doubled, and a new line was pushed out from the dead end at El Salhia to the canal opposite Kantara, a village on the eastern, or Sinai, side of the canal. Later, when the British troops entered the Sinai Peninsula, a railway was begun from Kantara eastward, and as the British troops advanced so did the railway. It followed the northern track across Sinai, and had been taken within a few miles of Gaza when that town was captured last November. Meantime the Turks had built a branch from the Jaffa-Jerusalem line to a point only five miles north of Gaza, and by February General Allenby had joined the two systems, so that there was direct railway connection between Kantara and Jerusalem.

* * *

Kindling the Holy Fire

THE annual ceremony of the Kindling of the Holy Fire took place May 4 in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In Turkish days it was the custom to provide a guard of not less than 600 soldiers in order to keep the peace between the Greeks and Armenians, as disorders almost invariably occurred. On this occasion there was no guard of any kind other than the ordinary police, and the ceremony took place without any sign of disturbance.

The ceremony of the Holy Fire—at which, it is held, flame comes by a miracle from heaven to kindle the lamps of the Holy Sepulchre—apparently began in the ninth century, and was formerly attended by leading representatives of all the churches. These have long ago withdrawn from it, and it is now attended by members of the Greek and Armenian Churches, mostly ignorant pilgrims of Eastern Christendom. Many enlightened members of the Greek Church discouraged the ceremony, as the vast crowds of frenzied people attending it had to be kept in some sort of order by Turkish soldiers. At the appointed time a bright flame of burning wood appears through a hole in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre; the rush to obtain this new fire is overwhelming, and it is handed on from taper to taper until thousands of lights appear. A mounted horseman takes a lighted torch to convey the sacred fire to the lamp of the Greek Church in the convent at Bethlehem. In 1834 hundreds of lives were lost in the violent pressure of the unruly crowd.

* * *

Building the Cape to Cairo Railway

NOTWITHSTANDING the war, 200 miles of the Cape to Cairo Railway in Africa were laid in the last four years, and a total of 450 miles in the last eight years from the Rhodesian frontier to the navigable waterway of the Congo. The latest section of the Katanga Railway reached Bukama, on the Congo River, May 22.

The railway starts from Cape Town and crosses Bechuanaland and Rhodesia; it reached the Congo frontier in 1909. The first section (158 miles) reached the copper mines of the Star of the Congo in November, 1910, where Elizabethville, a populous town, inhabited by 1,400 white men, has since developed. The railway was pushed in 1913 as far as Kambové, another important mining district, (99 miles.) In spite of the difficulties caused by the war, a third section was open to traffic north of Kambové, reaching Djilongo (68 miles) in July, 1915. It was through this road that the two English monitors, under the direction of Commander G. B. Spicer Simson, reached the waters of Lake Tanganyika, which they cleared of enemy craft. Understanding the advantages which the line would afford, the Belgian Colonial Government opened new credits for the completion of the railway as far as Bukama, (125 miles.) The building started from Djilongo and Bukama at the same time, and, in spite of the difficulties of the ground and the scarcity of labor in the region traversed, has now been successfully completed. More than 30,000 tons of copper are annually transported from the Congo copper mines.

Compiegne and Its Forest

COMPIEGNE, the northern support of the French battlefront during the early part of June, goes back to Roman days. Its name is a modernization of Compendium, which seems to have meant the "short cut" between Soissons and Beauvais. The castle, which was founded by Charles the Bald, was rebuilt by Charles V. and Louis XV. It is now practically a historical museum of pictures, sculpture, vases, beautiful French furniture. The Hôtel de Ville, the Town Hall, was built under Louis XII., and is now adorned by a recent statue of Jeanne d'Arc, whose cult has been so widely revived in the last few years in France. And the old churches of Saint James and Saint Antony go back to the France of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. The magnificent forest of Compiègne, with its century-old oaks and beeches, covers some 36,000 acres, or almost sixty square miles, and has nearly ninety miles of parkways under its shady boughs. Within it, near Champlieu, are old Roman ruins, and the huge, many-towered Château of Pierrefonds, which was a favorite hunting lodge of the Kings of France. Built in the fourteenth century, it was rebuilt by Viollet-le-Duc. It is curious that the modern use of airplanes in military scouting, in conjunction with our powerful artillery, has given these forests a significance in battle which takes us back not merely to the days of mediaeval warfare with its forest ambushes but to the earlier fighting of primitive tribes.

* * *

The Forest of Villers-Cotterets

THE immense importance of forests in the present battle is only one among many returns to the machinery of mediaeval war, like the revival of helmets, bombs, mortars, the use of a trench knife, which is simply an adapted Roman broadsword. And, in exactly the same way, the pressure of races in the present war has brought the fighting back to the old, famous battle areas, on which the Latin races have fought against the barbarians any time these two thousand years. This is particularly true of the area of the fighting in the first half of June. Much of the history here goes back to old Roman times, much to the earliest Kings of France. Villers-Cotterets, in the old feudal territory of Valois, has developed from a sixth century hamlet, first named Villers-Saint-Georges. The great forest, which has been so strong a buttress for the French and American line, was then known as Col-de-Retz, and was a favorite hunting ground of the early Kings. The Château Malmaison, rebuilt by Francis I. in 1530, was really a magnificent hunting lodge; his son, Henry II., and Francis II. often sojourned there. Charles V. halted there during his campaign in Champagne. Charles IX. spent his honeymoon there with his young Queen Elizabeth. The castle was restored by the Duke of Orleans in 1750, at a cost of 2,000,000 francs, when the great walls of the park were built. He was the father of Philippe-Egalité and the grandfather of King Louis Philippe. Alexandre Dumas, who was born at Villers-Cotterets, described the castle as being "as big as the whole town." Later it became an orphanage, sheltering 800 children. In the forest is the "enchanted butte," 752 feet above sea level, which is dimly visible from Laon, forty-four miles away; here the fairies were traditionally believed to dance in the moonlight. Finally, in the last martial act of Napoleon's Hundred Days—on June 27, 1815, a week after Waterloo—Marshal Grouchy fought the Prussians under Pirch within sight of Villers-Cotterets.

* * *

Chateau-Thierry

CHATEAU-THIERRY, which has added a splendid page to the martial history of the American Army, is another of the ancient strongholds whose strategic position has given it equal significance in the recent fighting. It was originally a Roman camp, Castrum Theodorici. The castle, built in 730 by Charles Martel, was given in 877 by Louis II., "the Stammerer," to Herbert, Count of Vermandois, from whose family it passed in the tenth century to the Counts of Troyes. At the end of the eleventh century the town, which had grown up under the shelter of the

fortress, was surrounded by a wall, and the Burgesses of the town, in 1520, received permission from Francis I. to found a leather and cloth fair, which was long famous. Often a battleground, Château-Thierry was captured by the English in 1421. It was sacked by the Spanish in 1591. It was a centre of French resistance in the invasion of 1814, and Napoleon with 24,000 veterans decisively beat Blücher with 50,000 men under the historic walls of the ancient fortress. The fabulist La Fontaine was born here on July 8, 1621.

* * *

Infant Welfare in Germany

THE British Local Government Board issued a report on infant welfare in Germany, May 17, 1918, from which the following facts are taken:

During the war there has been a heavy fall in the number of births in Germany. The first three years alone of the war reduced by over 2,000,000 the number of babies who would have been born had peace prevailed. Some 40 per cent. fewer babies were born in 1916 than in 1913. The infantile death rate has been kept well down, but is 50 per cent. higher than in Great Britain.

The birth rate, which had risen from 36.1 per 1,000 inhabitants in the decade 1841-1850 to 39.1 per 1,000 in the period 1871-1880, fell in the succeeding decades to 36.8, 36.1, and 31.9. The rate for the last year of the period 1901-1910 was under 30 per 1,000, and the continuance of the fall brought the rate as low as 28.3 in 1912.

In 1913 there were 1,839,000 live births in Germany; in 1916 there were only 1,103,000—a decrease of 40 per cent. as compared with 1913. The corresponding figures for England and Wales (785,520 live births in 1916 against 881,890 in 1913) show a decrease of 10.9 per cent.

In 1913 the infant mortality rate for Germany was 151 per 1,000, as compared with 108 in England and Wales. The rates in 1914 for Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria (comprising nearly 80 per cent. of the total population of Germany) were 164, 173, and 193 per 1,000 respectively. The abnormal increase in infant mortality during the first months of the war is shown by the fact that in Prussia in the third quarter of 1914 the rate rose from 128 to 143; in Saxony from 140 to 242; and in Bavaria from 170 to 239.

The principal measure adopted in Germany to promote infant welfare during the war has been the distribution of the imperial maternity grants. "Necessity" must first be proved, but instructions have been given that the term "necessity" is to be liberally interpreted. There was a general demand that some further provision should be made for soldiers' wives who could not meet the extra expenses connected with the birth of a child, and by a Federal Order, published on Dec. 3, 1914, provision was made for the payment (partly from imperial funds and partly from the funds of the sickness insurance societies) of the following allowances:

(a) A single payment of $6.25 toward the expenses of confinement.

(b) An allowance of 25 cents daily, including Sundays and holidays, for eight weeks, at least six of which must be after the confinement.

(d) A grant up to $2.50 for medical attendance during pregnancy if needed.

(d) An allowance for breast-feeding at the rate of 12½ cents a day, including Sundays and holidays, for 12 weeks after confinement.

These grants were afterward extended to women whose husbands were employed on patriotic auxiliary service and women who were themselves employed on such service. In addition to this special measure, steps were taken to encourage the formation of local societies for promoting infant welfare and the establishment by the societies of infant welfare centres. Steps were taken to protect illegitimate children by assisting unmarried mothers from municipal funds and to give expectant and nursing mothers additional rations of food.

* * *

AS a result of intensive farming propaganda, the acreage of cereals and potatoes in England and Wales in 1917 was 8,302,000, an increase of 2,042,000 over 1916. It is estimated that the tillage in 1917 in Scotland increased 300,000 acres over 1916, and in Ireland the figures showed an increase of 1,500,000 acres, making a total of about 4,000,000 acres increase in the United Kingdom in the year. This was accomplished in the face of the fact that in England and Wales alone there were 200,000 fewer male laborers on the land in 1917 than before the war. It is estimated that the United Kingdom in 1918-19 will produce 80 per cent. of the total breadstuff requirements for the year, whereas in 1916-17 the production was but 20 per cent. of the needs.

THE volunteers furnished by Ireland, divided between Ulster and the rest of the country, were as follows:

Year.	Ulster.	Rest of Ireland.	Total.
1914.....	26,283	17,851	44,134
1915.....	19,020	27,351	46,371
1916.....	7,305	11,752	19,057
1917.....	5,830	8,193	14,023
	58,438	65,147	123,585

* * *

THE Parliamentary Under Secretary to the British War Office, Mr. Macpherson, in a statement in Parliament, May 3, 1918, gave the following figures of Chaplains in the war, killed, died of wounds, or died of disease while on service in the war. The figures do not include colonial Chaplains or the Chaplains of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment:

Church of England.....	57
Roman Catholic.....	19
Presbyterian	4
Methodist	3
United Board.....	3
Total.....	86

* * *

THE Government of Costa Rica declared war on Germany May 23, 1918, bringing the number of nations aligned against the Central Powers to a total of twenty-one. Of the other Central American States Panama, Nicaragua, and Guatemala had issued declarations of war. Honduras severed diplomatic relations, and San Salvador proclaimed neutrality, but explained that it was friendly to the United States. The Government of Peru seized 50,000 tons of interned German ships, and the Government of Chile is negotiating with the United States for the seizure, by appropriation or sale to this country, of 200,000 tons interned in its ports.

* * *

THE Second American Red Cross drive was begun on May 20. The final subscriptions, as announced on May 28, were $148,833,367, an oversubscription of more than $48,000,000. The subscriptions in New York City exceeded $33,000,000; in the rest of New York State they were about $9,000,000. The oversubscription maintained a similar average in all parts of the country.

* * *

WHEN the Germans came in possession of Helsingfors there were seven British submarines in the Baltic with stores, workshops, and barges for floating mechanics, which had been moved into the harbor from different parts of the Baltic as the Germans advanced into Russia. The British naval contingent was in charge of Lieut. Commander Downie, and when it was apparent that the Germans would come in possession of the harbor the entire property was destroyed, including all the submarines, repair shops, and supplies, estimated in value at $15,000,000.

* * *

ANDREW BONAR LAW, Chancellor of the British Exchequer, in introducing a new vote of credit in Parliament June 18, announced that it was felt that the German offensive in France had wholly failed and that the Austrian offensive in Italy was the war's worst initial failure. He extolled America's aid in the war and the brilliant part taken already by American troops. He moved a vote of credit of $2,500,000,000, which was promptly given. The vote brought the total British war credits to $36,500,000,000. It will cover expenditures to Sept. 1, 1918. Bonar Law stated that the daily cost of the war to Great Britain was $34,240,000. The debt due Great Britain from her allies was stated to be $6,850,000,000, and from the Dominions $1,030,000,000.

* * *

IT was announced June 16 that an American contingent had been assigned to the Vosges Mountains in Alsace in territory which belonged to Germany prior to the war. Private W. J. Gwyton of Evart, Mich., of this force was the first American killed on former German soil, having met his death by machine-gun fire on the day after the unit entered the line, (May 27, 1918.) He was awarded the Croix de Guerre.

Battles in France and Italy

Military Review From May 18 to June 18, 1918—Fighting on the Marne and Oise—The Austrian Offensive

THE third month of the great German offensive may be considered the complement of the second; it has been an attempt to accomplish south of the great Picardy salient what north of it had been tried and had failed. In the second month the Lys salient had been developed, but the barrier ridges of Ypres and Arras still held. At the end of the third month the southern barriers—the Chemin-des-Dames and the watershed of the Oise-Aisne—had been carried by the enemy, but the terrain of occupation was so constricted, the enemy troops so distributed, that neither of his ambitious objectives had been brought nearer attainment. These objectives were the reaching of the sea by the Somme via Amiens, with its corollaries, the isolation of the allied armies north of that river and the occupation of the Channel ports; the decisive defeat of the French armies in the field, with whatever moral and political corollary that eventuality might produce; the occupation of Paris, and the demoralization of the French body politic. [See map on Page 19.]

But the German failure of the third month is far more significant, has a far greater bearing on the war, than the failure of the second. The enemy has not only failed to broaden the Picardy front so as to permit a further advance down the Somme, to inflict vital losses on the Allies, to force the French back on the defenses of Paris, but, in attempting to do these things he has transformed all his potential resources into active resources, and these give evidence of approaching exhaustion.

Only one conclusion is possible: Ludendorff with an initial preponderance of men and war material, with the tactical advantage of being able to manoeuvre from the centre outward, has been outgeneraled both in tactics and in strategy by Foch, so that the former's gains of terrain, while being of no advantage whatever—even a danger in certain sectors—have been purchased at an expenditure of men and material utterly incommensurate with their area and position.

FORCING THE AISNE

Ludendorff, on May 27, with a simultaneous diversion on the Lys salient and another at the southwest angle of the Picardy salient, northwest of Montdidier, began, with the most stupendous preparations ever concentrated, an attack on the southern barriers over a forty-mile front. He forced the Aisne the next day on an eighteen-mile front, and on May 31 he brought up at the Marne on a six-mile front, having made a penetration of thirty miles to the south. There he attempted to deploy both east and west, and was held.

Meanwhile his baseline had been extended twenty miles to the west—to near Noyon. He had occupied about 650 square miles of new territory and had reduced his nearest approach to Paris from sixty-two to forty-four miles.

Then, on June 9, with even a greater array of men and material, he attempted to invert the western bow-like side of the salient already formed by turning it outward. He made a fierce attack from a twenty-mile front between Montdidier and Noyon in the direction of Compiègne. With this objective attained, his Picardy front would have been sufficiently broadened to enable him to resume his journey down the Somme. Moreover, he would have been within striking distance of Paris. He gained seven miles, which was later reduced to less than six by French counterattacks. French counterattacks and a thrust of American marines on his flanks in the three succeeding days not only held him in a vise, but revealed his tremendous

UPPER MAP: WHERE THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE BEGAN ON MAY 27, 1918
LOWER MAP: WHERE IT WAS STOPPED, MAY 31

losses and the extraordinary means he had expended in preparations. By June 12 his failure, the ramifications of which actually demonstrated his defeat, was an established fact. Then, on the following Saturday, June 15, this failure was acknowledged by the sudden launching of an Austrian offensive in Italy. How this was an acknowledgment we shall see in the proper place.

SECOND MARNE BATTLE

Held at the Ypres and Arras barriers in the north it was inevitable that Ludendorff's next move would be in the south. The railways freed by the expansion of the Picardy salient in March, the unhampered concentrations made possible at Péronne, St. Quentin, La Fère, and Hirson, and the admirable surface of the Laon Plateau for purposes of manoeuvring large bodies of troops—all pointed to the line northwest of Rheims as the probable point of attack. Then, when it came on May 27, consternation reigned among military critics as they observed the apparent ease with which the Germans carried, first, the mighty Chemin des Dames, protected on the east by Craonne and its three plateaux and on the west by the Ailette and the Oise, and then the south bank of the Aisne, with its formidable prepared fortifications at Soissons. The German feints in the Lys salient and before Amiens in the preceding week were said to have distracted Foch, who had thus been outgeneraled. And when the Marne was reached between Dormans and Château-Thierry, it was remembered how the Third German Army under General von Hausen had swept across the river at that identical spot on Aug. 25, 1914.

In the first three days of the drive the Germans with the greatest auxiliary force of tanks, machine guns, and poison gas projectors they had ever mobilized employed twenty-five divisions, or 325,000 men. When they doubled their base line and had reached the Marne and were trying to deploy they were using forty divisions containing over 400,000 of their best troops. When the offensive quieted down in the first days of June it was estimated that they had lost fully 30 per cent. of the total in casualties. On

the other hand, they claimed to have captured over 45,000 prisoners and taken 400 guns. They had come thirty miles and had occupied 650 square miles of territory. But they were held.

What is the explanation of this seeming paradox? Foch could by calling on a certain number of reserves easily have held the Chemin des Dames until—he had been flanked and enfiladed out, between Neufchatel and Rheims on the east and from the Oise where it enters the Aisne on the west. He might have held out longer on the southern bank of the Aisne, but the result would have been the same—losses equaling if not surpassing those of the enemy and the surrender of thousands of guns and large quantities of war material. Finally, he would have gained nothing and might even have been unable to hold the Marne.

It is obvious that he did none of these things. But what did he do? He left his front protected by only sufficient men and guns to produce the greatest possible losses among the enemy as he slowly advanced south and concentrated heavily on the enemy's flanks. It was he and not Ludendorff who decreed that the Germans should reach the Marne between Dormans and Château-Thierry, and nowhere else. But it was Pétain who executed the plans of Foch.

THE FIGHT IN DETAIL

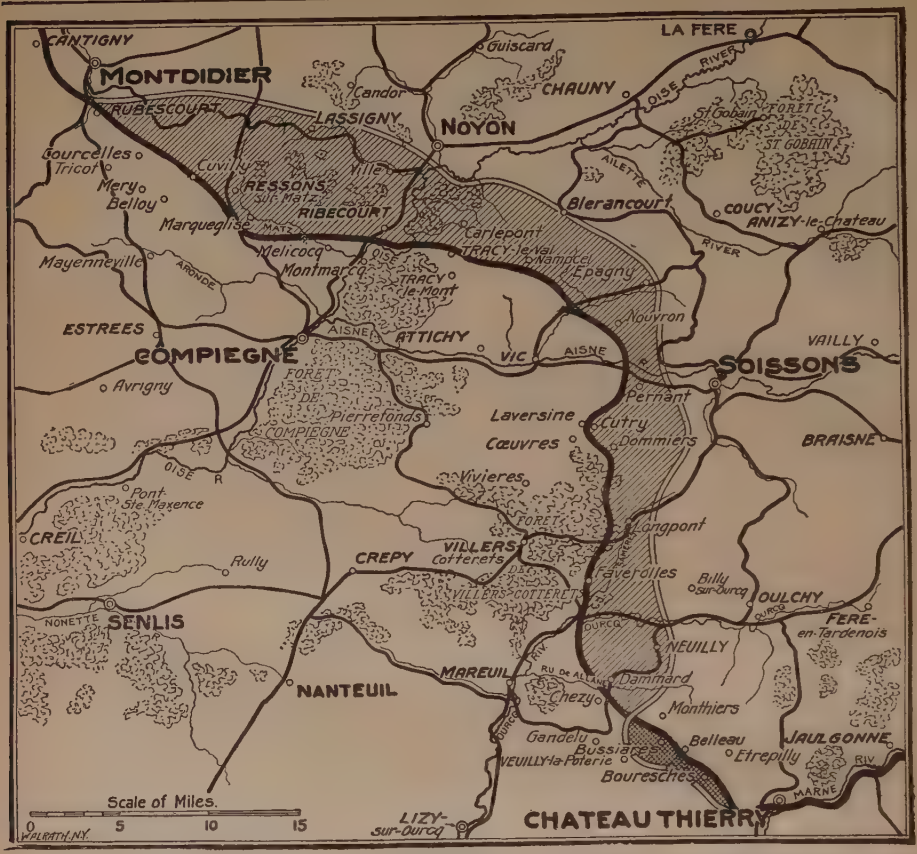
The German attack under the personal command of the Crown Prince launched on the morning of May 27 was mainly directed against the British 8th, 50th, 25th, and 21st Divisions and the French 6th Army, which occupied the front from Vauxaillon eastward to the Brimont region—from north of Soissons to the north and a little west of Rheims. Certain sectors at once gave way under the strong pressure—particularly in the Chambrettes. There was no mistaking this for the main offensive, although in the Lys salient, between Ypres and Arras in the north, and on both sides of the Somme and the Ardre in the centre, there were simultaneous artillery preparations of great violence. Toward the end of the day the weight of the enemy's attacks carried his troops across both the River Aisne and the Chemin des Dames. The line, however, remained unbroken, as the Allies retreated across the Aisne between Vailly and Berry-au-Bac, which are eighteen miles apart, and then gave way across the Vesle near Fismes.

On the 28th Franco-British troops proved the assault in the north to be abortive by quickly re-establishing their lines east of Dickebusch Lake and capturing a few prisoners. On the main field of battle in the south the Franco-British right deployed to the east covering the Brouillet-Savigny-Thillois line protecting Rheims. On the west they did the same, but with more elasticity, while the centre continued to give. On the 29th the acute angle of the German penetration, with its vertex covering Fismes, suddenly sprung to the shape of a bow. The line still held covering the Cathedral City, but on the west the defenders of Soissons were killing their last Germans, and in the south Savigny on the Ardre had been reached. At Savigny the line of advance was diverted westward until it embraced Fère-en-Tardenois and Vezilly. And still the retreating but unbroken Allies were deploying east and west as its pressure increased, or were taken prisoner when retreat became impossible.

On the 30th the enemy attempted to broaden his front northwest of Rheims and failed, but he succeeded in obliterating the salient south of Noyon, from the Oise Canal to Soissons, and on the 31st by an advance from a twenty-five-mile curved front he reached the Marne between Château-Thierry and Dormans on a contracted six-mile front. Here he met on the south bank the prepared defenses, and has been kept on the north bank ever since.

AMERICAN MARINES

In the enemy's attempts to broaden his front on the Marne salient, June 1 and 2, he managed to rectify the eastern side by reaching Sarcy and Olizy and by working along up the Marne a couple of miles east of Dormans. He also measurably consolidated his positions between the Oise Canal and Soissons, and south of



OFFENSIVE OF JUNE 9, AIMED AT COMPIEGNE, AND BLOCKED BY THE FRENCH AFTER FIVE DAYS. LIGHT SHADED AREA WON BY GERMANS; DARK SHADED AREA AT BOTTOM WON BACK BY AMERICANS NEAR CHATEAU-THIERRY

the latter stretched the line into a segment with a five mile vertical as far south as, but not including, Château-Thierry on the Marne. This swing to the westward appears to have been a deliberate attempt to force Foch to meet shock with shock by throwing in his reserves, as the German advance had reached a point only forty miles from Paris.

This was unnecessary, however, for here, north of Château-Thierry, the enemy was to meet a new foe—the American marines. It is doubtful whether the extraordinary performance of this corps and its French supports between June 6 and June 12, when they bent back the lower part of the bow between La Feste-Milon and Château-Thierry—from Grandeles, Champillon, and Clerembant Wood to Bussiares and Bouresches—can be included in the second battle of the Marne or serves as a diversion to the later battle of the Oise, directed against Compiègne. At any rate, the ardor of the marines had the desired effect, for on the very day they began their work the inspired Berlin Vossische Zeitung said: "The German Supreme Command can-" not well proceed now against the newly " consolidated French front, which is " richly provided with reserves, and bear " the great losses which experience shows " are entailed by such operations." Thus ended the second battle of the Marne, sometimes called the Aisne-Marne battle.

BATTLE OF THE OISE

The flanking lines between which the Germans were directed to the Marne made the battle of the Oise inevitable as far as the Marne salient was concerned. For the salient, there was only this alter-

native, if its front could not be broadened: it must be "dug in" or be abandoned. But, being necessary, if it could be waged beyond a certain point, it would also become ambitious. It would supplement the Picardy front by continuing its line down to the Marne. Reaching the Oise at Montmacq, it would flank the French salient north of the Oise. Utilizing the Oise and Ourcq Valleys, it would envelop the defensive forests of Aigue, Compiègne, and Villers-Cotterets. This would mean Compiègne. From Compiègne the investment of Paris was possible.

The bttle, as far as the Germans are concerned, was probably their most disastrous effort of the war within the given time. Between thirty and thirty-four divisions were completely used up—a cost of over 400,000 effectives. Not only did their advance lack the element of surprise, but it entered a veritable trap. Their front was enfiladed with a destructive fire from impregnable flanks.

The battle was also a revelation; it demonstrated as nothing else the waning man power of the enemy—the desperate mobilization of 16-year-old boys, of old men, of convicts, even.

The artillery preparation, rich in gas shells, began at midnight on June 8-9. On the following morning at 4:30 the attack was launched over the twenty miles from Montdidier to Noyon. And, as usual, there was the northern diversion —the pounding of the British lines by gunfire from Villers-Bretonneux to Arras. Even on the first day of the assault, when the German centre advanced two and a half miles, the French made a spirited counterattack near Hautebraye, between the Aisne and the Oise. On the second day the enemy took at tremendous cost the villages of Mery, Belloy, and St. Maur and debouched from Thiescourt Wood. On the third day, with the aid of four fresh divisions, he managed to reach the Aronde, on the west; to descend a mile astride the Matz and to occupy its northern bank almost to the Oise, in the centre; and to envelop the forest of Ourscamps, on the east. Before the sun set the French, by a counterattack, had entirely won back the gains on the west, with over 1,000 prisoners captured. On the fourth and fifth days (June 13 and 14) the French heavily attacked on the flanks of the centre—at Courcelles and at Croix Ricard. Then came two final kicks from the foe; on June 16 he attempted to cross the Matz near its junction with the Oise and was driven back with heavy losses. The next day he drenched the south bank of the Marne with gas shells, but did not attempt to cross the stream.

All this time abortive diversions had been going on in the north, in the Lys salient, where on June 15 the British and Scottish troops took the initiative and captured two miles of enemy positions seven miles west of La Bassée and just north of Béthune.

THE AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE

Just as the German defeat on the Marne and Oise was beginning to be realized abroad—its losses calculated, its meaning interpreted—the Austrians, on June 15, suddenly launched an offensive in the mountain region of Veneto and from the left bank of the Piave. So far the enemy has been firmly held in the mountains, but has crossed the river at two places without, however, being able to bring over any effective artillery—on the middle reaches he has gained the Plateau of Montello, defended by the intrenchments prepared there by the British under Plumer last December, and near the mouth he has succeeded in establishing one or two bridgeheads in the vicinity of Capo Sile.

As a military proposition the offensive has lacked the so far inevitable successes of a prepared initiative; in the mountains the first attacks were almost instantly broken up by simultaneous counterattacks. Along the river, especially in the vicinity of the crossings, the battle is developing in scope and intensity.

Aside from the military paradox already noted, this offensive possesses several characteristics, some military, some political, which seem well worth while dwelling upon.

In the first place, the location of the active front east of the Lago di Garda, from the Asiago Plateau to the sea, offers

a certain indication of the German military situation in France. Its abortive character may also indicate the political situation in Austria-Hungary. With the lines in the mountains held, the operations on the Piave present no formidable danger to Italy.

It was well known by the Italian General Staff that the Austro-German High Command intended to make the attempt to confirm the Italian disaster of Caporetto as soon as the melting of the snows permitted the transportation of men and supplies through the Alps. In the first place, the material and man power lost by the Italians in the retreat to the Piave, which included the actual elimination of the 2d Army, were replaced. In the second, it was absolutely necessary to rectify, even in the Winter, the northern mountain line east of the Lago di Garda. West of the lake up to the Tonale Pass, over the great glacier of the Adamello, it was practically invulnerable, save through the Giudicaria Valley.

From west to east there were three doors, as it were, which had only been partly shut—the Vallarsa south of Rovereto, the path of the Frenzela Torrent and the angle it forms with the Brenta just above Valstagna, and the approach down the Piave in the region of Monte Monfenera from the Calcina Torrent. There were also other minor openings—the passes of Monte Asolone, between the Brenta and the Piave, covering the path south along the Val San Lorenzo, the Nos and Campo Mulo Valleys between Asiago and the Brenta. All these were closed in December and January, with a total loss to the enemy of over 10,000 men and 100 guns, save the domination of the Vallarsa, that was taken from the Austrians by the capture of Monte Corno on May 15. Meanwhile, the British and French armies had been transferred, the former from Il Montello on the Piave to the Asiago Plateau, and the latter from the Monfenera region to that of Monte Grappa. Between 200,000 and 300,000 Italian troops had been sent to the aid of France.

Thus the Italian General Staff awaited the inevitable with confidence—a confidence fully seconded by people and press, for if the mass of the Italians had fought in ignorance before the catastrophe of Caporetto, since then they had learned the objects of the war —national as well as allied.

But the General Staff had also learned something else. This was most important. If Ludendorff in France should be successful—if he should succeed in isolating the allied armies north of the Somme, or force the French back upon the defenses of Paris, or both—then the Austrian Commander in Chief with his million men would be aided by German generalship and German divisions, and, together, they would strike down the Giudicaria to the west of the Lago di Garda, with all strength and disregarding all sacrifices in order to reach the metallurgic centre of Italy in Lombardia and Emilia, thereby forcing Italy out of the war and gaining access to the back door of France. If, however, Ludendorff should be blocked in France, the offensive must still be made at the propitious moment, but its plan of attack would be to the east of the Lago di Garda, from the Astico to the sea. It would be entirely an Austrian affair, and would naturally be limited by the political and military situation in the Dual Monarchy.

It is of significance, therefore, that the offensive has been launched to the east and not to the west of the Lago di Garda. Its locality reveals Ludendorff's conviction that he is at least blocked in France, if nothing else, whatever light its development may later throw upon the parlous internal conditions of the Hapsburg Empire.

This admitted, the Austrian plan of campaign becomes a simple problem—simple because there could be no other. At the beginning of the war Italy attempted to neutralize the Trentino and the Carnic region by sealing the passes and then made her attack across the Isonzo. But she could never be certain that the passes had been effectually sealed. A successful Austrian invasion through them would jeopardize her armies on the Isonzo, isolate them by cutting their lines of communication. That was the danger which threatened

LEADING GENERALS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY

Major Gen. H. A. Greene
(Press Illus. Service)

Major Gen. Leonard Wood
(© Clinedinst)

Major Gen. H. S. Hale

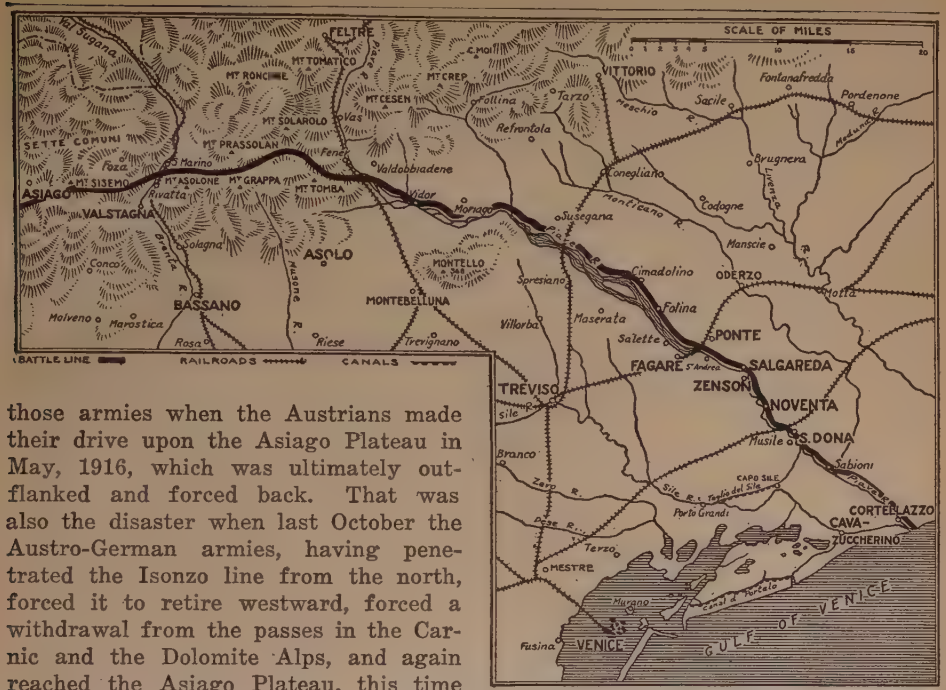
Major Gen. J. T. Dickman
(© Clinedinst)

Senator G. M. Hitchcock
Chairman Foreign Relations Committee
(Harris & Ewing)

Congressman Claude Kitchin
Chairman House Ways and Means Committee
(Harris & Ewing)

Senator L. S. Overman

Senator F. M. Simmons



SCENE OF THE NEW AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE

those armies when the Austrians made their drive upon the Asiago Plateau in May, 1916, which was ultimately outflanked and forced back. That was also the disaster when last October the Austro-German armies, having penetrated the Isonzo line from the north, forced it to retire westward, forced a withdrawal from the passes in the Carnic and the Dolomite Alps, and again reached the Asiago Plateau, this time free from the danger of being flanked.

It is thus of most vital influence upon the operations going on along the Piave that the British on the Asiago Plateau, on June 15, and the French on Monte Grappa, the next day, and the Italians elsewhere even covering a diversion at the Tonale Pass, should have hurled back with severe losses the initial assaults of the enemy in the mountain regions. On June 18 the Austrians claimed to have taken 30,000 prisoners and 120 guns since the 15th; the Italians and their allies claimed 2,500 prisoners.

That the Greeks are certainly in the war was revealed on May 31, when the news was published that they had, with the aid of French artillery, captured some 1,500 Bulgar-German troops on the Struma front in Macedonia. Meanwhile, however, General Guillaumat, who succeeded General Sarrail as commander of the allied armies there in December, has returned to France to take charge of the defenses of Paris.

Advices from Constantinople, via Moscow and London, indicate that the Turks, having reached an agreement with the Caucasus peoples, are assembling troops across the Armenian-Persian frontier, so as to block the advance of General Marshall with the Anglo-Indian forces up the Tigris. The left wing of the Turks, on June 14, reached Tabriz and Lake Urumiah, in Persia, 200 miles northeast of Mosul on the Tigris. Marshall is 60 miles south of that place.

Captain Rizzo of the Italian Navy, who on the night of Dec. 9-10 sank the Austrian predreadnought Wien in the Harbor of Trieste and put another ship of the 5,000-ton class, now known to be the Budapest, out of commission, again distinguished himself on June 10, when with two torpedo boats he cut through the destroyer convoy of two dreadnoughts of the Viribus Unitis class (20,000 tons) and sent certainly one and probably both to the bottom off Dalmatia—one being seen to sink before his eyes and the wreckage of the other being subsequently picked up. This exploit leaves only one of these mighty ships afloat, the first having been torpedoed in the Harbor of Pola on May 15.

Trying to Corrupt Italy's Troops

The Astounding German Order for Fraternization and Penetration on the Italian Front

THE April issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE contained the text of a German order for undermining the morale of Russian troops by fraternization. Early in May a similar order was found on a German prisoner captured by French troops on the Italian front. The order is as follows:

281ST DIVISION, FIRST SECTION, No. 226.—CONFIDENTIAL.

Not to be communicated to troops in the first line.

First—Following the telephone order, Geroch No. 2,080, you are asked to intensify with efficacy the propaganda with the enemy army.

Second—The object of this propaganda is to disorganize the enemy army and to obtain information regarding it. The propaganda must be carried out in the following manner: (a) By throwing into the enemy's trenches newspapers and proclamations destined for the more intelligent elements; (b) by persuading the troops by oral propaganda. For that it will be necessary to utilize officers, underofficers, and soldiers who appear to be most adapted. The posts for making contacts with the enemy must be placed under the direction of the company commander, who must be in the first-line positions. These officers must ascertain the points where it will be the easiest to throw into the enemy trenches newspapers, proclamations, &c. At these points you must seek to gain contact with the enemy by means of our interpreters, and if the enemy consents then fix an hour for future conversations. You must then advise immediately by telephone the chief of the Information Bureau of the division of every contact with the enemy.

Only the chief of the Information Bureau will have the right to direct the conversations according to the instructions he has received. It is rigorously prohibited for any of our soldiers to enter into relation with the enemy except those who have received the mission to do so, for fear that the enemy may seek to profit by their ingenuousness. All letters and printed matter which the enemy may have on his person must be taken from him, and transmitted to the chief of the Information Bureau. Company commanders, above all, must seek to establish the points where the enemy's soldiers have received newspapers, the points where the newspapers were taken openly, and without precaution. There are posts of observation for the artillery, as it may happen that French officers or foreign army instructors are in these posts.

In these enterprises for obtaining contact with the enemy, success depends on the ability with which you operate. Good results can be obtained by calling in a friendly tone and indicating sentiments of comradeship or by reiterated promises not to fire and offers of tobacco. The tobacco for this purpose will be furnished by the company commanders.

Every evening, at 8 o'clock, the company commander must transmit directly to the information officer a report of the propaganda accomplished during the day. This report must contain the following indications: (a) Has the enemy picked up our newspapers and proclamations? (b) Have you endeavored to enter into relations with the enemy? (c) With whom have you had contact—officers, underofficers, soldiers? (d) Where and when were our newspapers and proclamations thrown into the enemy's trenches? (e) All other information of the enemy's conduct. At the same time, our interpreters will send to the chief of the Information Bureau a detailed report on all conversations they have had with the enemy. The enemy's positions where propaganda is under way must not be shelled by our artillery; they must indicate to the batteries the positions of these points to be spared. The enemy is perfidious and without honor, and it is necessary as a consequence to be careful that they neither take our propagandists prisoners nor kill them. Those of our soldiers who leave our lines for the purpose of carrying newspapers and pamphlets to the enemy must be advised. To protect them it will be necessary to constitute with care special detachments, who will mount guard in the trenches, and who will fire only on the order of the company commander who is directing relations with the enemy.—Signed, on behalf of the temporary commander of the division, the Major General commanding the 62d Brigade.

THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE

Third Month of Desperate Effort to Break the French and British Lines in France

By GEORGE H. PERRIS

Special Correspondent with the French Armies

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The May and June issue of Current History Magazine contained detailed descriptions of the first and second months of the great German offensive in France, which began with a terrific blow in Picardy, apparently with the object of driving a wedge between the French and British, and then shifted to a deadly attack on the British in Flanders, aiming to break through to the Channel ports. These phases of the great battle were described by Philip Gibbs. The new phases, sometimes called the third and fourth offensives, began May 27 and June 9, respectively, and are known as the battle for Paris and the battle of the Oise. The blow of May 27 was delivered between Rheims and Montdidier, with the evident purpose of breaking the French lines and clearing the way for a drive to Paris. The descriptions which follow are written by George H. Perris, a special correspondent with the French armies.

[This dispatch was written before the drive toward Paris was launched, and indicates that Mr. Perris had a clear and correct idea of the German plan]

MAY 26, 1918.—The delay of the third act of the German offensive was abnormal. The first was perhaps, in design and execution, the most powerful operation in the history of warfare. The second, the attack in Flanders in the middle week of April, almost certainly began as a diversion intended to draw the British reserves from the Amiens front and to fill the interval needed for the reorganization of forces.

Up to the middle of April the German armies not occupied in fighting could do little but commence the strengthening of their new fronts, as lines of defense and departure. Their staffs, high and low, must, however, have been already engaged upon plans for the next push. Six or seven weeks then have passed in constituting a new mass of attack, with its armament and transport, in constructing roads and railways, dumps and supply centres, in bringing forward batteries, airdromes, hospitals, and so on.

True, this is not as long as the time of preparation for the first phase of the battle, which may be broadly counted as from New Year's to March 21. But there should be a vast difference between the mounting of a wholly fresh offensive and its pursuit into the later stages. A relentless continuity of pressure is evidently of very great importance after the advantage of the initial surprise. It is the thing which a commander will most aim at.

If the Germans did not keep going on the main line of their attack north and south of the Somme after the middle of April, it was because they could not do so; and the partial success of their extemporized campaign in Flanders should not disguise from us this significant fact.

It would be useless at this period of the war, when all Germany demands a decision and nothing less, if the new offensive did not lead to the capture at least of some place of symbolic importance, such as Rheims, Verdun, or Nancy. But that would require a force so large as to cripple the major effort in the northwest. All the military virtue of the German strategy is against such a dispersal of effort.

CHEMIN DES DAMES LOST

May 28—The opening of the attack and the first day's results are thus described by Mr. Perris:

Hindenburg has scored another spectacular success. At dawn yesterday, after three hours' bombardment, composed largely of gas shells, a new German mass attack was thrown upon a twenty-five-mile front, extending from the Ailette near Vauxaillon to the Aisne-Marne Canal near Brimont.

It was four or five times as numerous as the defenders, and in other regards correspondingly stronger. In these circumstances, an attempt to retain the line of the Chemin des Dames would have meant that the French troops would have been massacred before reserves could reach them, and there was nothing for it but to fall back steadily and in good order, using successive lines of trenches and deep folds of ground to punish the enemy for every forward step he made.

As I anticipated in my last message, the method of the first phase of the German offensive was again employed with some improvements. This method rests upon two main elements—the prodigal expenditure of the large reserves obtained by the collapse of Russia and Rumania, and the skillful use of the great advantage of what are called interior lines of communication to throw a mass attack suddenly upon the chosen sector, and so to gain the further advantage of surprise.

The front now chosen was held till a day or two ago by parts of two armies belonging to the group of which the Prussian Crown Prince is the titular chief. General von Boehm's army, extending from the Oise at Noyon to east of Craonne, numbered nine divisions. In the sector of General Fritz von Below, extending across the Rheims front to Suippe, near Auberive, there were eight divisions. The whole twenty-five miles attacked yesterday had therefore been held till the eve of battle by only seven or eight divisions. The exact number of divisions engaged yesterday is not yet known, but it seems to have been about twenty-five, or over a quarter of a million combatants.

There is here a curious difference and likeness as compared with the first phase of the offensive on March 21. To the seventeen divisions already holding the sector of attack there were added another seventeen. This time the same number has been added where there were only eight. Two months ago the front of attack was about forty miles long. This time a rather denser force was employed, perhaps because the Aisne height constituted a formidable position, and it was intended to carry it at a single rush.

While the front keeps its present shape the German staff has necessarily a great advantage over that of the Allies in that it is acting from the centre of a crescent, and they are around and outside of it. If enough time can be given to preparations—and as my last message showed the pause had been abnormal—they must gain a certain benefit of surprise, and with this benefit such a mass of shock must win a certain depth of ground.

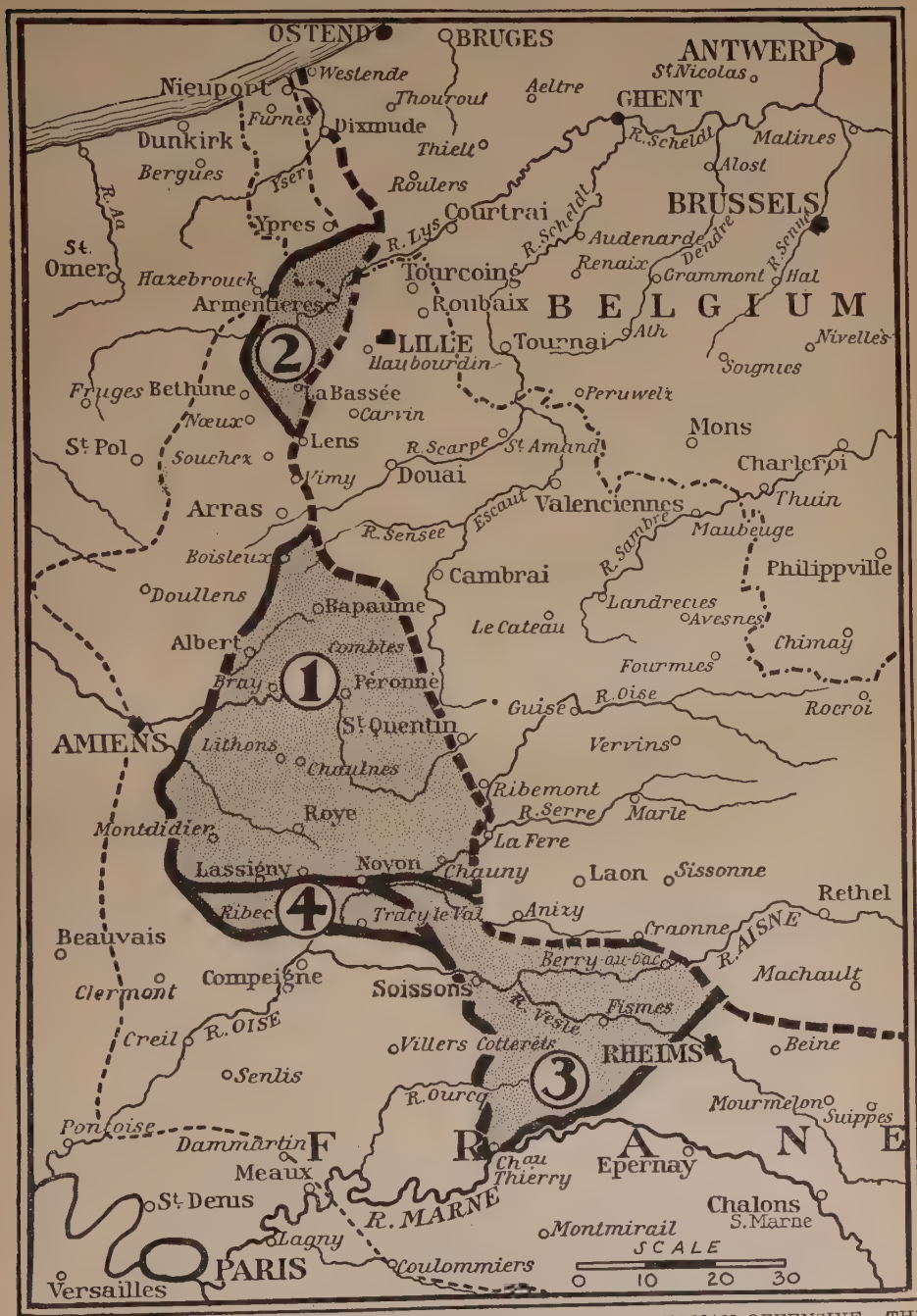
Our only notions of the Chemin des Dames were obtained in a time very different from the present emergency, the time of fixed fronts and of methods defensive and offensive that are already old-fashioned to those of us who have watched these blood-soaked hills and gullies for nearly four years through heartrending vicissitudes, who remember Haig's and Smith-Dorrien's first attempts to scale what seemed an impregnable fortress, who saw the French blue-coats rush forward last Summer till at length they stood firm on the cliffs of Craonne and Heurtebise, who explored the Dragon's Cave at Malmaison Fort and the vast Montparnasse quarry when they still stank from rotting flesh.

WITHDRAWAL NECESSARY

It is not a light thing that ground so full of tragic memories should be lost. It seems only the other day that I was adventuring along the Ailette by Anizy-le-Château, sleeping in a dugout in Pinon Forest, and examining the outposts that then held the northern edge of the hills.

War pays little regard to sentiment, and it is not any spectacular stroke or sentimental score that will restore the falling fortunes of the Hohenzollerns.

Total Gains of German Drive



SHADED PORTIONS SHOW TOTAL GAINS OF THE GREAT GERMAN OFFENSIVE. THE NUMERALS INDICATE THE SEQUENCE OF THE FOUR BATTLES OR PHASES. THE DRIVE ON THE SOMME WAS LAUNCHED MARCH 21, THAT IN FLANDERS APRIL 9, THE CHAMPAGNE DRIVE MAY 27, AND THE OFFENSIVE ON THE OISE JUNE 9

No doubt the French command found it grievous yesterday to order a retreat to the Aisne. Feebler men might have temporized and lost in doing so many good lives which are, after all, more sacred than the most sacred earth.

The attack could not be anticipated. It was far beyond the powers of the small defending forces to ward it off. With sound tactical sense the heaviest assault was directed toward the eastern end of the Aisne Hills at Craonne as soon as it became evident that this corner could not be held, and that from here the whole line was in danger of being turned.

The German forces included some of the specially trained units that fought in von Hutier's army in the March attack —two divisions of the Prussian Guard and other crack formations. It was only at heavy cost that they got forward so quickly. The French retired from position to position without confusion, firing continuously. The fact that their losses are small in comparison with those of the enemy is an essential point.

THE SECOND DAY

May 29—There has been very severe fighting today, with results necessarily favorable on the whole to the enemy because the allied reserves are only just beginning to reach the front. A strong thrust toward Soissons and the road and railway from Soissons to Coucy-le-Château at the moment when the head of the columns of the offensive were striking south of the Vesle from Braisne, Bazoches, and Fismes suggests that the armies engaged have already been reinforced. [See maps in preceding pages.]

So far an almost insolent boldness has won through, but the French resistance is steadily increasing, and more prudence will soon be necessary. For instance, the River Aisne is a most awkward obstacle to have on your line of communications. The enemy was able to prevent the Allies from destroying all the bridges during the withdrawal, but it is not too late, and the bombarding squadrons of the Allies will doubtless find telling work to do in the early future.

Last evening when the enemy had got across the Aisne near Pontavert part of the British brigade was falling back. A group of French territorials, firing continuously upon the swarming graycoats, were taking refuge in Germicourt Wood and being gradually surrounded. Some Englishmen and older Frenchmen decided to make their last stand, to die there together or to beat the enemy off. A handful of territorials got away to tell the tale. The Englishmen fell to a man.

The French officer who told me of this episode of the battle spoke also of the gallant work of a British cyclist battalion fighting with the French before Fismes, and of the fate of some British officers who lost their lives in blowing up Aisne bridges near Craonne. There was no time to take the usual precautions, but the thing had to be done, and they did it. My informant showed that he felt all the nobility and pathos of these sacrifices, and he wished, as much as I, that the folk at home should hear of them.

The first reports seemed to indicate that the success of the German assault on the British sector led the defenders by a threat of envelopment to retreat from the Aisne heights. This was not so. The Germans first crossed the river further west, and the British left was therefore obliged to fall back.

TERRIBLE BOMBARDMENT

It was the left, and particularly the 50th Division, that had to bear the heaviest of the shock. The bombardment, which lasted three hours, was of indescribable intensity, the chill night air being soon saturated with poison gas, and when at dawn the German infantry, hideous in their masks, broke like a tidal wave upon the thin British line it was overwhelmed. The 50th is a territorial division.

A counterattack toward Craonne failed under a flank fire from tanks and machine guns, and step by step the heroic line was withdrawn through wooded and marshy ground to the Aisne.

The French on the left were resisting like masses with the same bravery; contact was lost with them for a short time,

as also with the British 25th and 8th Divisions further east, and as the men fell back a front could be preserved only by a converging retreat toward the south by night. When the hills north of Vosle were reached the 50th Division had lost a number of its officers and other ranks.

The British centre, consisting of part of the 25th and 8th Divisions, was more fortunate. The 25th had been in reserve, and its support in the low and difficult ground at the east end of the Aisne Valley was most important. It and the 8th maintained their second positions till late in the afternoon.

On the right the 21st Division, together with the neighboring French division, had to defend the line of the canal from Berry-au-Bac to Bermericourt against the onset of four German divisions, aided by the strongest fleet of tanks the enemy has yet put into the field. This northwestern edge of the great plain of Champagne is very favorable ground for the use of cars of assault, and it was here that the French made their first experiments with indifferent results that have since been greatly bettered.

These two British and French divisions had the advantage of a line of heights with batteries and perfect observation behind them. They held out obstinately till the retreat of the left made it necessary to move southward.

DESTRUCTION OF SOISSONS

May 30.—During last night the enemy took Fère-en-Tardenois and drove the allied rearguards back to Vesilly, whence the line ran this morning northeast to the outskirts of Rheims. As the Marne is thus brought into the picture, it is pertinent to point out that in the famous battle of September, 1914, the Germans reached to more than thirty miles south of the river in this region.

This is at present their strongest push. The road from Soissons to Compiègne is closed to them, but further south they have got to the road Soissons-Hartennes.

Lest it be thought that the allied reserves are slow in coming into play, I may point out that the front of the offensive has been nearly doubled in length in the last three days. At the outset it was about thirty-five miles. It is now sixty. Merely to make good losses and to provide a screen of troops along this greater extent, with everything in movement, has required effort.

At midnight on May 26 the battlefront was ten miles away from Soissons. The few civilian inhabitants and the many hospital patients had settled down to sleep, the usual hour for airplane raids having passed.

An hour later they and the few army bureaus in the neighborhood were aroused by a sudden outbreak of bombardment, such as they had never heard before, and soon afterward shells began to crash upon the town.

With the wounds of four years of war upon it, the northern quarter completely destroyed and the cathedral grievously damaged, Soissons still possessed something of its old-time grace and air of substantial well being. It would be an exaggeration to compare it with Richmond, for the Aisne is not the Thames and the French woods are not English parks; but after the victory of Malmaison had put the boche back beyond the Ailette we hoped to see the great mansions repaired and the happy life of the shopping quarters gradually revived. Today the Germans are camped in the smoking ruins of Soissons.

INCENDIARY SHELLS

On May 27 at least 1,200 explosive and incendiary shells were fired into the place. The hospitals, including a special hospital for poison gas cases, were hurriedly evacuated, American ambulance cars doing good service in carrying away the wounded.

On Tuesday, the 28th, the bombardment continued, its purpose being, no doubt, to put out of service the most important bridgehead of the Aisne Valley and one of the most important lines of communication between the regions to the south and north, the town being a railway centre of some local consequence. That afternoon a good many houses were in flames, and during the night a large part of the town was involved in fire.

The enemy had now shouldered his way on the north of the Aisne westward from Pinon, Laffaux, and Vregny, and had reached the highroad running from Coucy-le-Château to Soissons. Yesterday he pressed still further west, and the road being thus covered, as well as the roads from Laffaux and Vailly, made a powerful direct attack upon the town.

It looked at first like being an easy success. The French, wearied with thirty hours of unceasing combat and impossibly outnumbered, fell back, and the Germans reached the centre of the town. In the narrow streets, however, the effect of superior numbers largely disappeared. The French fought fiercely from corner to corner, and at last, gathering themselves together, swept the

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enemy back to the northern and eastern suburbs. In the afternoon new German contingents were brought up and in a few hours gained complete possession of the place.

Soissons was, of course, in no sense fortified, and, the northern and eastern roads having been lost, it had no military value. The highway down the valley to Compiègne is bordered by the old French trench and wire systems and dominated by hills on either side of the river. The range on the south bank is covered for miles by the great forests of Villers-Cotterets and Compiègne.

[Another correspondent stated that 1,200 shells fell in Soissons on May 27. The Bishop of Soissons stated in Paris on June 7 that 100 churches had been razed to the ground by the Germans, and that at least 100 others had been pillaged and partially demolished. The famous cathedral in Soissons suffered severely. The Bishop added that the Germans knew neither faith nor law. They knew nothing but war and pillage. The Germans, he said, were stripping and carrying everything away methodically. The Bishop also asserted that women, children, and old men had been brutally murdered by German aviators, who flew over and fired with their machine guns upon long lines of refugees on country roads.]

VON HUTIER'S METHOD

Something like forty divisions, most of them the best troops available, have now been thrown across the Aisne—400,000 men who might possibly have reached some vital part of the allied defenses in the north.

The von Hutier method is a prodigious invention, but it is as costly in fire and blood as it is impressive for force and speed. In the last week of March it was, in a purely military sense, properly employed, even though it failed, because the objective could be said to be of a vital or decisive character.

What vital objective is there in the present operation? The central part of the German line has been pressed a little further in the last twenty-four hours in the obscure region of scattered hamlets, large farms, and deep tortuous valleys, midway betwen the Aisne and the Marne. It now comes nearly down to the small market towns of Fère-en-Tardenois and Ville-en-Tardenois, thence running east-northeast to the Vesle just outside of Rheims.

The advance is meeting everincreasing resistance, and by the time the first week is out it will perhaps be definitely arrested. But suppose that it goes much further and reaches the Marne Valley, or even still further, to the Montmirail Valley. Two useful highroads, with some country towns, would be lost to the Allies in these altogether unlikely contingencies, but nothing vital would be lost. The German Army would be no nearer than it now is to winning the war. * * *

A TRAIN UNDER FIRE

In an evacuation station, where a number of British were waiting for the hospital train, the ragged fellows told me of adventures that only their scarlet, honest faces made credible. There was a young Lieutenant who was on a train that was sent up north yesterday toward Fismes. The exact whereabouts of the enemy was unknown. They ran right into the German lines.

The outposts received them with a volley of rifle shots and then came on with grenades. The engine driver stopped the train, jumped down, and took refuge in a ditch. While the fight waxed hotter he was induced to return, and they managed to steam backward just in time, carrying some wounded and three German prisoners with them. The Lieutenant's satisfaction in this last item seemed, however, to be marred by the impression that the Germans were not forcibly captured, but wished to surrender.

The civilian refugees are going south in processions of farm carts, high-ended wagons, and ancient traps, or footing it behind barrows and perambulators. I would not speak lightly of the temporary loss of their lands and homes, but in their ranks there was no sign of panic or fear for the final result.

Most of them were women and children, with a few gaffers, heading a family group or driving cows and big white oxen. Girls with umbrellas up against the hot sun and dust clouds, little children in their Sunday best, and old ladies in Scotch caps sat on piles of straw, amid bedding and furniture, on high wagons. Many of the younger folks had bicycles and many walked, with dogs and goats frisking about them.

EXTENSION OF THE BATTLE

On May 31 Mr. Perris described the extension of the battlefront during the preceding twenty-four hours. He wrote:

The battlefront now forms a vast triangle, the apex pointing markedly toward Château-Thierry and less markedly toward Dormans. The west side runs for about fifty miles from the Oise opposite Noyon to the Marne. The east side runs back thirty miles to Rheims.

The enemy goes on multiplying his objective and distending his lines. The military worth of this strategy is perhaps in inverse ratio to its shown appearance on the map.

On the opposite flanks of the battlefield the allied forces have here been drawn slightly back from the acute salient, marked by the two trivial points named in a previous message, Betheny and Laneuvillette. The ruins of Rheims thus become the corner of the allied defenses on this line. I have explained that the city lies exposed in a saucer at the southwestern corner of the Champagne and is completely dominated by the allied crescent

of high positions on the mountains of Rheims.

FIRM ON THE FLANKS

In contrast with the further advance of the German centre, the French and British forces on the wings are holding firm. The great highroad from Soissons to Château-Thierry marks broadly the western limit of the offensive.

On the northern stretch of it there was hard fighting yesterday. In the morning the enemy crossed the road at Hartennes and attacked westward with a number of tanks, but was checked near the hamlet of Tigny.

Further north a well-known French division made, with its traditional spirit, a thrust westward across the road and the little River Crise and reached the village of Noyant. It had to fall back, but here, too, the German advance was arrested. The Compiègne road is firmly held, and the disparity of forces is being rapidly reduced.

On the other flank of the battlefield the French and British divisions stand across the hills on the other bank of the Ardre, a small tributary of the Vesle, from Brouillet to Thillois, on the northern foothills of the mountain of Rheims, whence the front runs around the ruined city.

This French division struck out from Le Neuvillette along the canal and captured two hummocks, called Castalliers and De Courcy. It was a bold effort, intended to check the enemy rather than in the hope of retaining the position. This indeed proved impossible, but the French were slow to retire, and the lesson will not be lost upon their adversaries.

FIGHT TO THE DEATH

The news is gradually coming in of what happened on the front, submerged by the assault of Monday morning, (May 27.) Its most northerly part was the low ground beside the Ailette called the Forest of Pinon, which I described fully last Christmas, when I spent several days with the outposts by which it was held, in conditions somewhat reminiscent of Wild West warfare. The nearest trenches were on the hills a mile or two behind, this ground being too marshy to dig in. In the forest blockhouses were then being built, and were laid out while each side raided the other across the frontier on the stream and canal. Nothing then seemed less likely than an attack across such ground, but preparations were being pushed forward with the idea that a few groups of defenders would gather in and around the blockhouses and fight a delaying action, and then, if possibile, escape back to the hill trenches.

The event turned out otherwise. When the surviving groups and outposts, amounting in all to three battalions, got together on Monday morning they decided to intrench themselves and to fight to the death. Carrier pigeons brought notes from them to this effect. The last note received was dated 2 P. M. on Tuesday. The best that can be hoped is that some survive as prisoners.

I think it may be said that there is now no danger of a break through toward any vital objective.

STRONGER RESISTANCE

Mr. Perris on June 2 gave the first hint of improved aspects of the battle in the following dispatch:

On Friday afternoon, May 31, General von Boehm's troops opened a new pocket beyond Oulchy of a depth of about five miles and on either side of the Ourcq Valley yesterday. In the course of stubborn fighting this salient was slightly extended, and at the same time a narrow bend was added to their gains between the Oise about Pont Eveque and the Aisne west of Soissons.

The main line of pressure was thus changed from south to southwest, and while the rest of the new front is relatively quiet, there have developed two bulges, which represent the acutest stress of the battle.

The first of these is between the Oise and the Aisne, directed toward the angle of the two rivers at Compiègne; the second, midway between the Aisne and the Marne, points westward along the Ourcq, toward the ancient town of Laferte-Milon.

In both these fields there has been a series of violent struggles this morning, with a notable increase of the power of resistance of the Allies. North of the Aisne the German assaults have been nearly everywhere broken. A slight advance by the Germans on the Ourcq has been won at the cost of very heavy losses, and the French are standing with splendid resolution along its small tributary, the Savieres, which marks the border of the forest region of Villers-Cotterets.

As the enemy has reached the heights northwest of Château-Thierry, where we watch them from the south side of the river, an attempt to push westward along the north bank of the Marne is to be expected.

THE ADVANCE CHECKED

On June 3 Mr Perris was more optimistic than at any time since the battle began. He wrote as follows:

There is a slackening in the violence of the battle. Yesterday's fighting was the most equal I have seen in this stage of the offensive. We lost Faverolles again—this village has since been recaptured—but regained Hill 163, just west of the village of Passy, and broke attacks against Corcy, Troesnes, and Torcy. It is to be expected that the enemy will make new efforts to destroy the French bastion on the bare plateaus between the Aisne and the Ourcq.

Local currents of fortune are also in the nature of things, according as one side or the other decides to throw its local reserves

upon this or that point. So far as the intentions of the German command have been revealed, however, it may now be said that the position is in hand at the end of the first week of this third act of the German offensive.

What is the outlook? By lengthy preparation aimed at an unlikely sector the enemy gained ground to nearly as large an extent as in the first act. In the last week of March von Hutier pierced from St. Quentin to Montdidier, say, thirty-five miles. In the last week von Boehm advanced from the Ailette to Château-Thierry, about thirty miles, on a similar length of front. It is too early to attempt comparison of the cost of the two enterprises in losses and exhaustion.

The German staff seems to have counted on employing forty-five divisions in the Aisne offensive. Before the end of last week this figure had been exceeded. No essential objective has been attained, and none has been approached as nearly as in the two northern phases of the offensive. Concentration, not dispersal, of effort is the means to a quick decision. If Germany were not pressed for time and could be content with partial victories, she might be satisfied, but Germany is decidedly pressed for time, and only decisive actions now count.

The Americans are coming into the battle-front, and will presently be there in force. This front now extends over 200 miles. The superiority of aggressive force given by the collapse of Russia and Rumania is ebbing away.

FRENCH OUTNUMBERED

The question will have arisen in some minds why, if the defenses of the Chemin des Dames were as strong as I had represented them to be, last Monday's attack should have so quickly overcome them. Detailed narratives are being accumulated which throw light on this subject. I take the case of the division holding the French left a week ago. We all remember its front, which was naturally and artificially of the strongest. It had nearly twelve hours' notice of what was afoot.

In the first place, the German artillery preparation, though short, was of infernal violence. The rolling barrage was two miles deep. It destroyed the French telephone wires and filled the battery emplacements and machine-gun posts with various kinds of poison gas. Dust and artificial smoke clouds isolated groups of defenders and hid the waves of assault till they broke with a four-fold superiority of force. Many groups were thus surrrounded, but fought on for a couple of hours, causing the enemy heavy losses. Many short counterattacks delayed advances and every line of trench wire was used.

But the next most important thing, since reinforcements could not arrive immediately, was that the mass of the division should be held together and drawn back gradually for the defense of more essential positions. These lay beyond the Soissons bridgehead. Reinforced last Tuesday night, the division defended the plateau southeast of Soissons for four days with obstinate heroism.

AIR SUPREMACY OF ALLIES

It may now be said that the allied airmen have established decided supremacy in the new battlefield. The Germans had a week ago, in this as in other respects, the advantage of their preparations and initiative, and they used it boldly, flying low in numbers, and machine-gunning our retreating ranks.

The balance could not be instantly redressed. The airplane seems to be the very type of mobility, but it devours petrol, demands repairs, and, in brief, must carry its camp with it.

Every day of this critical week has seen a larger concentration between the Oise and the Marne, and an increasing number of combats and expeditions. The first essential was to have constant information of the enemy's movements; and this scouting work, though less sensational than some other parts of the air program, remains perhaps the most important of all.

Then followed with growing vigor the development of the aggressive functions of the air service in which it became a sort of extension of artillery and cavalry and even of infantry. A single group in one day brought down six boche planes and three sausages, dropped seventeen tons of bombs in the region of Rheims, and tons on marching columns of the enemy in the neighborhood of Ville-en-Tardenois.

"Our pilots," said a group commander, "had orders not to come back with a single cartridge or bomb, and you may take it from me that they do not waste their munitions on clouds."

On Thursday another group commander, receiving news that an enemy column was stretched over three miles of a certain road, sent about fifty machines to deal with it. They charged as a squadron of cavalry would do, coming down to within twenty and even ten yards of the earth, and with bombs and machine guns effectually dispersing and demoralizing the graycoats.

Many enemy planes and sausage balloons have been brought down, but that is in the circumstances a secondary effort. Lines of communication and rear camps and centres of the enemy also have been harried. On Friday no less than seventy tons and on Saturday sixty-two tons of explosives were dropped by airmen on German bivouac troops.

IN THE MARNE VALLEY

I went down to the Marne Valley yesterday afternoon and from the edge of a wooded hill looked across over part of the north bank where the Germans are established.

Established is hardly the word, for everything is floating and provisional in this phase of the war, and it is more than ever invisible except where infantry actions are in course, because there are no fixed intrenched lines. I could not find any trace of the enemy on the opposite amphitheatre of hills, but an observer hanging above at the tail of a sausage balloon may have seen something, for from time to time the French guns blazed angrily over my head and buildings were on fire in the villages.

In this winding stretch of the valley crests rise 500 feet above the broad, strong stream, and there are five or six miles between the two ridges. The French have guns and machine guns in position, and any considerable attempt to cross will be very costly.

Two hundred Germans came over yesterday morning and are now more or less contented guests of the French Republic. But the enemy does not seem to contemplate an immediate passage, if at all. It would probably be tried further west at some point where the northern hills are more dominant. The section of the important objectives appears to lie in this direction.

Immediately behind the zone of mutual observation, all the humming activities of arms are proceeding with a freedom unknown in the days of trench warfare, partly because this is the nature of the war of movement and partly because, like other services, the air squadrons are dispersed and the German airmen cannot obtain more than local and momentary equality. And amid all the flow of troops and guns, the pitching of camps, the laying of field telegraphs, shifting of hospitals and hangars, bringing up of munitions and supplies, there is an air of calm over the whole scene that would astonish those who see the offensive only as it is concentrated in a newspaper sheet.

FIERCE FIGHTING JUNE 3

In his dispatch dated June 4 Mr. Perris described the fighting on the 3d, which was the last desperate attempt of the Germans to advance in that phase. He wrote:

The battle blazed out afresh last night along and south of the upper Ourcq, and the struggle is raging with violence, due, in part, to the fact that both sides have brought up many guns and in part to the desperation of the Germans as once more they see victory slipping out of their hands.

Tactically, the chief feature today is the attempt of the enemy to support the attack on the Ourcq by a thrust further south along its tributary, the Clignon, a small stream following a marshy valley westward to the middle course of the Ourcq. There the most bitter combats have taken place and continue about the villages of Bouresches, Torcy, and Veuilly-la-Poterie. At the latter point the Germans tried to get around to the southward, but were effectually stopped in the Veuilly Wood, a mile south of the village, by Americans.

In all this fighting the enemy's losses have been very severe, for in every case we had the best defensive positions, well supported by machine guns and 75s.

I spoke yesterday of the importance of the French stand to the southwest of Soissons, both as limiting the enemy's access to the Aisne Valley and as narrowing his approach to the Ourcq Valley. A slight withdrawal to the line of the villages of Pernant, Saconin, Missy, and Vaucastille yesterday did not materially weaken this buttress of the front. Nor is it seriously weakened by another short withdrawal this morning between Pernant and Missy, for which the enemy has had to pay dearly. We still hold Tresnes and Faverolles, and the prospects of von Boehm reaching Villers-Cotterets are not bright enough to cheer the drooping spirits of Berlin.

AMERICANS AT WORK

Another small warning of the rising power of American arms was given on the Marne yesterday morning, when a fresh band of machine gunners helped a French regiment to break an attempt to cross the river.

Between the Oise and the Aisne homeric conflicts are reported from the neighborhood of Carlepont Wood, in which the hill called Mont de Choisy, after having been lost and recaptured five times, remains in French hands.

In all fields, therefore, the equalization of forces produces a result more and more favorable. The defense of Mont de Choisy is the work of French colonials. These troops had already distinguished themselves, particularly at Douaumont, before Verdun.

Though the pressure upon the Franco-British line from Verneuil, on the Marne, to Rheims, has been much less severe than that on the western flank of the offensive, it is to be noted that the enemy has some of his best divisions in the former area.

French cavalry corps, generally dismounted, but sometimes playing their old part, have rendered excellent service during the battle. One of them after forming an essential element in the retreating line, had to meet Saturday and Sunday repeated attacks conducted by four—perhaps five—German divisions in the Malmaison and Trotte Woods, which crown the hills northeast of Verneuil, forming the buttress of the allied positions beyond the Marne. In the Ourcq Valley toward La Fierté-Milon another body of dismounted cavalry had to stand against some of the best Prussian troops, including the first division of the Guards.

ENEMY'S LONG PAUSE

In his dispatch dated June 5 Mr. Perris noted that a marked pause had fallen on the battlefield. His comment was this:

The pause in the enemy's adventure is a sign of weakness on his part and of advantage to us. Germany is fighting against

time. The superiority she gained from the east is passing. The power of surprise has been her greatest asset. After that everything depends for her on speed in the exploitation of her success, and every delay is loss.

The next thing to remark is the great skill with which General Foch has pursued what may be called his provisional Fabian strategy. With surprise and superior reserves in the hands of the enemy, he had to face a situation of extreme difficulty. To weaken other parts of the front prematurely in order to defend the Aisne would have invited a fresh blow in those other parts.

Two needs rose supreme—that of economizing men so as to hasten the day when the Allies should have the superiority of forces necessary to victory, and that of barring the road of the enemy toward every vital objective. These objects have been attained, and if it should turn out that the third act of the offensive is finished, this will mean that, with all the unquestionable ability and daring of the German General Staff, Foch has beaten them for the third time in the two and a half months of their maximum power.

In any case, nothing of first-class importance has been lost. The allied front has not been broken. The roads to Paris, toward which the offensive was turned on the third day, are blocked. The ruins of Rheims are nearly indefensible, but the road to Châlons is barred. The plateaus between the Oise and the Aisne and between the Aisne and the Ourcq stand like bastions of a vast fortress. Château-Thierry is lost, and the eastern railway and the high road are locally interrupted, but the Marne and the Paris road beside it are covered.

Finally, the enemy has engaged fifty divisions of his reserves in this battle, and many of them have suffered very heavily.

AT CHATEAU-THIERRY

The attempt of part of the German 36th Division to cross the Marne at Jaulgonne was frustrated brilliantly by the Americans and French. It appears that a few men succeeded in getting across the river Thursday night [May 30] at this point, eight miles east of Château-Thierry, where the Marne makes a loop by the north.

They took shelter in the cutting and tunnel of the Paris-Châlons railway, which runs along the south bank, and though they lost seriously and their pontoons were destroyed, they got reinforcements over to the strength of a battalion.

An attack to clear them out was, therefore, organized, and this took place Sunday night, [June 2.] By that time the Germans had put twenty-two light bridges across the stream, of which four had been smashed by the French artillery, and had established a bridgehead with six machine guns and a hundred men in the railway station on the south bank opposite Jaulgonne.

This post was frontally attacked by a section of dismounted cavalry who, however, were held up by machine-gun fire until American machine guns came into action. Two sections of French infantry simultaneously fell upon the bridgehead and the Germans broke before them.

The prisoners, of whom there are a hundred, declare that their officers abandoned them at the beginning of the attack. A few men escaped by swimming, and thirty or forty others gained the northern bank by the pontoon boats. The rest of the battalion was wiped out.

The German losses in the action at the bridge of Château-Thierry were severe. It is estimated that a thousand bodies lay by and near the bridge, and the American machine gunners fired tens of thousands of cartridges.

HOW THE BATTLE BEGAN

In his dispatches on June 2 and June 5 Mr. Perris gave these further details of how the battle began:

As further details which I have received of their part in the beginning of the battle clearly show, these divisions, the 50th, 8th, 21st, and 25th, were, it will be remembered, tired from bitter and repeated actions in the course of the northern offensive. They had been on the front only seventeen days when last Monday's attack was made, and therefore had hardly had time to become thoroughly acquainted with the sector. The main force of the enemy assault fell on the front of the 50th and 8th Divisions, against whom there were four German divisions in line and two more in immediate reserve. The odds against the British on this day were two and a half to one.

The 50th Division on the left was doing well on the Craonne Plateau, when in the course of the morning they suddenly found that the enemy was behind them. Owing to this surprise, the neighboring brigade of the 50th Division suffered badly.

By afternoon General Fritz von Below's men had got to the line of the river, and in the evening the British were back at Guyencourt. By Wednesday evening they held a large crescent around Fismes from Lopeigne on the west through Coulanges and Lagery back to the Vesle at Muizon. By this time the fighting strength of the British units was greatly reduced, but reinforcements were coming up and the worst of the crisis was over. The full story of the splendid episode can hardly yet be told, but some day it will shine among the greatest achievements of the war.

Some time must yet elapse ere we can know fully and exactly what occurred on the Chemin des Dames at and after 4 A. M. on May 27. Many of the combatants have died a martyr's death and been buried by

alien hands where they fell. Many more will long languish in prisoners' camps; but the remnants of some regiments have now come down from the front to rest, and by piecing together the narratives of these weary men it is possible to make the first outline of the story that will one day be told in all its pitifulness and terror.

One of them is the French infantry regiment which had long held the central sector of this front. For this last trial it had been prepared by months of trench raiding and strengthening its defenses. Submerged by a storm of fire and poison gas and wave upon wave of assault, it went down in a single morning, fighting the hopeless fight to the bitter end. A small number lived to cross the Aisne in the afternoon, and these had to continue the struggle for four days and nights, practically without respite. Few are those, even in this war, who have survived such agony.

They were warned, and, so far as their local means allowed, were prepared for the attack. Gas masks, machine guns, grenade stores—everything was ready. The order was to hold ground between the second and third positions or to die in the effort, and it was carried out. It was to be expected that the telephone wires would be cut. There remained carrier pigeons. A rolling barrage two miles deep and of indescribable violence extinguished the poor efforts of the local batteries to reply. Thick clouds of artificial smoke, gas, and dust shrouded the assault, so that rocket signals were not seen at the rear and the enemy was invisible till he reached the parapets.

The line was almost immediately broken and the battle became a struggle of isolated groups, heavily outnumbered without the possibility of reinforcement, defending scraps of broken trench dugouts or quarries and still resisting long after the main tide of the conflict had passed south.

A copy lies before me of messages dated from 3:30 to 8:30 A. M. and sent back from these isolated groups by pigeon. No words could be so eloquent as their laconic brevity. When permission to retreat was given some officers refused to avail themselves of it.

The Colonel, with his staff papers, crossed the Aisne at 10 A. M. and organized the defense of the passage. The survivors of the regiment were re-formed on the south bank, and on the following day received a reinforcement of men, bringing it up to a quarter of its original strength. This handful had to meet the heavy attack southwest of Soissons on May 29, and a series of attacks on the following two days. No more was humanly possible, and they were withdrawn. They say that not a man had uttered a complaint.

BATTLE OF THE OISE

A fourth phase of the German offensive opened June 9 on a front of 20 miles between Noyon and Montdidier, which Mr. Perris describes thus:

A new phase of the German offensive opened this morning at 4:30 o'clock on a front of about twenty miles, extending from Montdidier to Noyon. The artillery preparation, which again was rich in gas shells, began at midnight, and covered not only the front, but a deep zone behind it, especially villages and roads where the enemy thought to catch the French local reserves.

There were evident reasons for the choice of this sector, and in particular for seeking control of part of it, for a successful push south along the line of the Roye-Compiègne railway would add another converging road to the four roads leading toward Paris by the Oise, Aisne, Ourcq, and Marne Valleys, which had already been tried. On the other hand, the enemy could not reasonabbly hope for any such surprise as was obtained in the first act of the offensive before St. Quentin and in the third act of that on the Chemin des Dames.

In general, the French are resisting with dogged courage in their covering positions, which are beyond range of the enemy mine throwers. Evidence accumulates of the heaviness of the German losses in the recent fighting and of the disappearance of the shallow enthusiasm with which the offensive was begun.

In describing the progress of this assault Mr. Ferris wrote on June 10:

The front of the attack was twenty miles in length, as compared with a front of thirty miles in the attack on the Chemin des Dames and fifty miles in the first phase of the offensive on March 21, and so far it is only on the central half of this smaller front that any considerable impression has been made on the French lines.

Whatever may have been the exact design, there had not been this time the same extreme scruple to conceal troop movements, and for some days past the exceptional traffic of convoys, the suspicious activity of the enemy batteries in the correction of ranges and other signs had given warning of what was afoot.

HEAVIER GERMAN LOSSES

One consequence was that, when the German infantry advanced yesterday morning, it had to meet a volume of fire very different from that which had answered the surprises of St. Quentin and the Aisne Heights. French gunners had thoroughly studied the ground before them and were all ready to deluge every path of approach directly that graycoat waves appeared. From the beginning, therefore, the German losses have been heavier than on the earlier occasions, and this must affect the development of the action.

In other respects the now familiar von Hutier manoeuvre appears to have been repeated, shock battalions carrying light

machine guns and machine rifles concentrating upon local breaches in our line and leaving the task of cleaning up islands of resistance to the support troops while they pressed on rapidly to exploit the first success. It will probably be found that the operation was begun with about fifteen divisions in the line, approximately 150,000 men, giving a density of one division to a mile and a third.

Faced with a force superior in all arms, long resistance of the first line is impossible, but it is significant that at 8 o'clock yesterday morning, that is after four hours of a terrible storm of gas and explosive shells, followed by four hours of hand-to-hand struggle, our allies were still in a large part of the field fighting within what is called the zone of advanced posts, and only the centre had fallen back on the zone of principal resistance. Plemont Hill, overlooking Lassigny, was still holding out at that hour, although the front had lain immediately beneath it. The villages of Le Fretoy and Courcelles were lost during the morning, but were recovered by counter-attacks, in which the French troops showed the highest spirit.

Up to late last night the only result that von Hutier could regard as in any degree justifying the effort made and the losses suffered was the capture of the villages of Ressons-sur-Matz and Mareuil-la-Motte, whereas on the French left before Ribecourt, by Le Tretoy to Courcelles, and on the right from Belval to Cannectancourt, the advance varied from one to two miles. At the centre it rather exceeded three.

This is a poor gain, judged by precedent, and was bought at an exorbitant price, but it has a certain tactical and perhaps superior consequence.

Later on June 10 Mr. Perris gave this further description of the progress of the fighting:

"This is the real battle," said a French staff officer, meaning to contrast today's fierce fighting between forces unequal indeed, but not crushingly so, with the attack on the Chemin des Dames. Here the French had a stronger line, their reserves were nearer, and they had sufficient notice to bring their batteries at every point into effective action. Effective, do I say? At many points it was a massacre of the columns of assault, and there is unanimity as well among the prisoners as among our own combatants that the ranks of the enemy have been torn and plowed with shot and shell. Never, perhaps, has the German Army paid so dearly for an advance which nowhere exceeds five miles.

This is the essential fact which governs all that follows; for if, as the German official press says with a measure of truth, the German objective is not a city or a port, but the complete destruction of the allied armies, so our objective is not to hold a certain geographical area, but to punish the advance so that the enemy forces will be exhausted, while ours are being constantly recruited from oversea for the last stroke that will give us the victory.

The smallness of the enemy's gains in this fourth phase of the grand battle is merely the sign that von Hutier found across his path an adversary prepared as far as was humanly possible, determined and able to contest every yard of ground.

Thus the village of Courcelles, only two miles from the old front, was lost, retaken, lost again, recovered, and remains in the hands of the French. Thus Plemont, a position insignificant as compared with the Aisne Heights, although encircled and covered with fire, was being defended till last evening. Since then no carrier pigeon has come in, and it must be presumed that the heroic handful of men who held this point of the front have been overcome. Their countrymen will not forget them.

The Turning Point of the Battle

By WALTER DURANTY

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The turning point of the great battle came on June 11, when the French delivered a desperate counterblow south of Montdidier and drove the Germans back from the Aronde River, regaining important ground along a front of seven and one-half miles, and capturing 1,000 prisoners and many heavy guns. This phase of the struggle is described by Walter Duranty, another special correspondent, whose dispatch is copyrighted for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. *It is dated June 11, 1918.*

As the battle continues it seems that the second week of June will rank as one of the bloodiest and most decisive periods in the world's history.

It is the veritable climax of four years of struggle. In the last twenty-four hours the violence of the fighting has increased still further. The limit of human endurance has been forced yet another notch higher. Along a front of nearly twenty miles the Germans are driving more than a quarter of a million men forward through a sea of blood. The defenders say that it is as though the whole of the German Army is engaged against them; no sooner is one battalion annihilated than another takes its place, and another and another.

Early yesterday morning a handful of dis-

mounted cavalry, greatly employed for liaison work, fought their way back to the French lines from the surrounded hill of Plemont. They reported that the survivors of the French battalion occupying the position were still holding out when they left, and that no less than fourteen attacks had already been repulsed.

CARPETED WITH DEAD

The grassy slopes of the hill bore a hideous carpet of thousands of German dead, over which new forces still advanced with the same madness of sacrifice as the Carthaginians of old, flinging their children, their possessions, and themselves into Moloch's furnace. The bloody religion of militarism that Germany has followed for forty years has led its votaries to culminating orgies of destruction.

But the defenders are not appalled by the fury of the struggle, nor by numbers. Each position is held until every foot of ground has been paid for by German blood. Again and again a swift counterattack, delivered at the right moment, has wrested from the assailant the fruits of the success he won so dearly and forced him to pay a toll of lives twice over. In the villages thus retaken, the poilus say, gray-clad corpses lay heaped up as though they had been collected for a gigantic funeral pyre, and more than once the advancing enemy was screened from the defenders' fire by a rampart of his own dead.

The general situation of the battle has changed little. In the centre the French have retired slightly. On the left also there is a southward bulge in the line. The right is still held by a wooded massif above Drelincourt. On the right the towers of Noyon Cathedral could just be distinguished. To the left smoke haze marked Lassigny, half hidden in a hollow. It was a natural fortress with an infinity of cover for guns, men, and machine guns against which no fury of sacrifice might prevail. Well may the Germans try to turn that grim salient by an advance further south in the centre—clearly their immediate objective. They held it once before last year's retreat and they know its strength.

As I returned from the observation post I passed through a great natural amphitheatre in a sort of mountain. At one side the Germans had carved a huge eagle, colored blood red, on a slab of rock above a grotto that had been their headquarters. Beneath it in Gothic letters was the Brandenburg motto, "On, Brandenburg, on!" The artist who designed the bird that is the symbol of German violence was well inspired. The Kaiser's eagles are red, indeed, clotted and stained from beak to claw with the crimson of countless slaughters.

The latest information from the battle-front emphasizes still more clearly the difference between the results of the new German method of attack when applied on a weakly held sector and a front where the allied strength is normal. On two previous occasions Hindenburg's storm divisions gained sensational success right from the outset by literally swamping small forces by sheer weight after the defenders had been half-stunned by the terrific bombardment to which their inferiority of artillery permitted no adequate response.

Conditions are very different today. In the first place there was no strategic surprise—the German move in this sector had been foreseen. The utmost vigilance was everywhere maintained, and unmistakable signs, such as the movement of troops, convoys, and artillery registration, had been carefully noted. Precautions to meet the shock had been taken. Against attack in depth by successive waves a depth defense had been planned, with a front line of thinly held outposts to minimize loss, and successive lines of greater strength extending back for kilometers.

When the German artillery storm broke out it was answered by a perfect hurricane of French fire. Not only was every possible point where the enemy troops might advance or batteries be hidden thoroughly registered, but artillery held in reserve had its guns trained on targets offered further in the rear by each hill, wood, or valley that the enemy might assail as a vantage point or medium for infiltration.

The consequence has been that, in direct contradiction to the former drives, the enemy's initial losses have been enormous and his gains small; and the French losses were greatly decreased. Above all, there has been no penetration of the line of resistance. In places it bulged slightly under pressure, but only at the price of the most dogged fighting and heavy sacrifice, and withal very slowly. One fact marks the difference sufficiently:

HOW THEY WERE CHECKED

On May 27 the Germans had reached the Aisne—seven kilometers from the starting point, across difficult country—in four and one-half hours after the attack. In the first thirty hours of the present attack they had barely passed thinly held outposts. Along the whole thirty-kilometer front, from the Oise to Assainvillers—somewhat shorter than the area of bombardment—fifteen to twenty assaulting divisions were met by a galling machine-gun barrage and the terrible "75" fire curtain from quick-firers and batteries. Irreplaceable storm troops, whose training had taken months and whose existence was essential to the continuance of Hindenburg's new strategy, melted like snow beneath the August sun.

At Plemont—the scene of one of the most gallant actions in the checking of the March drive by the men of the same army—the Germans met a stubborn resistance, though their dead lay there thick as fresh-cut wheat but a few hundred yards beyond the line

of outposts. Even in the centre, where the enemy's progress was deepest, an unbroken line of defense was constituted by the same troops that had withstood the attack from the beginning. Their spirit and numbers were still sufficient, though the Germans opposing them had sent forward fresh storm troops in wave after wave.

Mr. Perris's Description of the French Counterblow

The French counterblow described above by Mr. Duranty was of great importance in changing the entire aspect of affairs for the Allies. Mr. Perris, in a dispatch dated June 12, gave these further particulars:

Faces that wore a serious expression yesterday morning are decidedly cheerful today. The battle has, in fact, taken a better turn. It is a very dreadful struggle; no Frenchman can forget that fact, and in the fever of weighing and measuring results more distant observers should not for a moment overlook what they mean in flesh and blood. That being said, we may join in the satisfaction of our allies that on its third day the German onset has suffered a distinct check.

Following the front from west to east, the first thing to note is the series of French counterattacks on the left, carried to a considerable measure of success by skill in the direction and high spirit and fortitude in the ranks.

At 11 A. M. yesterday a movement began from a little east of the railway line between Domfront and Wacquemoulin. The infantry were supported by tanks, and along the whole line the Germans were swept back. A French contingent actually reached points which were within the German front. The French advance went well beyond Rubescourt and Le Fretoy, half way between Courcelles and Mortemer, and between Mery and Couvilly, beyond Belloy, and to the border of St. Maur.

Meanwhile the enemy had delivered a very powerful blow at the French centre and had driven a way, despite vigorous opposition, as far as the village of Antheuil, two miles south of the Matz. At 4 P. M. a further counterattack was therefore made from the French left centre, and the enemy advance was completely arrested. In these combats a certain amount of confusion was apparent in the German ranks, and the fact that 1,000 prisoners and some cannon were taken speaks eloquently. This was not the heaviest punishment. Eyewitnesses say that German corpses strew the battlefield in piles.

Three critical days of the offensive have then given the enemy at the cost of enormous losses a not very magnificent result. We now know that the program was to reach Compiègne on the second day. General von Hutier must be greatly disappointed.

The attack was begun with fourteen divisions, at full strength, in the line. They included at the centre divisions of the Prussian Guard and four other crack divisions. About twice as many divisions have now been thrown into this battle, ten already holding the sector and the rest being fresh reserves.

These figures may be measured by the fact that the total German forces in the west amount to 207 divisions, and that of these before the offensive only sixty-two were in the general reserve, the rest being engaged on the front. The more we consider in the light of material considerations like these what the German command essayed and what it has accomplished the more we shall appreciate the valor of the French armies and the qualities of their chiefs; and it is impossible to do justice to either without such reflection.

FRENCH HOLD GAINS

On June 12 Mr. Perris reported that the French were holding their gains and gave these further details of the counterattack the day before:

The French lines hold all the way round from the important position of Mery Plateau by the hamlets of St. Maur and Antheuil to Marest and Chevincourt. Time after time, last night and this morning, the gray-coated masses of General von Hutier came on, only to be mowed down by waves of fire from the 75s and machine guns, and their remnants dispersed with bayonet and grenade.

Yesterday's French counterattacks met great bodies of the enemy prepared to force another advance. Four divisions were found to be ranged in a space of two miles. Hence the frightful intensity of the combat and the abnormal slaughter.

The French tanks did very good service, and fleets of airplanes, British as well as French, swept down upon the battlefield before and behind our infantry, dropping bombs and raining down volleys of bullets wherever a group of enemy soldiers was seen. The numerical inferiority of the French was thus made good.

The block of wooded hills was very difficult to defend, even if the enemy had got no further than Mareuil. The woods prevented long views and open fields of fire; the deep ravines invited infiltrations; the Oise Valley at the back left supply and relief columns open to the German guns, and the Matz Valley, on the west, was the plain path of envelopment. These are the reasons why this corner was not held longer.

Among the wheat and beet fields of the gently rolling plateau further west, on the other hand, the defense had more advantage. There are folds of ground enough to hide

First parade of United States National Army men in London. The photograph shows them rounding the corner at Hyde Park

(© *Central News Photo Service*)

General Philipot of the French Army decorating American officers who distinguished themselves in opposing the German advance in Picardy

(French Pictorial Service)

its batteries and reserves, but in every direction there are open lines of fire, room for manoeuvre and numerous railroads. Striking northeast from the Estrées Railway, the French threaten the German centre.

To continue the southward march, even if it were possible, before this pressure on the west had been disposed of would be reckless. Hutier has met his match.

THE COMPIEGNE THRUST

On June 13 General von Hutier made a threatening thrust toward Compiègne, which was parried by the French and was practically the termination of further serious efforts in this phase by the Germans. Mr. Perris tells the story of it as follows:

South of the Aisne the high, bare farmlands extending from Soissons to the borders of the forest of Compiègne are cut by a valley running up from the other great forest of Villers-Cotterets to the river at Ambleny. This valley, with the villages of Laversine, Coeuvre, Cutry, Dommiers, and St. Pierre-Aigle, has constituted the front for the last fortnight, with French outposts on the east side, but the real line of resistance on the west.

Von Hutier having met with trouble beyond his expectations on the west of the Oise, his colleague, von Boehm, was sent yesterday morning to create a diversion on this flank of the battlefield. Five divisions, two of them fresh ones, were thrown forward on both sides of Laversine, a front of four miles.

Though outnumbered, the French have given a fine account of themselves, breaking repeated assaults of the enemy, who is reported to have got into the villages of Coeuvre and St. Pierre, a feat more than counterbalanced by the French advance at Damard, further south on the border of Villers-Cotterets Forest, and the admirable action of the Americans on the ground recently taken by them in Clignon Valley.

This, however, is not the best sign for the fifth day of the offensive. Von Hutier's thrust from the north toward Compiègne was by far the most threatening of the numerous lines of attack the German command has now opened. It has been brought to a stop by reactions of the French left and centre, and was this morning contained, as we may hope definitely, from the Mery Plateau and along the course of the Matz.

ENEMY'S FEVERISH HASTE

The feverish haste with which the enemy's attacks are multiplied as the field of the offensive is enlarged, speaks eloquently of the conscious need to bring the grand adventure to a speedy climax. But this haste involves heavy moral as well as numerical usury. Instead of a full normal period for refilling and new equipment, including rest at the rear, or in a quiet sector, and a course of fresh training being given to a division withdrawn from the line owing to its losses, it is hurriedly reconstituted and pushed back into the battlefront after as few days as possible.

Up to now the German armies have been sustained, not only by reinforcements from Russia, but by the long rest of the Winter months; otherwise they could not have accomplished what they have done. These sources of strength are being rapidly exhausted. The human material—cannon food—is failing in quality. The field depots have been emptied of recruits. Men from the depots in Germany are rushed to the front. Cavalry officers are dismounted to fill gaps in the infantry. Men detached for special work are called back to their units, and still the war god is unsatisfied.

Incorporation of the 1920 class began in April and May. Miners and mechanics are again turned into the fighting ranks, ill as they can be spared from industry. It is probable that not a division has been left in the east that would be fit for the western front. Wounded men and invalids imperfectly cured are pressed back into service. And behind the armies thus replenished there is the nation, hungry, enfeebled, terrorized, uttering words of despair even in its letters to the front. Ludendorff may well hurry!

DEFENSE OF COURCELLES

A very brief diary of the battle at a single point will give an idea of its bitter violence. The small village of Courcelles lies across the chief road of the western wing of the offensive, only about two miles from its starting point with the Montdidier-Estrées railway, and the same distance behind it. For these reasons, and because it stands on a spur of the Mery Plateau, it was certain to be a hardly contested position.

On Sunday morning, June 9, taking advantage of the cover afforded by broad fields of well-grown wheat, the Germans came up the slope from Rollot and rushed the village. At 9:40 the French re-formed and retook it, capturing 200 men and four officers. Forty minutes later a new wave was brought up from the north, but was thrown back. Some storm troops, however, got around by the rear. These were in turn repulsed.

Several hours passed in which the three streets of broken houses were put in order for a siege. At 3 P. M. a fresh attack was repulsed. Later in the afternoon the German success at Mery and Belloy resulted in Courcelles being beset on three sides, only a narrow alley of communication to the west remaining open.

The defenders now had their blood up. The reserves would soon arrive. This western flank of the battle was of the utmost importance. It had become a point of honor that the village should not be lost.

At 4:40 A. M. on Monday, after a preparatory bombardment, the next blow fell. In ten minutes its failure was evident, though

the fighting about the barbed wire continued for an hour. Three more assaults followed in the afternoon and evening. In the last of these some Germans got into the village, but they were at last driven out.

On Tuesday the heroes of this splendid defense reaped the only reward they desired. The great French counterattack definitely freed their little fortress.

TABLES TURNED

This time it was the turn of the French to win the benefits of initiative and surprise. Only a quarter of an hour was given to the French artillery for its preparation work. Tanks and infantry then went forward in alternate lines. An officer describes the advance of the tanks rolling over the green wheatfields, while shells burst around them, as having the appearance of a battle at sea.

The allied airmen, swooping above the moving line, not only sowed death in the enemy's ranks with their machine guns, but also raced forward and dropped bombs with effect on heavy batteries in the rear, killing their crews and putting the guns out of action.

In some enemy units during this battle the men fought well. In others there have been unmistakable signs of demoralization. Such inequalities are not surprising in this crisis. The total superiority of force which a few months ago was enough to have terrified us, and which is still sufficiently serious to require every effort that can be put forth, is ebbing away.

End of Fourth Phase—Two Expert Views

All correspondents on June 14 united in the conclusion that the counterblows of the Allies and the brilliant reaction of the French from Courcelles to Mery ended the fourth phase of the great German offensive. Mr. Perris summed up the situation as follows on June 14:

The front has subsided into actions of no more than local importance. The five days' battle west of the Oise has ended for the Germans, after an advance varying from two to six miles, in a very costly reverse, and for the Allies in a brilliant success of good generalship and indomitable spirit in the ranks.

Beside the losses of the enemy, the French loss of the Thiescourt hills and the wooded part of the valley opposite is of little importance. The offensive which was to give a decision against them is far from finished, but in relation to the resistance it encounters it shows a falling, not a rising, gamut of power.

The first push toward Amiens ended in ten days, having entailed upon the Allies the sacrifice of a tract forty miles deep and serious casualties. The following attack in the north lasted about as long, but with much slighter gains. The German success on the Chemin des Dames brought the Crown Prince's vanguard to the Marne, twenty-five miles from its starting point, but that it touched much less vital ground is proved by the transfer of its centre of pressure to the Ourcq Valley near Villers-Cotterets.

From these results to those of the present week's fighting there is a marked descent, and this failure occurs in what must be accounted one of the most critical directions the enemy can pursue. The ambitious character of his design is now clear. It is not merely to divide the British from the French army and then destroy one of them, but also by a single series of converging operations to destroy them both.

His approach to Amiens as the centre of their joint communications and to Hazebrouck as the door to the Channel ports has been followed by an approach along four converging lines to the region of Paris, the centre of French administrative life. In fact, the attainment of all these objectives would not end the war, for I am sure there is in France, and there probably is in the other countries concerned, a deadly resolution that it shall not be ended in any such way; that, if Paris should be destroyed—which heaven forfend—another capital shall be found, and that there shall be no surrender while there is an army on its legs.

This offensive has had two aims—to reach the crescent north and east of Paris, whence a general attack could be launched, and to draw down, disperse, and harry the allied reserves preparatory to the final "Kaiserschlacht," the crowning blow along the whole line. Its relative failure is a great encouragement.

PETAIN'S MASTERLY TACTICS

Walter Duranty, in reviewing the fourth phase of the offensive, sent the following cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES *on June 13:*

It has been said that the secret of Pétain's rise in three years from the position of Colonel to Commander in Chief of the French armies is his knowledge of when to launch counterattacks. The ability to select the right place and time for a sudden stroke which nullifies the enemy's gains has been the attribute of great captains throughout history, and is one of the cardinal bases of successful strategy. In that one word, counterattacks, lies the explanation of the triumphant French resistance in the present battle against vastly superior numbers—that and the indomitable courage of the defenders.

The master tactician commanding the army whose sector has been assailed has so imbued his subordinates with his own princi-

ples that there is hardly a position in the whole range of operations that the Germans have not been forced to take two or three times over. For it is not only the counter-stroke on a grand scale, like that which has won back nearly all the Germans' gains on the left wing, which counts in a struggle of this kind, where the losses inflicted on the enemy are far more important than a hill or a village saved or abandoned. It is the unexpected change from defense to attack, at the psychological moment, that has maintained the spirit of the French troops and smashed their weakened assailants just as they were thinking their success was assured.

As the situation stands today [June 13] the Allies have won a great victory in one of the hardest fought battles of the war, and a carefully planned move in Hindenburg's desperate struggle against time has been met and nullified. The Germans have also learned to their cost that the American troops are already to be counted with. The enemy, whose morale is daily weakening under the strain of non-successes and never-ending calls upon his strength, has received a bitter reminder of the American menace, which more than any other factor is responsible for his convulsive striving after a speedy decision.

[M. Tardieu, in a cablegram June 18 to the French High Commission at Washington, stated that 80,000 Germans had been put out of action in the Noyon-Montdidier offensive, and that General von Hutier had failed completely to realize his objective—the capture of Compiègne.]

Austrians at Grips With Italians

By AUSTIN WEST

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[See Map of Italian Front, Page 15]

An offensive was launched June 15, 1918, by the Austrians against the Italians with an army estimated to number 1,000,000 men. The attack was on a front from the Asiago Plateau to the sea, a distance of ninety-seven miles. The course of the struggle in the first four days indicated the failure of the drive. The details of the earlier stages of the battle are given herewith.

ACCORDING to statements of prisoners, the Austrian objectives on the first day of the attack were Bassano, eight miles down the Brenta, and Treviso, eight miles west of the Piave. The attack along the Piave from the Venetian lagoons to Montello was aimed at possession of the main roads leading to Montebelluna, Treviso, and Mestre, five miles west of Venice, thereby cutting off Venice and thrusting toward the heart of the Venetian Plain.

In the meantime General Conrad von Hoetendorf's armies from Monte Grappa to Asiago were to sweep down upon Asolo and Bassano to prevent the retreat of the 3d Italian Army from the Piave and complete the march of invasion from the north.

Austria's hopes and aims are reflected very strikingly in an Order of the Day, dated June 14, compiled from Field Marshal Boroevic's proclamation and circulated among the troops of the 3d Regiment over Commander Mitteregger's signature. A copy has just fallen into Italian hands. It runs as follows:

> From the Adige to the Adriatic the Austrian Army descends into the field against Italy. All the forces and all the material of the monarchy are for the first time massed against one single enemy as the outcome of preparations begun many months ago. Tomorrow the Italian command will learn this tremendous news from the mouths of our guns. The entire Italian front will be attacked, and to free himself from our iron grip, which will encircle his whole front, the enemy would be obliged to engage reserves far vaster than those at his disposal.
>
> From trench warfare we shall pass to that of movement and shall occupy a country abounding in victuals and stores of every sort. Let us therefore press forward resolutely toward the City of Verona, where a century ago the august founder of our regiment stood victor against the combined armies of France and Italy.

Today, (June 17,) nevertheless, after forty-eight hours of fighting, the enemy still is held upon his first lines.

The British forces regained all the positions they held on the eve of the battle. The French contingents southeast of Asiago on Turcio Road recaptured Pennar in a bayonet charge and drove the Austrians back far beyond their starting point. Counterattacking at Cornone, our allies stopped effectually the enemy's dash toward Valstagna and took 500 prisoners. Fenilon and Moschin Mountains, overlooking the Brenta Valley, which the enemy overwhelmed in his first onrush, have also been retaken at the point of the bayonet, with 200 prisoners and forty machine guns.

Along the Piave enemy masses concentrated, chiefly on the eastern slopes on Montello and west of San Dona. In both dis-

tricts passage across the river was facilitated by a heavy rain of tear shells and smoke bombs, and amid the smoke pontoons and rafts were taken down to the water's edge. Three divisions got across from Colfosco and Ilas, fronting Nervesa, but they were hemmed around at the foot of Montello, at Fagare and Zenson, where the Austrians had penetrated some way ahead. The Italians, after thrusting them from the latter place, encircled some detachments in the river bend.

Croce Village, west of San Dona, was re-won and lost twice over, and now rests in the possession of Italian bombardiers, Bersagliere, and cyclist corps. But the best stroke of luck on the Piave occurred in the Saletto sector. Taking advantage of numerous islets at this point, where the river is nearly two miles wide, one Hungarian battalion of the 96th Regiment had safely crossed, and was being quickly followed by another. Italian gunfire smashed its boats, flinging the occupants into the water. Many were carried away and drowned in the rapid currents, while over a thousand survivors, including a Lieutenant Colonel, a Major, and thirty other officers, out of the haul of 3,000 odd prisoners taken during the day, were made captives by the Italians at that spot.

The Austrians employed such a large amount of gases that the whole battleline was enveloped in dense, impenetrable clouds. Fortunately, a heavy rain fell in that region, which lessened to some extent the effects of the gases.

The Italians fought fiercely with great dash, glad to get at the enemy after so many months of forced inactivity and with an intense desire to regain the country desecrated by the enemy's invasion.

The Austrians kept the Italians under deadly fire, especially aiming at their second lines, to prevent the arrival of reinforcements. This bombardment has small effect in the mountains, as, owing to the limited number of men one can employ at one time, these are able to protect themselves in dugouts excavated in the solid rock.

Snow, which is still lying on the mountains, is heaped up into immense mounds by the bombardment. Italian troops, clothed in white overalls to prevent their being seen against the whiteness, slowly advanced to engage the enemy in hand-to-hand fighting.

Despite the rain, the work accomplished by the English and Italian aviators was above praise. Flying low over the enemy troops, they brought confusion and terror into their midst, intrepidly engaging the Austrians in aerial combats, and bringing down in twelve hours many enemy planes, while also collecting invaluable military information. The English and French contingents co-operated with the Italians in perfect accord and a splendid spirit of camaraderie.

Except for lack of secrecy, the Austrians organized this supreme effort of theirs better than might have been expected. It was well planned and resolutely delivered. The credit due the Italians is all the greater for repulsing it completely in many places, containing it in others, and nowhere allowing it to break through.

The sector on which the enemy gained most ground is on the Piave. There the Austrians made three principal crossings of the river and established three bridgeheads or salients into the original Italian line.

To make this possible they blinded the Italian artillery and airplanes by using great quantities of smoke shells which covered the river and the Italian trenches on its bank with a dense black fog. Thus hidden, the Austrian patrols hurried across the water in boats and on rafts under no more than a random fire from the defense.

Having reached the western bank they pulled pontoon bridges across and pushed reinforcements rapidly forward. The most notable of these crossings was the enemy's penetration in the Montello sector, the position which the British forces held all last Winter.

This sector is the hinge between the mountain and the Piave sectors; it stands at the angle where the Piave leaves the mountains and enters the Venetian Plain. It is an isolated hog's back, 700 feet high in the middle and seven and a half miles long, running almost east and west, with the foot of its northern and eastern slopes washed by the river, its surface undulating, dotted with farms and little woods—an unusual feature—crossed from north to south by no fewer than twenty-four roads. The value of Montello to the enemy would have been that it would dominate from the flank and rear all the Italian positions defending the line of the Piave in the dead flat plain to the south.

The British, after reconquering the advanced positions, momentarily abandoned on June 15 with a view of strengthening the line, not only resisted all Austrian attempts, but counterattacked in a fashion that caused an Italian superior officer to remark: "They are slamming the gates of Italy in the face of the invader."

In a dispatch on June 19 Mr. West recorded the fact that the enemy, while maintaining pressure on the mountain front and Montello district, was redoubling his efforts on the Piave especially west of San Dona. The dispatch continues:

The Austrian hold of the last-named vicinity, also in the Zenson bend and at Saint Andrea, southeast of Montello, is being considerably weakened by the Italian artillery fire and constant counterattacks.

Saint Andrea itself, with the adjacent villages of Giavera, Bavaria, and Sovilla, has changed hands ten times over. The railroad running thence toward Montebelluna is hidden under a litter of dead bodies for a length of several kilometers. The haul of prisoners has risen from 6,000 to 9,000, General Diaz announced last night—an almost unique fact in an offensive of this nature and undoubtedly

the fruit of Italy's immediate readiness for an energetic reaction.

Stupendous acts of heroism are recorded. Gunners of an Alpine regiment stationed at the foot of Montello Hill, after being twice driven from their batteries, united themselves to some storm troops, fought the foe in a hand-to-hand encounter with daggers, and, recovering the cannon, readjusted the breechlocks, which they had taken away with them, and then fired pointblank into the adversary's ranks.

At Fagare two Hungarian battalions were annihilated amid the ruins of houses where they had taken refuge. At Candelu an enemy machine-gun corps, which had transformed the village into a fort, were killed by Italian mountain artillery, and in the neighboring sector of Salettuol the 3d Austrian Division lost 60 per cent. of its effectiveness.

Many of the prisoners at the moment of capture present the appearance of Bedouins, being clad merely in tattered shirts, with their rifles slung over their shoulders and a dagger in their hand. Nearly all carried postcard maps marking out their journey, with a program inscribed: "June 15, halt at Treviso. June 16, occupation of Venice." They also carried little packets of money coupons printed in Italian for spending in those cities.

A German View of Germany's Effort

The Recent Offensive

[By the Cologne Gazette Editor at German Headquarters]

THE task confronting us before the offensive seemed monstrous. What the combined and many times superior armies of the Napoleonic School and Kitchener's Army, young indeed but drawing its supplies from the resources of a world empire, had failed to accomplish against a force of almost Frederickian inferiority in numbers, this task was to be performed by the German Army, which, even after the absorption of the eastern units, was scarcely equal in strength, much less superior to the enemy. The big hammer had failed to beat down the little hammer; it was now the turn of the little hammer to pit itself against the big hammer. The German hinterland, diminutive in comparison with the continents working for the coalition, was not only to hold its own, but also to help to conquer in battle against the raw materials and industries of half Europe, America, Africa, and Asia. The German victory at Cambrai, which in a sense represented a transition from the old to a new era in the history of the war in the west, had already illuminated the difficulties that a brave and numerically superior enemy could oppose to our attack.

In contrast with the victorious confidence of our veteran defense troops—a confidence that at times excited the amazement of their own leaders—the enemy continued to contemplate the German undertaking with inveterate skepticism. British and French prisoners captured during the Winter months indeed held out to us the prospect of achieving an initial success similar to that which their own offensive had achieved. But nowhere in the world did any one reckon upon more than the customary initial success for our enterprise.

The German High Command decided from the very outset not to fight a "battle of matériel," but to build up success upon a more ideal foundation. Numerical inferiority was to be compensated by the warlike and moral qualities peculiar to the German Army organism. The same virtues that had proved the essential cause of the enemy's defeat were to form the surest guarantees of German victory. To the undeniable bravery of the English and French storming troops was to be opposed the utmost bravery of the German tribes; the good quality of the enemy leaders was to be met by better leading on the German side, and the thorough preparation of our adversaries by one still more thorough.

As the Supreme Command could confidently reckon upon the two first as given quantities, there remained as the chief task the preparation of the attack. Unity of command and of forces, the latter non-German only in respect of a

valuable group of Austrian batteries that had been placed in the line, facilitated the tremendous work. Frictions and impediments that are inherent even in the best organized coalition armies were spared us. It is impossible to picture what was accomplished in the map rooms of the German staffs by experienced specialists in defensive warfare, who worked in silence for months, at the highest nervous pressure, in the face of the confident expectation of the homeland and growing tension and impatience abroad. But it is certain that an altogether enormous expenditure of organizing energy was required in order to impart the method of attack; to ascertain and control the situation of the enemy; to supply the striking force with munitions and provisions; and finally to produce that masterpiece, the veiled march into line.

Addresses by the Kaiser

He Extols Militarism and Defines the Issues of the War

THE German Kaiser in two telegrams acknowledging congratulations on the thirtieth anniversary of his accession to the throne made announcements of historic interest regarding the issues of the war and the uses of militarism. On June 17 he telegraphed to the German Chancellor, Count von Hertling:

> I express cordial thanks and kind good wishes to your Excellency and the State Ministry on the day on which, thirty years ago, I ascended the throne. When I celebrated my twenty-five-year jubilee as ruler I was able, with special gratitude, to point out that I had been able to do my work as a prince of peace. Since then the world picture has changed. For nearly four years, forced to it by our enemies, we have been engaged in the hardest struggle history records. God the Lord has laid a heavy burden upon my shoulders, but I carry it in the consciousness of our good right, with confidence in our ship, our sword, and our strength, and in the realization that I have the good fortune to stand at the head of the most capable people on earth. Just as our arms under strong leadership have proved themselves invincible, so also will the home land, exerting all its strength, bear with strong will the sufferings and privations which just now are keenly felt.
>
> Thus, I have spent this day 'midst my armies, and it moved me to the depths of my heart, yet filled with the most profound gratitude to God's mercy.
>
> I know that Prussian militarism, so much abused by our enemies, which my forefathers and I, in a spirit of dutifulness, loyalty, order, and obedience, have nurtured, has given Germany's sword and the German Nation strength to triumph, and that victory will bring a peace which will guarantee the German life.
>
> It will then be my sacred duty, as well as that of the States, with all our power to see to healing the wounds caused by the war and to secure a happy future for the nation. In most faithful recognition of the work hitherto performed, I rely on your approved strength and the help of the State Ministry. God bless our land and people!

In an address at Main Headquarters on June 15 he said that the war was not a matter of strategic campaign, but a struggle of two world views wrestling with each other. "Either German "principles of right, freedom, honor, and "morality must be upheld," he added, "or Anglo-Saxon principles with their "idolatry of mammon must be vic-"torious."

The Anglo-Saxons, he asserted, aimed at making the peoples of the world work as slaves for the Anglo-Saxon ruling race, and such a matter could not be decided in days or weeks, or even in a year.

The Emperor emphasized the fact that from the first he had realized that the trials of war would be great. The first outbreak of enthusiasm had not deceived him. Great Britain's intervention had meant a world struggle, whether he desired it or not. He said he was thankful that Field Marshal von Hindenburg and General Ludendorff had been placed at his side as counselors. Drinking to the health of the army and its leaders, the Emperor said:

> The German people and army indeed are now one and the same and look up to you with gratitude. Every man out there

knows what he is fighting for, the enemy himself admits that, and in consequence we shall gain victory—the victory of the German standpoint. That is what is in question.

The Emperor referred to the period of peace, which he described as "twenty-six years of profitable but hard work, though they could not always be regarded as successful in a political respect and had brought disappointments."

His interests had been centred in the work connected with the development of the army and the effort to maintain it at the level at which it had been intrusted to him. Now, in time of war, he could not better celebrate the day than under the same roof with the Field Marshal and his faithful, highly gifted Generals and General Staff. The Emperor continued:

In peace time in the preparation of my army for war my grandfather's war comrades gradually passed away, and as the German horizon gradually darkened, many a German, and not the least I, hoped with assurance that God would in this danger place the right man at our side. Our hope has not been disappointed.

In your Excellency and in you, General Ludendorff, Heaven bestowed upon the German Empire and the German Army and staff men who are called upon in these great times to lead the German people in arms in its decisive struggle for existence and the right to live, and with its help to gain victory.

He sent the following telegram to the Crown Prince:

Under your leadership the armies of Generals von Boehm, von Below, and von Hutier have severely defeated the enemy and shattered the storm of his hurriedly brought-up army reserves. Eighty-five thousand prisoners and more than 1,000 guns are the outward signs of this tremendous battle success. To you and the participating commanders and troops I express my thanks and those of the Fatherland. The fighting spirit and fighting strength of my incomparable troops guarantee our final victory. God will further help.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg, in congratulating the Emperor on behalf of the army, extolled the Emperor's "wise care for peace" during the first twenty-six years of his reign and Germany's brilliant progress in all works of peace in that period. If the German Army and people had been able for nearly four years in the face of a world of enemies to show such proof of their strength and right to existence as never yet in history had been demanded and given in such measure, he added, they also owed this to their war lord, who had indefatigably watched over the fighting efficiency of his armies. The Field Marshal renewed the unswerving loyalty until death of Germany's sons at the front, and concluded:

"May our old motto, 'Forward with God for King and Fatherland, for Kaiser and Empire,' result in many years of peace being granted to your Majesty after our victorious return home."

Demoralization and Crime in Germany

Evidence that the war has brought a great increase of crime in Germany is forthcoming in many forms. At a conference held in Berlin early in 1918 to discuss "public insecurity" in all parts of Germany, it was stated that most of the burglaries and other crimes were committed during the nights between Friday and Monday. Statistics were given of the payments made by companies which issue insurance policies against burglary and theft. Payments on account of burglaries increased from $400,000 in 1914 to $1,100,000 in 1916, and to about $5,000,000 in 1917. Compensation for stolen goods to the amount of nearly $15,000,000 was paid by the Prussian railways in 1917, as compared with a total of only $1,050,000 in 1914.

Owing to the constant thefts of food in Berlin an official order has been issued that no wheat or flour is to be moved through the streets after dark. The theft of letters is becoming more and more common. One night nineteen letter-boxes in Charlottenburg were broken open, and the letters were destroyed after the postage stamps had been torn off. Owing to frequent thefts of letters at a small town named Mittenwalde, the Postmaster laid a trap for the thief, with the result that his own wife has been sent to prison for six months.

The U-Boat Raid in American Waters

Twenty Vessels, Mostly in the Coastwise Trade, Sunk Off the New Jersey and Virginia Coasts

ONE or more German submarines—the number was not definitely established—appeared off the coast of the United States on May 25, 1918, and began sinking merchant ships on a large scale. Up to June 20 more than twenty steamers and sailing vessels, mostly of American register, had been sent to the bottom.

This was the second visit of an armed German submarine to the American side of the Atlantic for hostile action. In October, 1916, before the United States entered the war, the U-53 held up coastwise traffic off Nantucket and sank four British, one Dutch, and one Norwegian ship. The U-53 had been preceded by the merchant submarine Deutschland, which arrived at Baltimore on July 9, 1916, from Bremen and returned with a cargo of nickel and rubber. The Deutschland made a second trip, arriving at New London, Conn., in October.

The appearance off the American coast of the unidentified submarine, or submarines, which made the raid on American and neutral shipping in May and June, 1918, was not altogether unexpected. For several weeks the American naval authorities had been searching for U-boats in home waters in consequence of a dispatch from the British Admiralty stating that two German submarines of the latest type, with a cruising capacity of 10,000 miles, had left the North Sea and were observed proceeding westward, probably in an attempt to cross the Atlantic.

The first information that German U-boats were conducting a transatlantic campaign was brought to New York City on June 4 by Captain Humphrey G. Newcombe and the ten members of the crew of the American four-masted schooner Edward H. Cole, which was sunk with bombs on the afternoon of June 2, fifty miles southeast of Barnegat, N. J. All were agreed that the U-boat was about 200 feet long, of more than 20 feet beam, and with 5 feet freeboard, that it carried a three-inch gun fore and aft, and a one-pounder quick-firer amidships, and that it had a speed of 17 knots. The mate of the Edward H. Cole told how he had noticed a submarine moving around the vessel at a high speed and believed that it was an American craft with Naval Reserve cadets on board, who were trying to have some fun with the sailors of the merchant ship.

"I thought," the mate continued, "that it would be a good idea to have a little fun with our skipper, who had turned in for a nap in his cabin, and I yelled down the skylight, 'Tumble up on deck lively, Cap! There's a big German submarine close astern, getting ready to attack us.' Then I took the marine glasses and looked through them at the stern of the U-boat, where her ensign was flapping limply against the short flagstaff. For a moment or two I could not make out her nationality, and then a gust of wind came and blew the ensign straight so that I could see that it was the German flag, and then I shouted in earnest to Captain Newcombe, 'It's no joke this time. By gosh, she is a German submarine!'"

The schooners Hattie Dunn and Edna were the first vessels sunk—on May 25. Their crews, as well as that of the schooner Hauppauge, which was sunk three days later, numbering twenty-three men, were taken on board the submarine and kept prisoner there for eight days. When the tank steamer Isabel Wiley was sunk, on June 2, the twenty-three prisoners were placed, with the crew of the Isabel Wiley, in the tanker's four boats and left to find their way to the shore. They were picked up by a coastwise steamer and brought safely back to land.

Captain Charles E. Holbrook of the Hattie Dunn, the first skipper to en-

counter the U-boat, thus described his experience:

We left New York for Charleston in ballast on May 23, and when, two days later, we were about fifteen miles south of Winter Quarter Lightship bowling along under an eight-knot breeze, I heard a shell pass near the vessel. Then another shell, which fell perhaps a quarter of a mile away. I was not taking much notice, because I believed the vessel which I saw about two miles away was an American submarine at target practice.

A third shell exploded close by us on the weather quarter, and I knew that, whoever it was, wanted us to stop. I brought the vessel up into the wind. The submarine, with her superstructure and conning tower showing plainly above the water, came within two hundred yards, and I saw that she was flying the two code letters "A B," meaning "stop immediately."

From a small staff at the rear end of the superstructure fluttered a small flag of the Imperial German Navy. An officer and three men came over in a small boat, not over twelve feet long. In perfect English the officer told us to get into our boats and that we had but ten minutes allotted to us to get clear of our vessel. They placed bombs along the sides of our vessel and blew her up immediately, in the meantime putting an armed German sailor on board the small boat in which were seven men and myself. This did not give me time to rescue my personal effects and nautical instruments. My men only saved what they stood in.

Perhaps I would have been given more time if the commander of the submarine had not seen the Hauppauge under full sail about four or five miles away. Like us the Hauppauge was light, and, I understand, was bound from Portland to Newport News. He destroyed Captain Sweeney's fine new schooner after ordering him and his crew to take to their boats, and within a half hour both crews were on board the submarine and both the small boats had been placed on the submarine's deck and lashed down.

ON BOARD THE U-BOAT

Captain C. M. Gilmore of the Edna said that when he was stopped by the U-boat an officer came aboard and told him he had ten minutes to abandon ship. During the week he was on board the submarine, Captain Gilmore said the Americans were treated with such extreme courtesy by the Germans that it was evident that the whole matter was being done under orders with the hope of having an effect on American public opinion. Captain Gilmore added:

The officers of the submarine included a spare Captain who was apparently on hand to take charge of any prize that might be worth while turning into a raider, the commander of the U-boat itself, and two others. These gave up their berths to me and the master of the Hattie Dunn, and the Germans of the crew gave up their bunks to the sailors and slept in hammocks themselves. The officers gave us wines, cordials, and fine cigars, and in general treated us with such marked hospitality that it seemed apparent that they were carrying out a course that had been laid upon them. The commander said that he had fuel and supplies for a month in American waters and intended to stay here for that time before going back.

The Carolina, a 5,000-ton passenger steamship belonging to the New York and Porto Rico Steamship Line, which was sunk at 6 P. M. on June 2, had on board the largest number of persons of any of the ships destroyed. Passengers and crew numbered 331. All escaped except seven out of the twenty-six who were put on board on a motor launch. The launch encountered a heavy storm and overturned. Christian Nelson, Chief Engineer of the Carolina, who was in charge of the launch, after a great effort managed to right it, but in the meanwhile seven persons had disappeared in the sea. With the aid principally of a young Porto Rican girl, who did not understand English, but who behaved very intelligently and bravely, Nelson kept the launch afloat, although it was waterlogged and the engine would not work. The launch was finally picked up by a British freighter, which took the survivors into Lewes, Del. The rest of the passengers and crew of the Carolina were picked up by other vessels and safely landed. Some of the survivors were more than twenty hours at sea in open boats.

LIST OF VESSELS SUNK

The complete list of ships attacked up to June 20 is as follows:

Jacob H. Haskell, schooner, 1,362 tons.
Isabel B. Wiley, schooner, 611 tons.
Hattie Dunn schooner, 365 tons.

Edward H. Cole, schooner, 1,791 tons, subsequently raised and saved.
Herbert L. Pratt, tank steamer, 7,200 tons.
Carolina, passenger steamer, 5,093 tons.
Winneconne, freighter, 1,869 tons.
Hauppauge, auxiliary schooner, 1,500 tons.
Edna, schooner, 325 tons, subsequently towed in.
Texel, steamship, 3,210 tons.
Samuel M. Hathaway, schooner, 1,038 tons.
Samuel C. Mengel, schooner, 700 tons, unconfirmed.
Edward Baird, schooner, 279 tons.
Eidsvold, Norwegian steamship, 1,570 tons.
Harpathean, British steamship, 4,588 tons.
Vinland, Norwegian steamship, 1,143 tons.
Desauss, schooner, 500 tons.
Pinar del Rio, steamship, 2,504 tons.
Vindeggen, Norwegian steamship, 2,632 tons.
Henrik Lund, Norwegian steamship, 4,322 tons.
One seagoing and two coal barges, which struck mines.

All the ships mentioned were sunk except the Herbert L. Pratt and the Edna. Most of them were destroyed by bombs placed alongside after the crews had left. In some cases gunfire was used. The submarine also laid mines, which caused some damage. The commander of the submarine was reported as saying that he was saving his torpedoes for bigger ships. With the exception of the British and Norwegian vessels all were American. The raid extended along the coast from within a couple of hundred miles of New York southward as far as the entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

HUNTING THE RAIDER

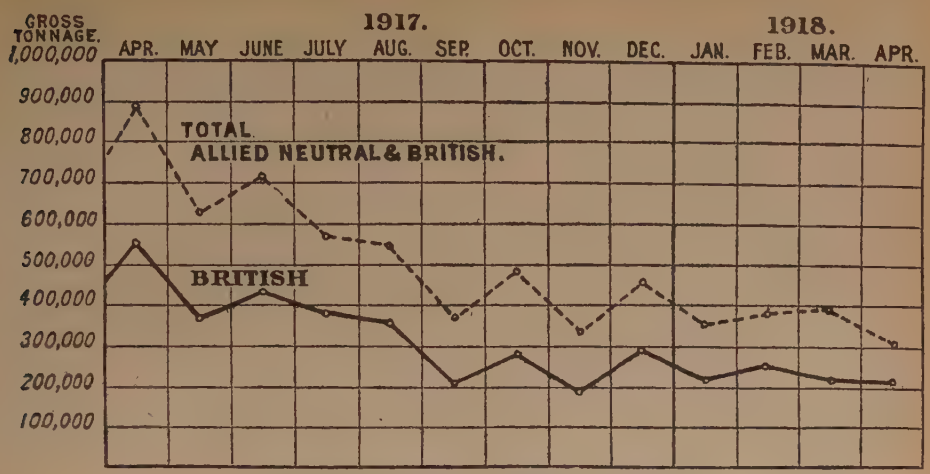
As soon as the first news was received that a submarine campaign was being conducted off the American coast, prompt action was taken by the Navy Department. Destroyers, submarine chasers, and airplanes were sent out in large numbers to patrol the coast and search the neighboring waters, but the U-boat eluded detection. New York Harbor was temporarily closed, and, though there was no indication of the presence of hostile airplanes, the lighting of the city was for several nights diminished by darkening the main thoroughfares. There were rumors that the submarine either had a "mother ship" or was using a base on the Mexican coast. Marine insurance rates were not raised, but the officers of vessels in the coastwise trade were granted a bonus by the Shipping Board.

Other Submarine Activities of the Month

The British Admiralty's official statement of all losses of shipping during the month of April, 1918, shows that 220,709 tons of British and 84,393 tons of allied and neutral vessels, a total of 305,102 tons, were destroyed by submarines and lost by accident. The total for the preceding month was 381,631 tons. In April, 1917, the total losses amounted to 893,877. April, 1918, showed the lowest figures for any month since the beginning of 1917. Another satisfactory feature of the situation was that 40,000 tons more shipping was built by Great Britain and the United States than was lost during the month.

Georges Leygues, the French Minister of Marine, informed the Army and Navy War Committees of the Senate on May 25 that the means employed to rid the seas of submarines had become increasingly effective since January and had given decisive results. Tremendous strides had recently been made by the Allies in repairing ships damaged by torpedoes or mines. The Minister added that co-ordination between the allied nations had become so smooth during the past four months that the tonnage restored to the sea exceeded 500,000 weekly. Great Britain had repaired 598,000 tons in one week recently, while France had effected repairs upon 260,000 tons in one month. The increased building and more efficient and speedier repair work were constantly bringing better results in the transport of troops and supplies.

Twelve German submarines were sunk or captured in British waters by the American and British destroyers during the month of April, which was a record. This means that twelve U-boats were officially reported and recognized as sunk and that evidence, either a cap



A YEAR'S DECLINE IN SHIPPING LOSSES

bearing the name of the submarine, a portion of the craft, or a live or dead German, was produced when each case was recorded.

In addition to this number, at least two other U-boats were destroyed during that period. One was sunk on April 8 in the North Sea while making an attack on a convoy to Holland. Another U-boat, making the total fourteen, was sunk on Friday, April 26, during the forenoon while attempting to attack a convoy of transports filled with American troops on the way to France. In the case of these two U-boats no débris or other direct evidence was recovered, and the British Admiralty accordingly withheld official recognition.

Senator Swanson of Virginia, a member of the Senate Naval Committee, made the statement on June 7 that the allied and American naval forces had destroyed 60 per cent. of all German submarines constructed. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts on June 15 said that since Jan. 1, 1918, the United States Navy had sunk twenty-eight German submarines.

The American troop transport President Lincoln, 18,168 gross tons, was sunk by a German submarine on May 31 while returning under convoy from Europe. The ship was struck simultaneously by three torpedoes and sank in eighteen minutes. Three other vessels were in company with her at the same time. The crew and passengers abandoned the ship in excellent order. All passengers, including the sick, were saved. One of the American destroyers which went to the rescue saved 500 persons, and another destroyer the remainder of the survivors. The number missing was twenty-seven, comprising four officers and twenty-three enlisted men. One of the officers was taken prisoner by the submarine.

The British armed mercantile troopship Moldavia, with American troops on board, was torpedoed and sunk on May 23. Of the American soldiers fifty-six were reported by the British Admiralty as "unaccounted for." The British transport Ausonia was torpedoed and sunk on May 26. Forty of the officers and crew were reported missing. The British transport Leasowe Castle was torpedoed and sunk by an enemy submarine May 26 in the Mediterranean. Thirteen military officers and seventy-nine of other ranks, and of the ship's company the Captain, two wireless operators, and six of other ratings were drowned.

Out of the Sleep of Death

Rescue of a Submarine Crew Imprisoned Fathoms Deep for Three Days

BY an act which must stand among the most heroic in the records of the war, Commander Francis H. H. Goodhart sacrificed his life to save the crew of a British submarine, fast in the mud in thirty-eight feet of water. It was in the first week of May, 1918, that the commander's vessel found itself in this perilous plight. When the air supply of the imprisoned men was about exhausted, Goodhart entered the conning tower, giving instructions that he was to be blown upward in the hope of reaching the surface and bringing aid to the imperiled crew. As he entered the tower with the senior officer a small tin cylinder containing instructions for rescuers was fastened to his belt, and the commander's last words were: "If I don't get up, the cylinder will."

Air at high pressure had been forced into the conning tower, and the lid was opened. Taking a deep breath, Commander Goodhart was shot upward, but he struck a portion of the superstructure and was killed.

The senior officer, who had intended to remain in the submarine, was forced from the tower by the air pressure and reached the surface safely. The remainder of the crew was rescued soon afterward. A posthumous reward of the Albert Medal for gallantry in saving life at sea was conferred on Commander Goodhart.

The sufferings of the crew were thus described by one of the rescued sailors in a letter to The London Telegraph:

> When the first night of imprisonment passed, and it appeared from our watches —we had artificial light enough to see the time—that the dawn of a new day had come with no sign of release, some of the company threatened to chuck hope. But others of us put as bright a face on a black outlook as we could, and gave them such cheer as a waterless and breadless situation would allow. Of course, too, we had to remember that our air supply was running out.
>
> Speak of dropping sovereigns down a well! Every tick of my watch I knew was as a lost sovereign, so far as air was concerned. But those of us who were blessed with big batteries of optimism did our best to distribute the current, and so the time dragged on. Then a great thing happened. Two heroes came forward and offered to risk all in an attempt to win to the surface. All honor to them! How they did it and at what a cost may be told later on, but the thing was done, and the outer world was thus made aware of our terrible plight. That much we realized when we knew of the presence of divers about our craft. What a relief! We had been located, practical measures were being taken for our salvage, and that splendid prospect made us take in a draught of new life. Artificial light was fast failing, but hope was burning brightly, so what did it matter?
>
> Our ordeal, as it turned out, was but a young thing as yet, however. We had still a long way to go. The day dragged through, and when we entered on the silence and uncertainty of the night we were a forlorn enough lot, I can assure you. The nerve of the toughest of us was wearing thin. My fear that it might snap suddenly all round was not realized, however, for we were given further indications, which our practical ears were not slow to catch, that the great work of rescue was well in hand. The constant tapping of the divers outside was a cheering sound, and brought hope to those of us who, in the steadily increasing stifle of the atmosphere, were now breathing hard to live.
>
> But rescue was long delayed, and in the early hours of the following day most of us wrote our last farewell to our loved ones—short, tender messages scrawled in pencil—and some of us made our wills. Then, as if by a miracle, three strong strands in the ladder of escape came to us from above. Exactly in what manner this was made possible I cannot tell you. We got air, water, and food, in only the smallest quantities, but just enough to stir us into new life. That was a godsend as welcome as it was unexpected. And we had not to wait long for the opening of our prison door. When the details of that liberation are given it will cause surprise and congratulation everywhere. It verges on the miraculous. When we scrambled into freedom we were a dazed and shaken lot of men, but I

warrant you our hearts were full of gratitude to God for saving mercies.

It was left to others to give fuller details of the impression caused by the unexpected arrival of the three "strands" in the life ladder. The first was air—life-giving air—which was forced into the stifling compartment from above. The boon came just in time; the prisoners had had about fifty hours of captivity, their last light was burning dimly, and the atmosphere of their prison house was vile. More than one of the company had lost consciousness, but the effect of the tiny air current was instantaneous. The senseless men stirred as if in troubled sleep, and opened their eyes, breathing hard, while those of the company who had stood up to the ordeal with all their senses about them felt instantly the glorious effect of the air draught.

The second strand was water—fresh, cold water—also forced down by the splendid salvage party. The quantity was very small—only a sip to each—but, oh! the refreshment of it! "We were parched in lip and mouth and throat," said one of the prisoners, "and never was a drop of water more welcome." The third strand was food, pellets of compressed food. The salvage party had accomplished almost the impossible. And this was not their greatest achievement. It was the forcing of a way of escape for the entombed men that was the marvel. Ingenuity backed up by tireless tenacity, resourcefulness that absolutely refused to own either defeat or despair, triumphed over difficulties that seemed insuperable.

What a picture for brush or pen is offered in the scene of rescue in the dead of night, when these dazed prisoners won once again their liberty. They came forth in single file from the prison house. Near the head of the procession was a bronzed sailor, one whose coolness in the dragging hours of extremity had done much to maintain the flickering life of his comrades. He thrust out at arm's length his oilskin, and followed with a wonderfully nimble step, thus providing the only touch of lightness in the grim tragedy.

Shelter was awaiting them, and from there they dispatched hurried messages to loved ones at home, to relieve hearts nearly broken by suspense. And a while later a grateful little company heard read to them by one of the survivors the metrical version of the 124th Psalm. They needed no preacher to interpret to them its beauty and its significance—for they had been there, and they knew:

> And as fierce floods
> Before them all things drown,
> So had they brought
> Our soul to death quite down.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Even as a bird
> Out of the fowler's snare
> Escapes away,
> So is our soul set free.
> Broke are their nets,
> And thus escaped we.

New Records in Shipbuilding

Forty-four Ships in One Month

NEW records in the production of ships by the United States and the United Kingdom were established during the month of May, 1918. American shipyards completed and delivered to the Shipping Board forty-three steel ships and one wooden ship, representing, in the aggregate, 263,571 deadweight tons. These figures do not refer to launchings, but to ships fully equipped and ready for service. The month's work in the United States in comparison with previous months is shown in the following table of tonnage produced:

1918.	Tons.	1918.	Tons.
January	88,507	April	160,286
February ...	123,625	May	263,571
March	172,611		

The May deliveries comprised thirty-nine requisitioned steel vessels, four contract steel and one contract wooden ship. In the last six days of the month there were delivered one wooden and fourteen steel ships, totaling 82,760 tons. The

best previous week was that ended May 4, when the deliveries totaled 80,180 tons.

Launchings kept pace with the number of ships completed. Among the vessels launched in May was the Agawam, the first "fabricated" ship in the world, "fabricated" being the technical term applied to ships built from numbered pieces made from patterns. Approximately 27 steel mills, 56 fabricating plants, and 200 foundries, machine, pipe, and equipment shops were engaged in the production of the parts.

On June 1 it was unofficially stated that there were in operation by the United States Government 2,200,000 deadweight tons of shipping engaged in the transportation of troops and supplies and in kindred work for the army. Reviewing the shipping situation as a whole, Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the Shipping Board, in an address on June 10, said:

> On June 1 we had increased the American-built tonnage to over 3,500,000 deadweight tons of shipping. This gives us a total of more than 1,400 ships, with an approximate total deadweight tonnage of 7,000,000 now under the control of the United States Shipping Board.
>
> In round numbers, and from all sources, we have added to the American flag since our war against Germany began nearly 4,500,000 tons of shipping.
>
> Our program calls for the building of 1,856 passenger, cargo, and refrigerator ships and tankers, ranging from 5,000 to 12,000 tons each, with an aggregate deadweight of 13,000,000. Exclusive of these, we have 245 commandeered vessels, taken over from foreign and domestic owners, which are being completed by the Emergency Fleet Corporation. These will aggregate a total deadweight tonnage of 1,715,000.
>
> This makes a total of 2,101 vessels, exclusive of tugs and barges, which are being built and will be put on the seas by the Emergency Fleet Corporation in the course of carrying out the present program, with an aggregate deadweight tonnage of 14,715,000.
>
> Five billion dollars will be required to finish our program for 1918, 1919, and 1920, but the expenditure of this enormous sum will give to the American people the greatest merchant fleet ever assembled in the history of the world, aggregating 25,000,000 tons.
>
> American workmen have made the expansion of recent months possible, and they will make possible the successful conclusion of the whole program. From all present expectations it is likely that by 1920 we shall have close to 1,000,000 men working on American merchant ships and their equipment.
>
> We have a total of 819 shipways in the United States. Of these, a total of 751, all of which except ninety are completed, are being utilized by the Emergency Fleet Corporation for the building of American merchant ships.
>
> In 1919 the average tonnage of steel, wood, and concrete ships continuously building on each way should be about 6,000. If we are using 751 ways on cargo ships and can average three ships a year per way, we should turn out in one year 13,518,000 tons.
>
> The total gross revenue of our fleet is very impressive. From the ships under the control of the Shipping Board a total gross revenue is derived of about $360,000,000.

An appropriation of $1,761,701,000 for the American merchant marine was provided in the Sundry Civil bill reported to the House on June 10 by the Appropriations Committee. The amount recommended for ships and shipping was $1,282,694,000 less than the Shipping Board requested, but Chairman Sherley explained that receipts from the operation of ships could be devoted to building charges, and that no curtailment of the building program was contemplated. Of the Shipping Board total $1,438,451,000 was for construction in this country, $55,000,000 for building American ships abroad, $87,000,000 for establishing shipyards, $60,000,000 for operating ships heretofore acquired, and $6,250,000 for recruiting and instructing ships' officers.

As the result of an agreement between the United States and Japanese Governments, twenty-three Japanese ships, aggregating 151,166 tons deadweight, have been chartered to the United States for the allied transport services. On June 4 it was announced that twelve Japanese ships, obtained either by purchase or charter, had arrived in Pacific ports and were being transferred to the Atlantic Coast.

More than 400,000 tons of ships were released to the United States and the Allies by Sweden under the terms of the commercial agreement signed at Stockholm by representatives of the two Governments. Under a modus vivendi, in effect for some months, the War Trade

Board had permitted exports to Sweden in sufficient quantities to meet immediate and urgent needs.

The shipbuilding situation in the United Kingdom has shown considerable improvement, as seen in the following table of merchant vessels, in gross tons, completed in British yards and entered for service:

BRITISH SHIPBUILDING

April, 1917...	69,711	November ..	158,826
May	69,773	December ...	112,486
June	109,847	January, 1918	58,568
July	83,073	February ...	100,038
August	102,060	March	161,674
September...	63,150	April	111,533
October	148,309	May	197,274

It should be noted that the British practice is to express merchant shipbuilding statistics in "gross tons," whereas in the United States and some other countries the figures are recorded in "deadweight" tons, which is a much higher figure.

The total ships completed in the shipyards of the United Kingdom during the twelve months ended May 31, 1918, were 1,406,838 gross tons. The corresponding figures for the year ended April 30, 1917, were 1,270,337.

Raising torpedoed ships has become a considerable source of increased tonnage for the Allies. According to a report of the British Admiralty Salvage Department, made public June 17, no less than 407 ships sunk by Germans in British waters were salvaged in the years between January, 1915, and May, 1918. Up to December, 1917, 260 ships were recovered. In the first five months of 1918 the number salvaged was 147, the increased rate being due to improved methods.

Among the difficulties encountered was the danger of poisonous gases from he rotting cargoes of sunken ships, which sometimes caused the loss of lives. One salvage ship was torpedoed while working on a wreck, and sometimes the work of weeks is destroyed by one rough sea. Feats performed by the Salvage Department include the raising of a large collier sunk in twelve fathoms of water and involving a dead lift of 3,500 tons. Another vessel was raised fifteen fathoms by the use of compressed air.

American Exports Versus the U-Boats

By CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

NOTWITHSTANDING a net loss of the world's shipping, due to the usual perils of the sea as well as to enemy mines and submarines, of 2,632,279 tons from the beginning of the war to April 1, 1918, the vital trade route across the Atlantic has shown a steady increase in efficiency. Even more gratifying is the fact that in recent weeks the gain in efficiency has been accelerated.

All the essential requirements of our allies as well as of our own expeditionary forces abroad appear to be met, according to these official statistics from the Department of Commerce. For instance, exports of nitric, picric, sulphuric, and other acids, so essential in the manufacture of munitions, are going to Europe in a steadily increasing volume. Exports of acids increased from a total value of $10,003,647 in the calendar year 1915 to $52,695,640 in 1917. Exports of copper, no less necessary for cartridges and other uses, to France, Italy, and Great Britain increased from 229,129,587 pounds in 1915 to 890,819,053 pounds in 1917.

The same three allies, which needed only 499,719 tons of steel billets, blooms, and ingots in the calendar year 1915, took 1,395,019 tons in 1916 and 1,847,201 tons in 1917. Exports of steel plates to the same three allies for ships, tanks, and other military uses increased similarly from 63,584,467 pounds in 1915 to 72,242,656 pounds in 1916 and 165,630,514 pounds in 1917. All Europe took but a negligible tonnage of steel rails in 1913, the last full year before the war.

France alone took 5,362 tons in 1915 and 122,858 tons in 1917. Exports of locomotives to France kept pace with the rails, increasing from 38 in 1915 to 570 in 1917, and 129 in the month of January, 1918. Exports of metal-working machinery to these three allies increased from a total value of $29,229,683 in 1915 to $47,666,606 in 1916 and $54,906,405 in 1917.

Statistics on the exports of barbed wire epitomize the history of defensive works by our allies. Italy, for example, took only 2,000 pounds of that commodity in 1915. Next year her requirements jumped to 58,367,004 pounds, while last year the necessity of constructing an entirely new system of defenses in haste called for 204,972,438 pounds of American barbed wire. On the other hand, France, which needed 264,310,493 pounds of barbed wire in 1916, called for only 29,952,532 pounds in 1917.

EXPORTS OF LEAD

France, Italy, and England laid in a stock of lead from which to make bullets in 1915, the former country taking 21,234,108 pounds, Italy 5,176,794 pounds, and Great Britain 81,483,866 pounds. Next year total shipments to all three countries fell off to 23,015,071 pounds, but rose again to 59,470,181 pounds in 1917, "unrestricted" U-boat warfare to the contrary notwithstanding.

Not all exports of lead went to our allies. Although at peace, Denmark, Holland, and Sweden, each and severally, bought more American lead in 1916 than Italy needed in any one of three years of desperate fighting, total exports to these three neutrals in that year aggregating 18,113,859 pounds. Even last year, after the United States had declared war against Germany, 3,470,415 pounds of lead went to these three neutrals, all of which just happen to drive a thriving trade with Germany. The patriots who supplied this brisk neutral demand for material from which bullets are made probably would not care to trace the shipments to their ultimate effect in swelling American casualty list.

Exports of explosives, including shells and projectiles, increased from a total value of $188,969,893 in 1915 to $715,575,306 in 1916. In 1917, after England and France had attained such marvelous efficiency in the production of these essentials of war, exports declined, but still reached the enormous total of $633,734,405. Just to show that we are keeping our stride in supplying explosives to the firing line the fact may be mentioned that in spite of delays due to a lack of bunker coal in the unprecedentedly severe month of January, 1918, we shipped 2,606,297 pounds of dynamite during the month, as compared with 1,787,600 pounds in January, 1917, and 37,587,662 pounds of powder, against 36,767,984 pounds in the corresponding month of 1917.

Gasoline, the foundation on which present allied supremacy in the air is based, and which also plays so great a part in land transportation, is going to Great Britain, France, and Italy in swiftly increasing volume. Shipments to these three countries in 1915 totaled 36,936,303 gallons; in 1916, 98,178,139 gallons; in 1917, 141,327,159 gallons. As a basis of comparison it may be said that America's total exports of gasoline to all the world in 1913 amounted to only 117,728,286 gallons.

Gasoline engines are going abroad at a similar rate of increase, 50,317 being shipped in the seven months ended Jan. 31, 1918, as compared with 36,209 in the corresponding period of 1916-17.

So much has been said about submarine losses that the average man may be pardoned for accepting the German figures, which have been exaggerated from 46 to 113 per cent., and the German delusion that England is about to be "brought to her knees" by the modern form of piracy. To whatever extent this impression of Prussian frightfulness has been disseminated the submarine campaign has been a success; but right there success ends. In spite of the utmost the U-boats could do, munitions have flowed in steadily increasing volume from America to Europe, while the destructiveness of the undersea boats has as steadily declined. Furthermore, the fact must not be forgotten that not all ships sunk by submarines have been east-

VISCOUNT HALDANE

British War Secretary from December, 1905, to June, 1912, when he became Lord High Chancellor

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

GERMAN COMMANDERS ON WEST FRONT

General von Hutier

General Sixt von Arnim

General von Boehn

General von der Marwitz

bound with cargoes of munitions for the Allies. Some have been lost on the westward voyage; others have been laden with grain for the starving Belgians, or for neutrals which have developed such an astonishing appetite for lard, lead, and other things of which Germany stands in need; still others have been hospital ships.

If any further evidence of America's great part in the war, irrespective of participation by American troops in the fighting, is needed it can be found in statistics of exports of foodstuffs to the Allies, who have been obliged to depend more and more upon this country for the necessaries of life.

Exports of wheat flour to France in the calendar year 1915 were 2,392,952 barrels; in 1916, 2,263,990 barrels; in 1917, 2,659,328 barrels. Italy called for 148,999 barrels of American wheat flour in 1915 and 1,494,816 barrels in 1917, while Great Britain's requirements were 3,269,262 barrels in the former year and 4,808,141 barrels in the latter.

Our total exports of fresh beef to all the world in 1913 were only 6,580,123 pounds. In 1915 we sent Great Britain, France, and Italy 256,198,283 pounds. In 1916 exports to these three countries fell off to 160,879,642 pounds, but rose again to 172,940,833 pounds, in spite of von Tirpitz's unrestricted destructiveness.

In 1913 France took only 716,266 pounds of American bacon; but in 1915 the demand jumped to 52,044,475 pounds, increasing still further to 60,606,802 pounds in 1916 and to 73,195,974 pounds in 1917. Great Britain, which got along with 145,269,456 pounds of American bacon in 1913, needed 284,783,009 pounds in 1916 and 341,674,452 pounds in 1917. In the same period exports of hams and shoulders to France increased more than twelvefold and to Great Britain more than a third.

Exports of lard to France, Italy, and Great Britain increased from a total of 200,490,003 pounds in 1913 to 210,139,760 pounds in 1915 and 224,683,388 pounds in 1916. In 1917 exports to these three countries fell to 189,024,889 pounds. It is an interesting coincidence that Holland, whose appetite for American lard was fully satiated by 38,313,677 pounds in 1913, and which was able to skimp along with a trifle more than 20,000,000 pounds a year during the first two years of the world war, required 64,888,545 pounds in 1917, when Germany's need for fats grew desperate.

Exports of sugar have gone forward to the Allies on the same vast scale. In 1913 our entire export trade absorbed only 14,995,232 pounds of sugar. In 1915 we sent to Great Britain, France, and Italy alone 860,456,311 pounds; in 1916, 1,126,022,067 pounds; in 1917, 519,881,377 pounds. No wonder the sugar bowl disappeared from the American restaurant table last Fall and still remains in strict seclusion!

SOLDIERS AND CHEWING GUM

Not only have we been rendering the Allies a useful service by supplying so important a portion of their necessary food and munitions of war, but we have been for some months forwarding troops to the battleline. No figures are given out regarding movements of troops, but there is a significant bit of evidence in the monthly summaries of foreign commerce which proves that the number of American fighters abroad must be very large. As the Government has published this evidence, there can be no harm in referring to it here.

Gum is not chewed by Europeans, but seems to be regarded as a necessary of life in the United States, if the wagging jaws to be seen in street cars and other public places are any indication. Well, according to Government figures, no chewing gum whatever was exported in 1915; but in the calendar year 1917 the value of chewing gum exported was $1,403,888! The figures given, being at wholesale prices, represent upward of 176,000,000 cuds! Even on the most liberal allowance; so vast a quantity would supply a great many fighting men.

Viewed from another standpoint, these chewing-gum statistics are even more encouraging. If the shortage of cargo space to allied ports were as desperate as Germany's press agents would have us believe, it does not seem reasonable to

suppose that any part of it would be frittered away on chewing gum in such formidable quantities. This conviction is strengthened by the discovery that exports of candy have increased one-third in the three calendar years of war, to a total of $2,108,081 in 1917.

Most gratifying of all is the fact that despite the utmost endeavors of the submarines, and notwithstanding upward of 3,000 strikes in American shipyards last year, the capacity and efficiency of transatlantic shipping increases from day to day not only positively but also negatively by the withdrawal of the heavy tonnage formerly serving enemy countries through contiguous neutral nations.

True, exports fell off somewhat for the eight months ended Feb. 28, 1918; but Europe received 63 per cent. of the total. Now when Europe is spoken of it means substantially England, France, and Italy. Russia obtained very little in those eight months, and Germany's neutral neighbors still less. The shrinkage in the volume of supplies to our fighting partners was not so much on account of anything the submarines could do as because of the temporary breakdown of our own system due to extraordinarily severe weather and to other causes.

Now the weather handicap has been lifted, our industrial machine has been geared up and more ships have been placed where they could render the most effective service. While in February, 1918, we could send our allies only 750,000 tons of food, which was 50,000 tons less than their minimum requirements, in the next month this was increased to 1,100,000 tons.

OUR NEW MERCHANT MARINE

After having the decadence of the American merchant marine dinned into our ears for decades, we may be pardoned for gloating over the way this same merchant marine has come back under the stress of war. Of total imports worth $1,778,596,695 in 1915, goods valued at $342,796,714 arrived in vessels flying the American flag. In 1917 the value of goods arriving in American vessels had increased to $732,814,858. The increase was the greatest shown by ships of any nation, and the total value was the highest for any, British ships ranking second with imports valued at $693,565,240. This was a decrease of only $7,000,000 from 1915, in spite of all the U-boats could do. French ships, fighting the same sneaking foe, were actually able to increase the value of goods delivered at American ports from $70,275,445 in 1915 to $102,346,317 in 1917, considerably more than making up for the decrease in imports arriving under British and Italian flags. In the seven months ended Jan. 31, 1918, nearly 29 per cent. of all imports arrived in ships flying the American flag.

And the efficiency curve is still climbing. Up to April 10 America, by restricting imports, withdrawing ships from less essential trade routes, and by obtaining neutral tonnage by agreement—in other words, by good management—had been able to place 2,762,605 tons of shipping in the transatlantic service to carry food, munitions, and men to France. Of this total, 2,365,344 tons were under American registry. By skillful handling in port at both ends of the route the efficiency of this tonnage had been increased 20 per cent., which was equivalent to adding more than 400,000 tons to the carrying capacity of the fleet as compared with normal times.

These figures include very little of the 500,000 tons of Dutch shipping requisitioned, and none at all of the 250,000 tons Japan has promised to contribute during the Summer. Neither do they include any of the tonnage of England and the other allies which the American Shipping Control Committee has the power to reroute, nor yet do they take into consideration any of the tonnage under way or to be built in American shipyards, nor the 200,000 tons Japan has agreed to build for us as soon as we can deliver the plates; for this article deals only with conditions as they now exist.

To sum up, the shipping situation, as disclosed by Government statistics, is far more satisfactory than current comment would lead one to believe. If it is not all we could wish, we have the satisfaction of knowing that Germany is much more dissatisfied with it than we are.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From May 18, 1918, Up to and Including June 18, 1918

UNITED STATES

President Wilson signed the new selective draft bill on May 20, and issued a proclamation designating June 5 as the day when all young men who had reached the age of 21 since June 5, 1917, should register. Figures given out by the War Department on June 15 indicated that 744,865 men had responded. On May 23, Major Gen. Crowder announced that an amendment to the law, compelling men not engaged in a useful occupation either to apply themselves to some form of labor contributing to the general good, or to enter the army, would become effective July 1.

On May 27 President Wilson addressed the Congress urging the enactment of a new revenue bill during the present session. Hearings were begun at once by the House Committee on Ways and Means.

The German Government on April 20 offered to free Siegfried Paul London, an alleged American, held in custody by the Germans in Warsaw, in exchange for the release of Captain Franz von Rintelen, and threatened reprisals against Americans in Germany in case the offer was refused. Secretary Lansing, on June 4, sent a reply through the Swiss Minister, flatly refusing to comply with the demand, and indicated that if reprisals were undertaken the United States would retaliate.

Indictments charging conspiracy to commit treason against the United States and to commit espionage were returned on June 7 against Jeremiah A. O'Leary, John T. Ryan, Willard Robinson, Emil Kipper, Albert Paul Fricke, Lieutenant Commander Hermann Wessels, and the Baroness Maria von Kretschmann, reported to be a kinswoman of the German Empress. Dr. Hugo Schweitzer and Rudolph Binder, now dead, were also named in the indictment. O'Leary, who had fled from justice after being indicted for conspiracy in connection with the publication of The Bull, was taken into custody in Washington on June 12.

General Peyton C. March announced on June 15 that over 800,000 men had been sent abroad.

A supplementary note from the Netherlands Government was delivered to the State Department on May 22, contending that Secretary Lansing's reply to the original protest against the seizure by the United States Government of Dutch merchant shipping in American ports did not fully answer the objections.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

German submarines began to raid shipping off the eastern coast of the United States on May 25. On June 3 it became known that twelve ships had been sunk. They were the schooners Hattie W. Dunn, the Edward H. Cole, the Edward Baird, the Isabel B. Wiley, the Samuel C. Mengel, the Samuel W. Hathaway, and the auxiliary schooner Hauppauge, and the steamships Texel, Winneconne, and the Carolina. Twelve lives were lost on the Carolina. The schooner Edward was attacked, but was saved and towed to port. Mines were set afloat by the submarines, and the tanker Herbert L. Pratt struck a mine off the Delaware Capes, but was raised and saved. Precautions were taken at once to guard against air raids on New York City and other places near the coast.

On June 4 the Norwegian steamship Eibsvord was sunk off the Virginia Capes, and an American destroyer interrupted an attack on the French steamer Radioleine about sixty-five miles off the Atlantic Coast.

The British steamer Harpathian was sunk off the Virginia Capes without warning on June 6, and the next day the Norwegian steamer Vinland was sunk in the same area.

On June 9 the American steamer Pinar del Rio was sunk seventy-five miles off the coast of Maryland.

Two Norwegian steamers, the Vindeggen and the Henrik Lund, were sunk on June 10 100 miles east of Cape Charles, and on the same day an American transport fired at a U-boat off the New Jersey coast.

Germany announced on June 9 that seven submarines were operating in American waters.

The sinking of two Norwegian barks, the Krinsjoa and the Samoa, off the Virginia coast was announced on June 16.

The American oil tanker William Rockefeller was sunk in European waters on May 18. Three lives were lost.

The American troops transport President Lincoln, bound for the United States, was sunk in the naval war zone on May 31. Four officers and twenty-three men were lost.

The Argonaut, an American ship, was torpedoed off the Scilly Islands on June 5.

The Irish steamer Inniscarra was sunk on May 24 on the way from Fishguard to Cork. Thirty-seven members of the crew were reported missing. Another Irish ship, the Innisfallen, was sunk in British waters on June 7 and eleven lives were

lost. News was received on June 14 that an Irish fishing fleet of about twenty ships was torpedoed on May 31 between County Down and the Isle of Man.

The sinking of the British steamer Ellaston was announced on June 6. On June 12 announcement was made that the British transport Ausonia had been torpedoed in the Atlantic while on her way westward.

The Königen Regentes, a hospital ship, was sunk off the English Coast, June 6.

The Swedish steamer New Sweden was torpedoed in the Mediterranean Sea on May 30, and on June 14 word was received that the Swedish steamship Dora had been sunk without warning and nine members of the crew killed.

An American ship arriving at an Atlantic port from the war zone on June 1 reported that an American destroyer had sunk two submarines within a half hour. A British transport, arriving at an Atlantic port on June 8, reported that she had sunk two U-boats, and two British ships that reached the United States on June 11, each reported the sinking of one U-boat. Senator Weeks announced on June 15 that twenty-eight submarines had been sunk by the American Navy since Jan. 1.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

May 18-24—Brisk raiding operations in all sectors, with varying success.

May 27—Germans resume their great offensive by delivering a terrific blow on a forty-mile front from around Vauxaillon nearly to Rheims and take the Chemin des Dames and attack the French lines on the northern flank of the Lys salient between Voormezeele and Locre; Americans drive Germans back at three points in Picardy; long-range guns renew the bombardment of Paris; three persons killed, fourteen injured.

May 28—Americans take Cantigny; Germans advance about six miles on a nine-mile front from Vauxaillon to Cauroy, take many towns, cross the Aisne and the Vesle Rivers, and drive a wedge to Fismes; Allies re-establish their line on the Lys-Ypres front east of Dickebusch Lake.

May 29—Germans take Soissons; Allies, with their centre forced back four miles, retire across the Vesle River and fall back on Rheims; Americans repulse three counterattacks at Cantigny; British make a successful raid southeast of Arras; French repulse a local attack north of Kemmel.

May 30—Germans held at both flanks near Soissons and Rheims; gain four miles in drive toward the Marne, take Fère-en-Tardenois and Vezilly; Americans defeat all attempts of the Germans to recover ground near Cantigny; French better their positions north of Kemmel; German attack near Festubert fails; German long-range gun resumes bombardment of Paris despite British promise not to carry out air raids on German cities on Corpus Christi Day.

May 31—Germans reach the Marne in an eight-mile drive, and are closing in on Château-Thierry; Americans make successful raid in the Woevre region and penetrate German line near Toul to a depth of 400 meters.

June 1—Germans turn west in their drive toward Paris, push forward along the Ourcq River six miles or more into the area beyond Neuilly and Chony, beat back the French between Hartennes and Soissons, press on northwest of Soissons, reaching Nouvron and Fontenoy, and attack east of Rheims.

June 2—French counterattacks slow up German drive between Soissons and Château-Thierry; Germans occupy Longport, Corcy, Faverolles, and Troesnes, but lose them all; Germans in possession of the eastern half of Château-Thierry; French hold the western half and recover ground southwest of Rheims.

June 3—Germans make slight gains west of Nouvron and Fontenoy, take Chaudun, and push ahead slightly west of Château-Thierry; French retake Faverolles north of the Ourcq.

June 4—American troops, co-operating with the French west of Château-Thierry, check the Germans, beating off repeated attacks and inflicting severe losses; Germans thrown back at all points except in the neighborhood of Veuilly-la-Poterie; British recover Thillois, southwest of Rheims.

June 5—Americans beat off two more attacks on the Marne battlefield; German advance checked all along the line; attempt to cross the Oise near Montalagache fails; French regain ground north of the Aisne near Vingre; British repulse a raid near Marlancourt.

June 6—American and French troops advance two-thirds of a mile in the neighborhood of Veuilly-la-Poterie; American marines gain two and a sixth miles on a two and a half mile front northwest of Château-Thierry; Germans recapture ruins of Locre Hospice.

June 7—American marines drive on two and one-half miles northwest of Château-Thierry, storm Torcy and Bouresches, and take Veuilly-la-Poterie in co-operation with the French.

June 8—Germans resume shelling near Montdidier; Americans again attack near Torcy and hold Bouresches against fresh assault; French push on north of Veuilly, reach the outskirts of Dammard, gain east of Chezy, and retake Locre Hospice.

June 9—Germans begin new offensive on a front of twenty miles extending from Montdidier to Noyon, and gain two and a half miles in the centre; Americans

again repulse the enemy near Veuilly; Germans pound British positions between Villers-Bretonneux and Arras; Paris again shelled by long-range guns.

June 10—American marines penetrate German lines for about two-thirds of a mile on a 600-yard front in the Belleau Wood; Germans gain two and a half miles around Ressons and Mareuil.

June 11—French deliver two counterblows in the centre and left of the Noyon-Montdidier line, drive Germans back between Rubescourt and St. Maur, regaining Belloy, Senlis Wood, and the heights between Courcelles and Mortemer, and regain Antheuil, but lose Ribecourt, and are forced to give ground along the Oise, as German drive to the Matz River flanks their position; Americans take Belleau Wood; Australians drive Germans back half a mile on a mile and a half front between Sailly-Laurette and Morlancourt; Americans gain at Château-Thierry and cross the Marne.

June 12—French make further advances between Belloy and St. Maur, on the left of the Montdidier-Noyon line; Germans gain a foothold on the southern bank of the Matz River, occupying Melicocq and adjoining heights, and advance east of the Oise and on the Aisne flank; French win further ground east of Veuilly, and occupy Montcourt and the southern part of Bussiares.

June 13—French make successful counter-attack against the German centre on the Matz, retaking Melicocq and Croix Ricard, and throwing the enemy back across the river; Germans gain a footing in the eastern end of the line in Laversine, Coeuvres, and St. Pierre-Aigle; Americans repel attempt to retake Bouresches.

June 14—German offensive west of the Oise ends; artilley fighting south of the Aisne and in the area between Villers-Cotterets and Château-Thierry.

June 15—British and Scottish troops in the Lys salient capture German forward positions on a front of two miles north of Béthune; French improve their position at Villers-Cotterets Forest; French recapture Coeuvres-et-Valsery, south of the Aisne; Americans repulse night raid south of Thiaucourt; announcement made that Americans are holding sectors in Alsace.

June 16—Americans drive Germans off with gas attacks northwest of Château-Thierry; French repulse Germans on the Matz River.

June 17—French improve their positions between the Oise and the Aisne, near Hautebraye; Germans drench American lines near Belleau with gas.

June 18—French improve their positions in local operations in the Aisne region.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

June 11—Italians repulse attacks at Monte Carno and Cortellazzo and east of Capo Sile.

June 14—Austro-Hungarian forces launch attack against the Italian lines on Cady Summit and the Monticello Ridge, but are beaten back.

June 15—Austrians begin great offensive on a 97-mile front from the Asiago Plateau to the sea.

June 16—Austrians cross the Piave River in the vicinity of Nervesa and in the Fagara-Musile area; Italians give way at the Sette Comuni plateau and in the regions of Monte Asolone and Monte Grappa, but later re-establish their lines.

June 17—British and Italians check Austrians in the regions of Asiago and Monte Grappa; Austrians extend their gains west of the Piave River opposite San Dona di Piave and capture Capo Sile.

June 18—Austrians repulsed on the eastern edge of the Asiago Plateau and fail in attempt to cross the Piave between Meserada and Cardelu, a mountain position across Piave on their eastern flank, but suffer enormous losses.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

May 31—Greek troops, supported by French artillery, capture strong enemy positions of Srka di Legen, on the Struma front.

June 2—Greeks enlarge their gains west of Srka di Legen.

June 11—Serbs repulse attacks in the region of Dobropolje.

CAMPAIGN IN EAST AFRICA

May 19—Nanungu occupied by the British.

May 24—Announcement made that direct communication had been established between the advanced troops of Brigadier Edward's column, advancing westward from Port Amelia, and Major Gen. North's troops, advancing eastward from Lake Nyassa.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

May 22—British advance north of Tekrit on the Tigris to Fatha.

May 29—Turks on the Irak front occupy Kirkuk.

June 14—Turks occupy Tabriz in Persia.

AERIAL RECORD

The London area was raided on May 19. Forty-four persons were killed and 179 wounded. Five German airplanes were brought down by the British.

On May 22 the Germans made an ineffectual attempt to raid Paris. Three persons were killed and several were injured in the outskirts of the city, and one German machine was brought down. In another raid, on May 23, one German machine succeeded in reaching the city. One woman was killed and twelve persons injured. The city was raided again on

June 1 and June 2, and several persons were wounded.

Cologne was raided by allied airplanes on May 18. Fourteen persons were killed and forty injured. On the nights of May 21 and May 22 British aviators bombed railway stations in German Lorraine, a chloride factory in Mannheim, and the railway near Liége. In an allied air raid over Liége, on May 26, the railway station was destroyed and twenty-six persons were killed. Karlsruhe was bombed by the British on June 1, and tons of explosives were dropped on Metz, Sablon, and other towns. Twenty-seven German machines were downed. Metz and Sablon were again attacked on June 6. During the period from May 30 to June 12 the British carried out many raids against Bruges, Zeebrugge, and Ostend. On June 13 British aerial squadrons made raids into Germany, bombarding the railway station at Treves, in Rhenish Prussia, and factories at Dillingen, Bavaria.

A British official statement issued May 21 announced that 1,000 German planes had been downed in two months.

On the night of May 19 four squadrons of German airplanes raided British hospitals behind the battlelines in France. Hundreds of persons were killed or wounded. Hospitals containing French and American wounded were again raided on the nights of May 29 and May 31. One nurse was killed, several persons were injured, and a number of civilians died of their wounds.

Two hundred and fifty-two German airplanes were brought down by allied aviators on the western front in the week ended May 23. In the first two days of June the French downed fifty-seven German machines and dropped 130 tons of explosives in the battle area. British airmen destroyed or damaged 518 German airplanes and seven observation balloons in the month of May.

Major Raoul Lufbery, the foremost American air fighter, was killed May 19 in a combat with a German armored biplane back of the American sector north of Toul. The plane which brought him down was later downed by a Frenchman.

On May 25 announcement was made that the first airplanes to be furnished to the American Army from the United States had arrived in France and were in use in a training camp.

The first American bombing squadron to operate behind the front raided the Baroncourt railway on June 14, at a point northwest of Briey and returned safely in spite of German attacks. A second excursion was made later in the day, when the railway station and adjoining buildings at Conflans were bombed.

NAVAL RECORD

An official announcement was made on May 23 that the British Government had on May 15 established a new mine field between the Norwegian and Scotch coasts.

One Austrian dreadnought, the Szent Istvan, was sunk by two Italian torpedo boats off the Dalmatian coast June 10, and a second was badly damaged.

RUSSIA

On May 23 General Semenoff established an autonomous Government in the Trans-Baikal region, after a report of a quarrel with Admiral Kolchak. The Bolshevist Foreign Minister, Tchitcherin, sent a protest to China on May 26 charging the Chinese Government with officially protecting General Semenoff in his activities against the Soviet power.

The Germans continued their advance into Ukraine, and on May 25 broke the armistice on the Voronezh front, in spite of the truce between Russia and the Ukraine, and occupied Valuiki after four days' fighting. Atrocious methods were used in reprisal for disorders among the peasants. On May 31 several villages near Kiev were drenched with gas.

The Bolshevist Foreign Minister, Tchitcherin, protested to France on May 29 against the further retention of Russian troops on the French front.

The Chinese Government informed Tchitcherin on May 29 that it was unable to admit Russian Soviet councils in China because the Soviet Government had not been recognized by China.

On May 29 announcement was made that a new Cossack Government had been set up in the Don country with General Krasnoff at the head. His first proclamation announced that the Austro-Germans had entered the territory to aid in the fight against the Red Guard and for the establishment of order.

The Bolshevist Government offered to surrender the Russian Black Sea fleet to Germany on condition that the warships be restored to Russia after peace had been declared and that the Germans refrain from using the vessels, June 6.

Several moves were made looking toward intervention by the Allies to save Russia from complete domination by Germany. A military agreement between China and Japan relating to the expedition into Siberia was signed on June 2. On June 10 Senator William H. King introduced a resolution in the United States Senate proposing that a civilian commission be sent to Russia, backed by an allied military force, for the purpose of overcoming German propaganda and to aid in giving freedom to the country. The Russian Ambassador at Washington, Boris Bakhmeteff, presented to the State Depart-

ment on June 11 a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Cadet Party of Russia urging allied intervention.

June 18—Further advances into Russia by the Germans in contravention of Brest treaty.

FINLAND

General Mannerheim, Commander in Chief of the Finnish White Guards, resigned on May 23 because of the plan of the Finnish Conservatives to invade the Russian Province of Karelia.

The Cabinet resigned on May 25 as a result of the appointment of former Premier Zvinhufvud as temporary dictator. M. Paasikivi, a member of the old Finnish party and a former Senator, was asked by the dictator to form a Cabinet.

On June 2 Russia agreed with Germany that she would accept proposals for the regularization of her relations with Finland.

A Swedish Socialist paper, according to a dispatch printed in The London Times of June 3, published a statement that a secret treaty existed between Finland and Germany whereby the Finnish Government undertook to establish a monarchy under a German dynasty, to place the Finnish Army under German leadership, to allow Finland to be used as a passageway to the arctic and the Aland Islands as a naval base. Later reports announced that Prince Oscar, the fifth son of the German Emperor, would probably be the ruler.

On June 12, the Government proposal for the establishment of a monarchy with a hereditary ruler was presented to the Landtag.

Kronstadt was seized by the Germans May 30, and on the same day announcement was made that General von der Goltz had been placed in supreme command of the Finnish Army as well as of the German forces in Finland.

Announcement was made on June 10 that Germany and Russia had reached an agreement concerning the boundaries of Finland, providing that Finland cede to Russia the fortresses of Ino and Raivola under guarantees that they were not to be fortified. Russia ceded to Finland the western part of the Murman Peninsula with an outlet to the Arctic Ocean.

In response to communications from the French and British Legations at Stockholm, the Finnish Government announced that it had no designs on the Mourmansk railway, but would not undertake not to reunite Carelia with Finland, and on June 17 it was announced that Finland would annex Carelia.

RUMANIA

Lord Robert Cecil announced in the British House of Commons on May 28 that diplomatic representatives of the Allies at Jassy had notified Rumania that their Governments considered the Rumanian peace treaty with the Central Powers null and void.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

An official French dispatch received in Washington May 22 announced that a decree had been issued in Vienna dividing Bohemia into twelve district governments, with advantages to the Germans which would reduce the Czech powers in the Reichsrat at Vienna as well as in Bohemia itself. Martial law was proclaimed in some parts of Bohemia.

The aspirations of the Congress of Oppressed Races of Austria-Hungary, which was held in Rome in April, were indorsed by Secretary Lansing in a statement issued May 29.

Disorders throughout Bohemia and the Slavic regions of Austria-Hungary by the Poles, Slovenes, Czechs, and Slavs. Serious political unrest throughout the Dual Empire. Prime Minister of Austria, Dr. Seidler, resigns.

Austria and Germany fail to block an agreement regarding disposition of Poland.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Manchester Guardian announced on May 18 that the war treaty between England, France, Italy, and Russia, which embodied Italy's terms of entering the war, and which was published by the Bolshevist Government in Russia on Jan. 26, had been abrogated, and that its place had been taken by a new treaty.

The Radoslavoff Ministry in Bulgaria resigned June 16.

China and Japan reached an agreement on military affairs, including the expedition into Siberia, and on other matters on May 20, and the formal compact was signed June 2. A naval convention had been signed May 23.

The Belgian Foreign Minister, Charles de Broqueville, resigned on June 3. He was succeeded by M. Cooreman, former President of the House of Representatives.

A memorandum presented to the American State Department and made public on June 14 showed that Belgians were still being deported and were compelled to work behind the German lines.

On June 12 the lower house of the Prussian Diet adopted the fourth reading of the suffrage bill, including provision for the proportional representation of the mixed language districts of the eastern provinces, and also passed bills settling the composition of the upper house and providing for a revision of the Constitution.

Peru seized interned German ships of 50,000 tonnage at Callao, June 15.

Costa Rica declared war against Germany May 23.

A Battle Seen From Above

By a Correspondent at the Front

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

THE night mists came creeping up like a smoke screen, and the battalion that marched up toward the edge of the battlefield along the road that skirted the far end of the aerodrome was a regiment of shadow forms. A band of drums and fifes was playing them out with a merry little tune, so whimsical and yet so sad also in the heart of it.

It had been decided that an important railway junction behind the German lines was to be bombed. All day long had been the continuous roar of death, and now, when night had fallen, all the sky seemed on fire with it. Voluminous clouds, all bright with a glory of infernal fire, rolled up to the sky, the most frightful and tragic thing it has ever been given to men to behold, with an infernal splendor beyond words to tell.

With a tense, restless emotion the order to set off out over the enemy lines was awaited. In the ground-fog the machine, with a load of bombs tucked away under the wings, looked a mysterious, weird thing, and shadowy forms flitted hither and thither across the aerodrome. The tramp of marching men could be heard, and the tap of drums to the rhythm of their feet, and those transport columns which shake the Flemish cottages of the little hamlets as they pass along.

At last the order was given, and up into the chill air the machine rose. Circling round a couple of times, the nose of the airplane was set in the direction of the objective, away behind the inferno of the hell-fires of No Man's Land.

Only the mighty voice of the engine could be heard, and headlights were switched off just before crossing the line. There was still a dank, heavy mist hanging over the ground, and visibility was not so good as might have been desired.

But down below one of those terrible bombardments, a beautiful and devilish thing, was in full blast. All the sky seemed on fire with it, and thousands of gun flashes were winking and blinking from hidden places and hollows. Shells rushed through the air as though flocks of colossal birds were in flight. Amid all the noise and din of those fires of hate and hell it was certain the monotonous drone of the engine would not be heard.

Then, when the Hun lines had been crossed without trouble from "Archies," glancing back, star-shells could be seen bursting and pouring down golden rain. And as far as the eye could see, northward and southward, stretched seemingly unbroken lines of Verey lights. The enemy was also sending up his flares, as he often does, to reveal any masses of men who may be moving between his shell craters and ours.

Quickly the "eggs" were dropped on the objective, and two terriffic bursts of flame indicated the explosions. Evading the beams of a searchlight that sought to pick up the machine, home and the friendly darkness were sought.

The German lines were recrossed, and, glancing below, it was seen that S O S light signals, with their little cries of color to the German gunners behind, were being sent up into the skies. It was some time ago that such lights were first seen up in the sky, and they had never ceased their winking for a single night, though now they appeared blurred in the white breath which had arisen from the wet earth.

And to pass over all this is to conceive a great admiration for these gunners, who, amid all the tumult, deafening and nerve splitting, of our batteries, work with an endurance and courage to the limit of human nature. G. B.

American Soldiers in Action

Achievements of General Pershing's Troops in the Terrific Battles in Champagne and Picardy

[Month Ended June 18, 1918]

WITH over 800,000 American troops in France, as the Secretary of War announced on June 15, 1918, the United States in the last month has assumed a far greater portion of the Allies' burden and has begun to take its full share in the large-scale fighting on the western front. Within a year since the first American troops landed in France, a period primarily one of preparation, the United States Army has developed into an important military factor. Evidence of this was seen in June in several engagements in which the Americans distinguished themselves by their gallantry, resourcefulness, and efficient methods. Prominent in the month's record were the American offensive at Cantigny, and later, on a much larger scale, the operations at Château-Thierry and in the Marne region near that town.

General Pershing directed the offensive which resulted in the capture of the strongly fortified village of Cantigny, northwest of Montdidier, thereby creating a small salient. The attack, which was delivered on May 28, was on a front of one and one-quarter miles. The Americans, supported by French heavy guns in addition to their own artillery and French tanks, swept forward with remarkable speed and precision, occupied the village, captured 200 prisoners, and inflicted severe losses in killed and wounded on the enemy. Then, with equal rapidity, they consolidated their newly won positions and were thus able to repulse some very fierce counterattacks during the following days. The American casualties were relatively small. The troops that captured Cantigny were sent to that sector a month previously, after Pershing's offer to place all his men and resources at the disposal of the Allies. During the four weeks preceding the offensive the Americans had held their positions under comparatively heavy shelling.

Both before and after the Cantigny engagement, the Americans in all the sectors where they held positions were occupied in ceaseless fighting of minor importance. There were many artillery duels, with plentiful use of gas on both sides, many raids, and considerable aerial activity. The Americans began to feel the effect of increased aircraft production, and in several sectors where the Germans had previously had the advantage the situation was now reversed and American aviators had the upper hand.

AT CHATEAU-THIERRY

Château-Thierry, a town on the Marne, was the next place where the Americans distinguished themselves. On May 31, when the capture of the town by the Germans was imminent, American machine gunners began to arrive on the river banks. Joining a battalion of French colonial troops, they entered the town, and by their well-organized defense positions and accurate fire, caused the advancing Germans to hesitate and halt. The Americans not only repulsed the Germans at every point at which they were engaged, but took prisoners without having any prisoners in turn taken by the Germans. The Americans in this sector were units drawn from the Marine Corps.

The successful resistance against the Germans at Château-Thierry was followed by the marines beating off two determined German attacks on the Marne. The Germans concentrated large forces before Veuilly Wood, and began a mass attack. They were mowed down

by the American machine gunners, and the attack was broken up before reaching the American line. The Germans fled in confusion and with heavy losses.

It was now the Americans' turn to attack. The marines, pushing forward on the morning of June 6, penetrated to a depth of over two miles on a front of two and a half miles, and occupied all the important high ground northwest of Château-Thierry. The French co-operated to the left of the Americans. The Germans were so hard pressed by the Americans that in three days it was necessary to bring up three new divisions of the best German troops.

The Americans continued to advance, pushing forward to a line which lay through Les Mares Farm, just north of the village of Lucy le Bocage, and on through the outskirts of the town of Triangle. This line included strong positions in Bussiares Wood, the crossroads south of Torcy, and the southern edge of Belleau Wood. During the night of June 6 the fighting raged with great fierceness for five hours. The Americans captured Bouresches and Torcy. Further fighting on June 7 extended the American line over a front of about six miles to a depth of nearly two and a half miles. While the losses of the Americans were necessarily heavy, the German dead were piled three deep in places.

The importance of the operations of the Americans on the Marne sector was evident from the fact that the day before they arrived on the front and began fighting, the Germans advanced about six miles. While the Americans advanced their line, the French completed the capture of Vilny, Veuilly-la-Poterie, and the heights southeast of Hautevesnes.

BELLEAU WOOD ENGAGEMENT

Following the capture of Bouresches came the fierce fighting for the possession of Belleau Wood to the north. This wooded hill was a stronghold of German infantry and machine gunners, and the only way to attack it was by advancing to the other side. The American infantry had the assistance of the artillery in clearing the wooded heights, and in the biggest artillery engagement in which the Americans had yet been engaged more than 5,000 high explosive and gas shells were thrown into the German machine gun nests in the woods. Meanwhile German attacks against Hill 204, west of Château-Thierry and commanding the town, were repulsed.

The United States marines attacked again on the morning of June 10 and penetrated the German lines for about two-thirds of a mile on a 600-yard front in Belleau Wood, with the result that the Germans were driven from all but the northern fringe of the wood. On June 11 the wood was captured and 300 prisoners were taken.

FIRST FIELD ARMY

The War Department received reports on May 21 which showed that the first of the field armies had been organized and was in service in France. The army, composed of two army corps, each made up of one regular army, one National Guard, and one National Army division, was placed under the temporary command of Major Gen. Hunter Liggett, the senior Major General then in foreign service. General Liggett was selected to command the first army corps organized in France, and this corps, with that temporarily commanded by Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher, made up the first field army, the total strength of which was almost 200,000 men. By June 14 the American forces in France had become so numerous that General Foch had informed General Pershing that it was desirable to maintain them as purely American units. This fact was communicated to the House Military Affairs Committee by the War Council at Washington. In accordance with this policy two full American divisions were engaged in the fighting in the Château-Thierry sector. The Secretary of War told the committee that General Foch was gradually decreasing the number of Americans brigaded with the French and British, and thereby increasing the American unit.

Official announcements made at Washington showed that approximately half a million soldiers had landed in France

since the German drive began on March 21, 1918, and that Americans held no more than fifty miles of the whole western front. One element of Pershing's mobile forces, by direction of General Foch, guarded the way at the apex of the whole German wedge near Montdidier. Cantigny, which was captured by these forces, was very close to the point of maximum penetration achieved by the enemy after nearly three months of desperate fighting.

The total casualties sustained by the American Expeditionary Forces from the beginning of American participation in the war up to June 17, 1918, is shown in the following figures issued by the War Department at Washington:

Deaths.	Total.
Killed in action	881
Lost at sea	291
Died of wounds	364
Accident and other causes	422
Died of disease	1,234
Total deaths	3,192
Wounded	4,547
Missing, including prisoners	346
Grand total	8,085

First American Offensive a Success

Capture of Cantigny by General Pershing's Troops Described in Vivid Detail

By THOMAS M. JOHNSON
Correspondent with the American Army

This stirring narrative of the first attack and capture of enemy territory by the American forces in France was written by a staff correspondent of The New York Evening Sun. It constitutes a memorable chapter in our military history, not because of the size of the town captured, but because the event marks the beginning of offensive operations in Europe by the United States Army. The brave men who took Cantigny—at the apex of the German salient aimed at Amiens—continued to hold it against all counterattacks through the succeeding weeks. Under date of May 29, 1918, Mr. Johnson cabled from the front:

THE Americans have made their first real attack of the war, and it is a complete success. Advancing up a wooded slope behind French tanks and protected by a perfect and annihilating barrage from French and American guns, our infantry at 7 o'clock Tuesday morning, May 28, stormed and captured the village of Cantigny, northwest of Montdidier, and the German defenses to the north and south, making an advance of a mile on a two-mile front.

The Americans went over in open formation at 6:45 o'clock, advancing at an easy walk and maintaining intervals as if on parade. The sun had just risen, and through streaky clouds all about tongues of red flame were darting from the muzzles of hundreds of massed guns, big and small, while the air itself quivered with the shock of explposions, mingled with the deafening yet purring roar that is called drum fire.

Cantigny itself was turned into a veritable hell, a pillar of fire and smoke, and into it went the crawling, sinister tanks followed by the American infantry in thin lines or little groups. For a while they were swallowed up in the great white and brown and black cloud that enveloped the village, then back to the American line came the first message: "We're here! Everything O. K.!"

Thus these troops of the New World made their first real entry into the war. Thus they did what they could to help in offsetting the new German effort. Compared with the giant struggle going

on elsewhere it was just a little outburst, but we did our best with it and have succeeded.

AN UNFORGETTABLE SCENE

No one who had the privilege to be on the scene at the time of this first American attack will ever forget the sight. It was unforgettable. The whole thing is uneffaceable from the time in the pregnant darkness when the troops that had been chosen for this most honorable of tasks went quietly along the shell-pitted roads to the jumping-off place; from the time the grotesque monsters called tanks rumbled up the same roads to hide until dawn in lairs behind the front line, while other monsters with long snouts crouched upon their heavy carriages like coiled serpents and were given their last drop of oil and their last daub of grease to make sure that their devastating charges would fall true upon their mark; from the time the men were given their last orders and their last "good luck" and went off, they knew not to what, in the first early streak of rosy dawn when the cannonade began and the first airplanes whirred overhead toward the doomed village.

From then until that last throbbing hour when the tempest of shellfire drowned out everything, yes, up to that tense minute at 6:45 o'clock when we turned to one another and in an awe-struck whisper said, "They're over," it is all unforgettable. One lives such moments but once.

This operation had been planned for weeks down to the minutest detail under the direction of the Superior French Command, and in the closest co-operation with the French, to whom must go a liberal measure of the credit for its success.

So far as its objects may be disclosed, they were the following: To reduce the enemy salient and capture its strong point and observation post. Cantigny was all those things. Jutting out from the German front, it gave the enemy an advantage in the field of fire, while, because of its strong cellars, which were linked up with an especially long tunnel under the château in the southern part of the village, which might be likened to its citadel, it was decidedly a strong post.

Perhaps most important of all, it gave the boche a local advantage comparable to that of a man looking down a well. It commanded a sort of valley running back into our lines and permitted the enemy observers to see many things that went on there and so direct his artillery fire upon our back areas. For all of those reasons Cantigny was a prize of value out of all proportion to its size.

ATTACK CAREFULLY REHEARSED

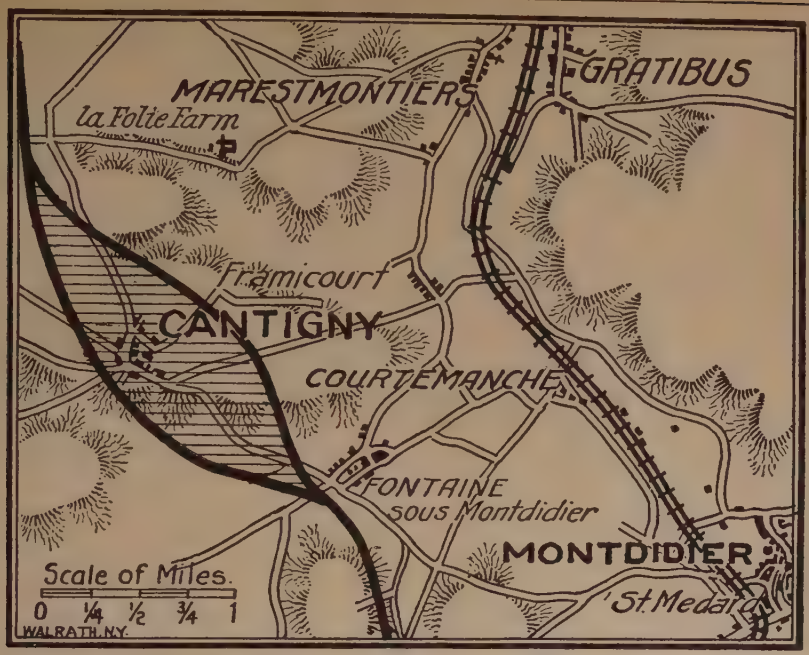
The attack was carefully planned and was rehearsed by our infantry with tanks. They had the further advantage of valuable data gained by our patrols in frequent night explorations of the village, whence the boche seems to have withdrawn his infantry during darkness.

To two American soldiers goes the credit for the fine and loyal thing they did which immeasurably contributed to the success of their comrades. These two soldiers were captured early yesterday morning in a trench raid, and last night the question on every one's mind was, "did they tell?" They knew what was coming and had rehearsed it. Subjected to Prussian grilling, would they tell? The answer came this morning. The Germans were caught completely by surprise just as they made relief. The prisoners taken by us included some incoming and some outgoing troops. They hadn't the slightest idea the attack was coming. They didn't tell, those boys of ours. All the more honor to them for it!

PLAN OF THE ATTACK

This is how the attack was executed: The troops selected to make it entered the trenches in two shifts, the first on Sunday night and the second on Monday night, May 27. Special trenches had been constructed to accommodate a larger number of men than usual. Two hours before zero—that is to say, at 4:45 o'clock this morning—the men withdrew to supporting trenches, whence they went to the front line at zero, or 6:45.

They were divided into three waves for the main attack, with separate de-



CANTIGNY, THE FIRST TOWN CAPTURED IN FRANCE BY AMERICAN TROOPS

tachments to whom had been allotted the task of mopping up the Cantigny cellars. On the right and centre the advance was made to the furthest objectives, while on the left, according to the plan, after mopping up the German trenches, our troops withdrew slightly to a better position, connecting with our old front line.

The troops went forward in extended order, preceded by the powerful tanks, all of which entered Cantigny and went some distance beyond. With the infantry went a detachment of flame throwers who were used against the cellars when the boche refused to come out when ordered to do so. They were also accompanied by a strong detachment of engineers, signal corps men, and carrier pigeons, but the wires have remained intact.

The artillery fire was tremendous. The German batteries at the rear were also drenched by gas. A rolling barrage behind which the infantry advanced was laid by the field guns. The infantry went forward first at the rate of fifty yards per minute and then at twenty-five yards per minute. The moving barrage of fire stalked ahead of our men into Cantigny, keeping the boche down until the infantry was upon him.

The timetable was adhered to perfectly. At 4:45 o'clock the artillery began a heavy concentrated fire, swelling to a drum fire at 6:45, "zero," continuing thence onward to 7:20, when the infantry reached their final objectives. At 7:30 the infantry outlined their position with flares so as to enable the airplanes to signal back. Thus it will be seen that Cantigny was taken in less than thirty-five minutes, for the final objectives were beyond the village.

ALL MODERN WEAPONS USED

There were some tough nuts to crack besides Cantigny itself, such as the trench system protecting it on the south, also part of the Fontaine Wood, and some separate houses at the crossroads at the southeastern outskirts of the town, but all were reduced with bombs, bayonets, or rifles, while the machine guns which went along with the infantry also aided.

Besides all this, a heavy smoke barrage was used, not only to screen our infantry from boche observers, but to blind the boche gunners. The tremendous effectiveness of the whole thing was

shown by the fact that for nearly a half hour after the infantry went over the top, the German artillery was practically silenced. This was due especially to the accurate counterbattery work of the French heavies.

So the Americans in their first attack had the aid of every engine of modern warfare—tanks, gas, flame throwers, smoke barrage, numbers of airplanes, machine guns and automatic rifles, while some especially heavy trench mortars also were concentrated and hurled great bombs into the German trenches from close range. Reports all agree that the German defenses were completely leveled, and the smashed up trenches look like a field plowed by a giant harrow. Our men walked into the trenches through great gaps torn in the barbed wire, but in many places there was no wire at all for great stretches. So much for the main outlines of the attack.

WATCHING THE BEGINNINGS

Waking up early in the morning on the blanket bed on the floor of the dugout and taking a first peek through the sandbagged entrance, it was plain that our best hopes were going to be realized and that it would be a clear day with good visibility. The sun had not yet appeared, but the clouds were few and the early light showed every feature of the country. Here and there were dark dots denoting the waiting batteries, while sausage balloons were already swinging overhead.

In the messroom the commanding General sat at breakfast, cleanly shaven and unworried, although he had been on the front line most of the night. This General, who was in immediate command, talked not about the attack, but about the censorship, tactfully choosing the favorite subject of every correspondent.

By this time the artillery had started, so we went out along the road toward the front, passing a line of ambulances parked under the trees. The further we went along the road the more frequent became the flashes of the explosions on either side, but thus far not a single boche shell had come in and the sounds overhead were all caused by the familiar rushing of our shells and none by the whistle of the boche shells.

Some distance up the road was a vantage spot whence we got a clear view of Cantigny, or the spot where it had been. It was a picture terrible in its grandeur. Cantigny might have been a volcano in eruption shooting up clouds that were first white, then brown, then black, while above the air was filled with spiral shaped black clouds of exploding shrapnel.

GUNNERS BEAT THEIR RECORD

That great smoke cloud was eternally writhing and twisting and taking on new forms as if anguished Cantigny were trying to escape its fate, but every instant more guns flashed. Beside the observation post the cloud grew larger. Finally the smoke streamed off to the right. Near by the American gunners were working, stripped to their undershirts, dripping with perspiration. We walked over there.

"This is the fastest firing we've ever done," said one breathless officer.

Further to the right was the house where the correspondent spent several days and nights a month ago. It is ruined now, but batteries are still there, and they, too, were spouting fire and smoke.

To the left new batteries had opened and the din was terrific. It was hard to resist the impulse to put one's fingers in one's ears. A glance at the watch showed that it lacked barely five minutes of the "zero" hour. Those five minutes passed more rapidly, and yet more slowly, than any I had ever experienced.

Ahead was a green slope dotted with trees, up which our infantry was to advance. It was bare and empty. It seemed incredible that in a few minutes our men would be there. The second hand crawled, yet raced, around the dial. It rested on the figure 10 and we looked at one another. "They're over," we whispered.

We looked up from our watches to find that the smoke clouds had drifted down the slope until the whole country for miles about Cantigny was obscured

by shifting, changing vapor from the great caldron toward which our unseen men were plunging. We almost groaned our disappointment, for in a moment there came a little rift in the smoke, revealing something moving on the ground.

Imagine looking at the teeth of a black comb through a wire screen and having some one pass the comb slowly before your eyes. That was what it looked like —those black teeth, our men, were screened by the shifting smoke. It was only the tiniest glimpse. Then the smoke drifted over and rose again, but we had seen them going forward and upward to Cantigny. After a time the smoke spread still further. Nothing remained to be seen.

ALL WENT AS REHEARSED

Walking back along the road, where now there were a few belated boche shells coming, the heavy artillery officer said: "From my observation post we could see them for a couple of minutes. They went just the way they rehearsed, just walked along slowly, keeping in fine alignment. We could see two of the three waves and not a single man out of place, following the barrage like veterans. We could even see an individual man sometimes."

Beside the road ambulances were waiting. From overhead an observer came sweeping down to drop a message near a white marker on the ground. He leaned out of his seat and waved his hand; then the machine soared up again. Evidently all was going well. Other planes were hovering over Cantigny.

As we entered headquarters all about the guns were crashing and flashing. Headquarters was an underground hive swarming with activity. Officers were hugging telephones or were bent over maps under electric lights. Some were in khaki and some were in light blue. The first of these latter was Lieut. Col. de Chambrun, a descendant of Lafayette. "It goes well," he said, and a moment later an American officer called from a telephone: "They can see the boche throwing down his arms in Cantigny." After that the messages came thick and fast:

"The first boche shell hit our front line at 7:06—the Colonel has twenty prisoners—the right flank is sending back about a hundred—balloon reports grenade fighting west of Cantigny where our men are mopping up the trenches—two of our stretcher bearers are returning with an empty stretcher—one tank returning from Cantigny—our men are seen walking around the street of Cantigny—flame throwers can be seen through the smoke clearing out the dugouts—enemy fire beginning on Cantigny Wood at 7:30, three-quarters of an hour after zero."

After that come other reports of German batteries at last able to operate, though haltingly. Shortly afterward the officer reported, laconically, "There goes my observation post. Steve's gone to capture Cantigny singlehanded. Couldn't keep him there."

The French and Americans were jubilant. There were mutual handshakings, then silence, and in came a grimy, sweaty, but happy soldier, the first of the men who'd been over the top into Cantigny. He saluted punctiliously: "Sir, I have brought back twenty prisoners."

PEN READY FOR PRISONERS

Sure enough, there they were outside, about to be herded into a detention pen that was already prepared for them. They were dull-looking men, still half stunned, in dirt-gray uniforms, looking like slugs or earthworms, sullen and angry at being captured by Americans. The officer said 120 had been counted up above already, and added: "Hope we get enough to even up for Seicheprey."

The soldier was triumphant. "I went with the first wave," he said. "We got to a sort of trench, and all of a sudden the boches jumped right up in front of us and started to throw grenades. We went at 'em with grenades, bayonets, rifles, pistols, whatever came handy. I spitted one big fellow on my bayonet, but the bayonet stuck. So I pulled out my trench knife and went for another, but he yelled 'Kamerad!' so I grabbed his gun and hit a third over the head with it. There were grenades busting all around, but I

could hear our fellows shouting 'Go to it, Yanks!' the same as they did all the way over No Man's Land.

"Pretty quick all the boches were yelling 'Kamerad!' and putting up their hands. The Captain told me to herd these together and get them down quick so they could be questioned. There's about a hundred more up in the woods cut off by the barrage."

A little later the wounded began coming back to the dressing stations which had been specially prepared. The wounded were all cheerful, saying, "We went right through 'em—nothing to it—go back and do it again tomorrow." Every man asked only two things: "How many boches did we get?" and "Have you got a cigarette?"

These are the real victors of Cantigny. When all's said and done, the staff may plan, guns may fire, tanks may crawl, but the common infantry soldier is the real hero of all.

Americans' Defense of Château-Thierry

UNITED STATES troops, mostly inexperienced in actual warfare, on June 1 played a brilliant part in the defense of Château-Thierry. By their prompt and resolute support to the French they assisted in driving the Germans from the south bank of the Marne at that vital point, and were largely responsible for blocking the enemy's determined advance across the river toward Paris, thus preventing the developemnt of a most serious situation for the Allies. The French official report of the incident was as follows:

American troops checked German advanced forces which were seeking to penetrate Neuilly Wood, and by a magnificent counterattack hurled back the Germans north this wood.

Further south the Germans were not able to make any gains. On the Marne front an enemy battalion which had crept across to the left bank of the river above Jaulgonne was counterattacked by French and American troops and hurled back tc the other bank, after having suffered heavy losses. A footbridge which the enemy used was destroyed and 100 prisers remained in our hands.

A BRITISH ACCOUNT

The Reuter correspondent under date of June 5 described the feat of the Americans at Château-Thierry in these words:

On May 31, when the Germans were already in the outskirts of Château-Thierry, an American machine-gun unit was hurried thither in motor lorries. Château-Thierry lies on both banks of the Marne, which is spanned by a big bridge. A little to the northward a canal runs parallel to the river and is crossed by a smaller bridge.

The Americans had scarcely reached their quarters when news was received that the Germans had broken into the northern part of Château-Thierry, having made their way through the gap they had driven in our lines to the left of the town and then pouring along the streets to the bridge, intending to establish themselves firmly on the south bank and capture the town.

The American machine gunners and French colonials were thrown into Château-Thierry together. The Americans immediately took over the defense of the river bank, especially the approaches to the bridge. Fighting with their habitual courage and using their guns with an accuracy which won the highest encomiums from the French, they brought the enemy to a standstill.

Already wavering under the American fire, the Germans were counterattacked by the French colonials and driven from the town. They returned to the attack the next night and under cover of darkness crept into the town along the river bank and began to work their way through the streets toward the main bridge. At the same moment a tremendous artillery bombardment was opened upon the southern half of the town.

BLOWING UP THE BRIDGE

When within range of the machine guns the Germans advanced under the cover of clouds of thick white smoke from smoke bombs, in order to baffle the aim of the American gunners. A surprise, however, was in store for them. They were already crossing the bridge, evidently believing themselves masters of both banks, when a thunderous explosion blew the centre of the bridge and a number of Germans with it into the river. Those who reached the southern bank were immediately captured.

In this battle in the streets, and again at night, the young American soldiers

showed a courage and determination which aroused the admiration of their French colonial comrades. With their machine guns they covered the withdrawal of troops across the bridge before its destruction, and although under severe fire themselves, kept all the approaches to the bank under a rain of bullets which nullified all the subsequent efforts of the enemy to cross the river. Every attempt of the Germans to elude the vigilance of the Americans resulted in disaster.

During the last two days the enemy has renounced the occupation of the northern part of Château-Thierry, which the American machine guns have made untenable. It now belongs to No Man's Land, as, since the destruction of the bridges, it is not worth while for the French to garrison it.

Against their casualties the Americans can set a much greater loss inflicted by their bullets on the enemy. They have borne their full part in what a French staff officer well qualified to judge described as one of the finest feats of the war.

THE QUICK ADVANCE

The story of the quick advance of the American marines was related in detail by Wilbur Forrest in The New York Tribune as follows:

It is a narrative that stands for more, perhaps, than most of those written in American history books. It is literally another story of American minute men who abandoned the figurative plowshares of peaceful training camps and rushed to the scene of action. They met the enemy with weapons they knew how to handle. * * *

On May 30 the enemy reached the Marne east of Château-Thierry and began a forceful advance along the north bank toward the city. The same day American machine gunners received orders 100 kilometers to the rear to jump into auto trucks and hurry into action.

They started almost immediately, and an all-night journey found the battalion at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 31st on a hill overlooking Château-Thierry. All around them French batteries were firing full tilt. The enemy was advancing on the city.

Right here those American machine gunners got their first glimpse of real war. German shells crashed into villages within plain view and the little city below them was not being spared. The officers chose a small nearby village as headquarters and the marines waited for darkness before loading little black machine guns on their shoulders and marching into Château-Thierry.

GERMAN SHELLS RAKE CITY

German high explosives and shrapnel were raking the city, but the young Americans under fire for the first time coolly placed their guns in position on the south bank of the river. They saw heavy shells strike the railroad station and they saw it burn. They saw houses fall like packs of cards, and I have the word of a Frenchman, who was present, that they were "cool like American cucumbers."

During the night the Germans gradually filtered into the outskirts on the north side of the town. Roughly speaking, the American guns were so placed between the houses and in the gardens as to enfilade the approaches to the bridges and the streets on the opposite sides. All remained on the south bank of the river with the exception of a Lieutenant, (John T. Bissell,) a youthful Pittsburgher, who was one of West Point's latest graduates.

The Lieutenant with a dozen men and two guns was ordered to cross the river to prevent the enemy's advance along forked roads which merge to the right of the northern approach to the iron bridge. For convenience sake it is permissible to say that A Company was charged with holding the left part of the town on the south bank and the approaches to the larger bridges, while B Company's guns swept the opposite approaches to the iron bridge, and, therefore, held the right portion of the town.

Several hundred yards separated the two companies. The enemy's shelling was intensified during the night, but no Germans were yet in sight. The machine guns were quiet, although A Company's commander, O. F. Houghton of Portland, Me., was forced to abandon the headquarters he had chosen in a house on the bank of the river and change the position of some guns because of the enemy's precise fire.

It was a waiting game for Company A's guns. In the meantime Company B, at about 5 A. M., in broad daylight, saw two columns of the enemy of twelve men each, advancing across an open field toward the river to the right of their position. The Germans carried light machine guns and were blissfully ignorant that our men were here. One American gun swung its shy little nose around toward the Germans and waited. Behind it was an unpoetic youth named Must of Columbia, S. C., a Sergeant, who waited until he saw the whites of their eyes, and then let them have it, as he explained today.

AT CLOSE RANGE

"I got eight out of the bunch by a little surprise shooting," said the Sergeant with a considerable show of pride. "They flopped nicely. Then I turned on the

other squad, but they were leary and I only got one. The rest of them got into the ditch and crawled back without showing themselves. Later in the day their Red Cross men came out to pick up the wounded. We've got orders not to fire on members of the Red Cross, so I let 'em work unmolested. But I kept tally all day when their Red Cross men came out. By my count they carried off nine and they weren't all wounded, either."

The Germans during the day of June 1 gained the hills overlooking the north bank of the river. Their machine guns and their artillery observers, therefore, were able to direct a galling fire on the south bank and portions of the north bank which still were held by French colonials and two machine guns under an American Lieutenant.

DEADLY MACHINE GUNS

The enemy's position thus made the north bank untenable and orders were given to retire to the south bank under cover of the darkness. At 9:30 P. M. the French, in accordance with these plans, retired to the south bank and blew up a stone bridge. The American machine gun companies during the retirement poured a galling fire from the flanks into the areas evacuated by the retiring troops.

The enemy was now shelling the south bank more heavily and the enemy machine-gun fire was multiplied. The commander of Company A was forced to change the position of his guns in order to secure a better field of fire. With the light Hotchkiss pieces on their shoulders he led his men into a wood further down the river. Here they were spotted by enemy observers and thirty high explosive shells crashed into the wood. The shelling ceased and the guns went into their positions.

The French were still retiring at 10:30 P. M. It was pitch dark, except for shell bursts and the streaky flame stabs from the machine guns on both sides—the Americans were in the wood and along the south bank of the river, the Germans on the crest of the hill on the other side.

Suddenly there was an immense detonation. It was the big bridge blowing up. Then there came out of the darkness across the river, as the firing lulled, the ghostly chant of the advancing enemy. It was one of those German mass attacks, where men, shoulder to shoulder, singing in guttural tones the praise of Germany and the Kaiser, blindly walk into death like fanatics.

The sort of creaky, shuffling sound their boots made as they trotted into the open road came across the river like the wailing of lost souls, converged toward the bridge and was heard by these young Americans, who strained their eyes across the river to get what machine-gun men call "the target." But it was in pitch darkness, and there was only the sound to tell them there were plenty of "targets." Every little black devil of a machine gun tore loose with hellfire. The Americans behind them, who saw their first glimpse of war about thirty hours before, fed in bullets as fast as human hands could work. And the bullets caught their "targets" on the opposite side.

The "target" came on again and again, but nothing could live in that leaden hail. The enemy waves melted in the darkness.

Now come the even more thrilling experiences of the little band of Americans under Lieutenant Bissell who had been cut off and surrounded by the enemy across the river. Even experienced soldiers could not be blamed if they had surrendered there.

At the beginning of the German mass attack a few French colonial soldiers, also cut off by the blown-up bridge, made the Lieutenant understand that then it was every man for himself. The north bank was becoming a seething mass of Germans. All other forces had retired across the river. Bullets were registering on every foot of the space approaching the bridges.

The Germans chant to keep up the courage of the advancing masses. They sometimes yell to disconcert their enemies. With this ghostly chanting drawing nearer to the Lieutenant and his men and the weird yells of the Germans occasionally splitting the night, there was no thought of surrender. Their orders were to retreat by the main bridge, and orders were orders.

SERIOUS PREDICAMENT

Picking up both guns, each man carrying his allotted piece in manoeuvres, the party of thirteen started along the river for the main bridge. Reaching the vicinity of the approach, they discovered their plight. The enemy was almost upon them. Still carrying their guns, they jumped down, taking cover under the stone parapets at the river's edge. Thus they worked their way down to the iron bridge, though the Germans on the very parapet above were marching into a hail of American machine guns from the south bank.

B Company did not know that a detachment had not escaped. The German attack remained at its height, and the enemy, despite its losses, kept sweeping toward the iron bridge. Bissell and his men attempted to cross under their own fire. Three were immediately wounded. They retired, picking up their wounded.

The Lieutenant knew that B Company's guns were across the bridge, and he approached as near as he dared and yelled

repeatedly. B Company's officers finished the story, which was narrated and corroborated by the Lieutenant and others at the rest camp today.

The first B Company knew that Americans were opposite was when they heard a voice calling "Cobey! Cobey!" Cobey was the other Lieutenant.

This time the German attack melted. B Company's guns ceased fire long enough for Cobey to cross the bridge and lead the Lieutenant and the men to safety. Throughout the remainder of the night the enemy vented his rage by heavy shelling. The next day, June 2, the heavy shelling continued. The enemy had picked up his dead and wounded across the river under cover of darkness and could be seen occasionally flitting from house to house.

Sniping was continuous between the French and Germans. Machine guns were silent during the day in order not to give away their positions. Nightfall was so quiet that the Americans were not able to understand such warfare. They thought all war was noisy.

However, at 9 o'clock at night the enemy made a fierce rush for the iron bridge. Fifteen minutes of heavy machine-gun firing squelched the attack and the shelling was resumed. The heavy bombardment continued.

"GOT" WHOLE PLATOON

On June 3 the Sergeant in charge of one of our platoons at the iron bridge saw a German platoon of about fifty men forming on top of a hill. They made a beautiful target, according to the Sergeant's story today. He and his companions believe he got them all.

The enemy brought more artillery up by night and began a terrific shelling to culminate in what appeared to be an attempted attack. The French artillery sprinkled the opposite bank of the river with a barrage which the "novice" American fighters called beautiful. They thought it was less than a hundred yards away, and stood up to watch it, and there wasn't any attack.

The French engineers on this night laid a charge under the iron bridge while the American guns laid down a leaden protective barrage. When the charge was detonated the Germans rushed forward from the house to ascertain the cause of the explosion. It was here that a prearranged petrol flare lit up the vicinity like day, and again American machine gunners had what they insist on calling "targets."

"I was impressed by many things," a company's Captain said. "First of all, the coolness of every man, and especially of a young Georgia theological student who had been drafted, who on the third day complained because the boche shells kept mussing up his gun position. Second, the attitude of those wonderful French colonial troops with us. They gave us inspiration. They said we gave them inspiration; so it was a fifty-fifty exchange. Third, that beautiful French barrage and our wonderful 'targets.'"

Capture of Belleau Wood

Brilliant Exploit of American Troops Northwest of Château-Thierry

The American troops achieved their most important exploit on June 6, 7, and 8 in the region northwest of Château-Thierry. Here they drove back the Germans for nearly two miles along a front of several miles, took from them the important Belleau Wood, captured over 1,000 prisoners, successfully resisted and seriously demoralized two crack divisions of Prussians which had been picked especially to punish them, and effectively blocked a desperate attempt of the Germans to break through the line, an attempt which, if successful, would have given them an open road toward Paris and created a situation of extreme peril to the Allies. Edwin L. James, a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, *described this achievement as follows:*

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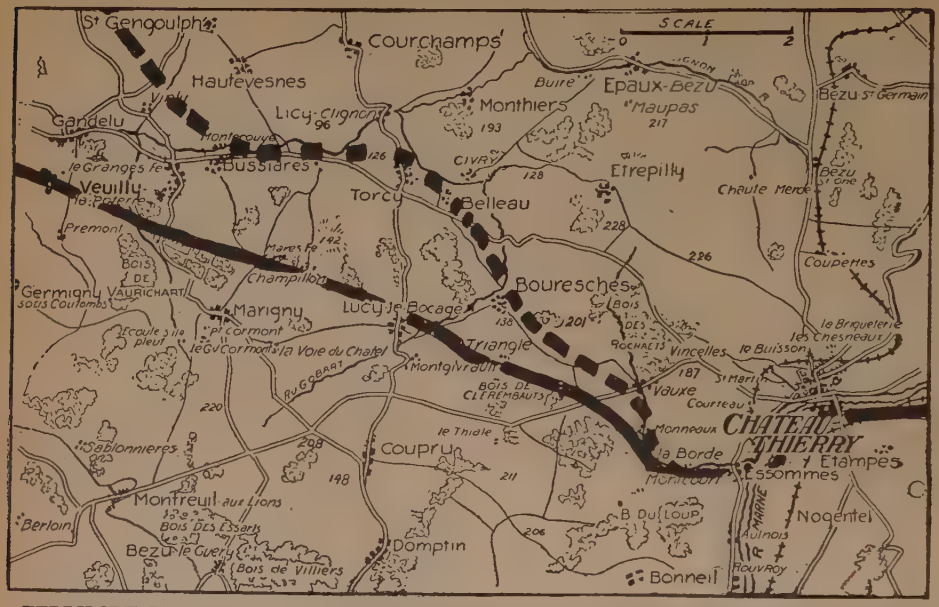
THERE was considerable wonderment among French and American officers last week when it was discovered that the crack 5th Guard and 28th German Divisions were in front of us. It was generally believed then that the Germans planned no immediate attempt to advance northwest of Château-Thierry, and there was much speculation as to why Hindenburg had sent these troops there. This is now explained by a captured German officer's state-



TERRITORY BETWEEN THE TWO DARK LINES WAS WON BACK IN HEAVY FIGHTING BY AMERICAN SOLDIERS AND MARINES

ment, and is substantiated by documents found on him. He said these two divisions already were on their way to the rear for a four weeks' rest, to take part in another offensive, when suddenly they were ordered to go at once to the front northwest of Château-Thierry, "in order to prevent at all costs the Americans being able to achieve success."

This showed the anxiety of the German High Command regarding the effect that an American success would have on the German Army and the populace, and of the great desirability of preventing such a happening.

UNDERESTIMATED OUR EFFORT

When I visited the headquarters of this French army today [June 14] a sheet of paper was handed to me on which was written a report of information gained from the examination of a large number of prisoners from the 28th German Division. The report said:

American assistance, which was underestimated in Germany because they doubted its value and its opportunity worries the German High Command more than it will admit. The officers themselves recognize that, among other causes, it is the principal reason for which Germany hastens to try to end the war and impose peace. They believe that if we succeed in holding on for the rest of this year the German cause will be lost. But they say that until the end of the year they will allow us no respite in their effort to break our morale and our will to conquer. They hope that fear of devastations and the terror caused in Paris, as well as continuing attacks of the German Army, determined to end the war, will get the best of our resistance before American aid will become truly effective.

All agree that the war is reaching the supreme crisis at this moment. They all declare that the offensives will be renewed and prolonged in view of this decision until the German forces are exhausted.

In addition, the prisoners did not conceal their great surprise at the training and quickness that the Americans have shown against them, nor at the good work accomplished by the artillery, which for three days engaged them, cutting off all food supplies and all reinforcements and causing them very heavy losses—practically all of the officers and twenty-five of the men were killed or wounded in a single infantry company and twelve in a machine-gun section, of which the full quota was seventeen men.

Especially important is this report coming from the French Army, not because the Americans would emphasize such statements by prisoners, but because of the probability that the Ger-

mans might be rather praiseworthy of Americans when questioned by our officers with a view to getting better treatment as prisoners of war. There is no question that this document speaks the truth.

A letter written by a German officer and found on his body said:

"The Americans are so courageous that they do not allow themselves to be made prisoners." Another letter written by a German private called the Americans "devilhounds."

GERMANY FEARS AMERICA

Germany fears America, and that fear is growing. At first the High Command told their officers and the officers told the soldiers that the Americans could not get to France because the U-boats would stop them. Then the German fighters began to find Americans appearing against them here and there, and finally at many points. Then the officers told the German soldiers the Americans would not fight. Now the German soldiers know the Americans can and will fight; and more and more of them are learning it every day. There is no lack of evidence that the German populace fears America's power in the war, and no question that the German High Command is seriously perturbed at the results when the real news of the Americans' fighting gets back to the people.

In no spirit of boastfulness it may be said that American fighters, with a proper amount of training, are the best fighters in France today. The soldiers of other armies of necessity are tired after nearly four years of fighting, but the Americans are fresh, fresh in spirit and physique. Other soldiers hope that Germany will be beaten; the American soldiers know that Germany will be beaten. And Germany knows that Germany will be beaten unless she wins in the next four months. That is her only chance, and she will play it for what it is worth. Everything is to be thrown into that effort. There will be ruthlessness, there will be frightfulness.

The four days' victorious fight for possession of the important Bois de Belleau, northwest of Château-Thierry, resulted in the capture, besides the prisoners mentioned, of two German field guns, 77s, and thirty machine guns, besides some small mortars. This was the first capture of German artillery by Americans. I believe that when the history of the war is written the Americans' capture of the Bois de Belleau will be ranked among the neatest pieces of military work of the conflict.

Five days ago, [June 9,] after the capture of the town of Bouresches, the Americans started the task of taking away the Bois de Belleau from the Germans. In the rush at Bouresches they had been unable to secure the rocky strongholds in the woods, and passed on, leaving many nests of machine guns there, which afterward kept up a harassing fire. The Americans several times made big raids into the woods, clearing out part of the Germans, but the next day the Germans would reappear with a harassing fire. Despite strong artillery work, the Germans seemed able to stay there.

On Sunday, the 9th, a rain of extra heavy artillery fire began on the woods. This kept up all Sunday night and Monday. On Monday night the fire was redoubled and the woods literally raked with lines of shellfire.

At about 3 o'clock Monday morning the marines started, as soon as the artillery fire was stopped, to go through those woods. At the nearer edge of the woods, devastated by our shellfire, they encountered little opposition. A little further on the Germans made a small stand, but were completely routed; that is, those who were not killed. By this time the marines were fairly started on their way. They swept forward, clearing out machine gun nests with rifle fire, bayonets, and hand grenades.

WORK OF MARINES

The Germans started in headlong flight when the Americans seized two machine guns and turned them on the Germans with terrific effect. The Germans soon tired of this, and those nearest the Americans began surrendering. In the meantime the marines kept up the chase.

While this was going on the Americans almost surrounded the woods, and the Germans, fleeing from some of the Americans, ran into the machine gun and rifle fire of the others. Then those left rushed headlong the other way to surrender. In a short time the gallant marines had got to the other side of the

MAJOR GENERAL HARBORD, IN COMMAND OF AMERICAN MARINES

woods, and immediately, with the aid of the engineers, started the construction of a strong position.

Prisoners counted that day numbered more than 300. It was found that they belonged to the crack 5th German Guard Division, which includes the Queen Elizabeth Regiment. There had been 1,200 Germans in the woods. With the exception of the prisoners nearly all the rest were slain.

The prisoners said they were glad of the chance to surrender and get out of the woods, because the American artillery fire for three days had cut off their food and other supplies and they had lived in a hell on earth. The Germans seemed deeply impressed by the fury of the American attack. One of the captured officers, when asked what he thought of the Americans as fighters, answered that the artillery was crazy and the infantry drunk. A little German private, taking up his master's thought, pointed to three tousled but smiling marines, and said: "Vin rouge, vin blanc, beaucoup vin." He meant he thought the Americans must be intoxicated, to fight as they did for that wood.

Our boys took especial delight in corralling the machine guns. These guns had been very well placed behind trees and in rocky caves and well supplied with ammunition. The Americans had practiced on a German machine gun previously captured, and knew just how to use them against the "Heinies." The captured guns were cleverly camouflaged and were almost overlooked by the Americans. The mortars had been used to throw gas shells from the heights into the woods upon the Americans.

GERMAN MORALE LOW

There was the greatest surprise among American officers at the evident low morale among members of the 5th Guard Division, thought to be one of the Kaiser's very best.

The Germans had tried their best to get the Americans out of the wood and to hold the valuable position. They had sent attack after attack there, always failing to gain complete free possession, but making things very unpleasant for our men. It was after four days of this that the marines got on their hind legs and went after the Germans.

An American General tonight characterized the capture of Belleau Wood as the most important thing the Americans at the front had yet accomplished. Its possession straightens our line, taking away from the German his protected wedge into our positions, and gives an excellent starting point for further operations.

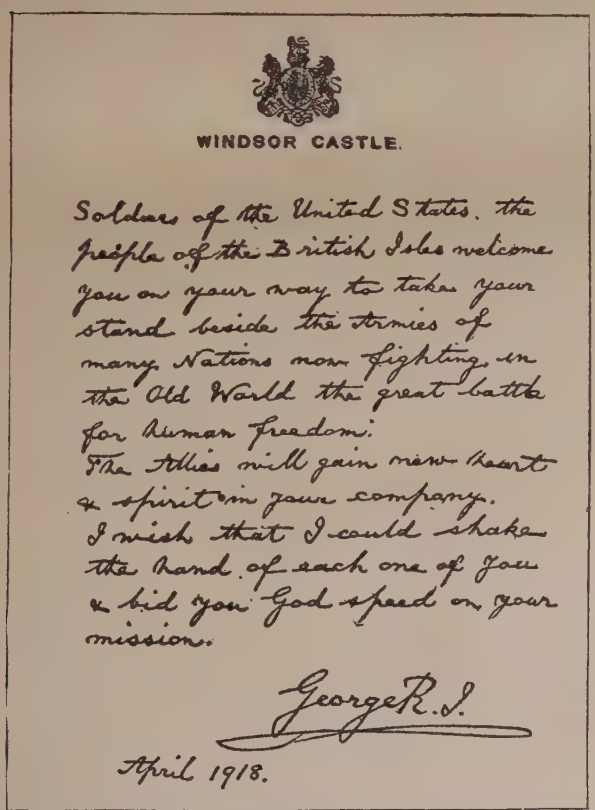
Two hours after the Americans started through the wood the Germans launched their heavy attack to regain Bouresches. A dark and cloudy night had aided their preparations for the rush, but the Americans, expecting something of the sort, had the northern side of the town lined with machine guns, and had artillery all trained on the railroad embankment over

which the Germans had to come. The Americans seem to have excellent tab on the German movements, and when, at 5 o'clock, the Germans came over, they met a terrific machine gun fire, while a heavy barrage which was put right behind the attacking party and gradually lowered on it not only cut off reinforcement for it but killed many in it. The slaughter of Germans in this attack was the heaviest the Americans have yet been able to inflict. Our men, in excellent positions at the edge of the town, suffered almost no losses. In this operation we took fifty prisoners, including one officer.

United States Troops in London

First Units of Our New Army Reviewed by King George Amid Dense Throngs

A REGIMENT of the new army of the United States from Camp Gordon, Georgia, 2,700 strong, marched through London May 11, 1918, and was reviewed by the King; Colonel Whitman was in command. Each soldier received a facsimile copy of the following letter from the King:



WINDSOR CASTLE.

Soldiers of the United States. the people of the British Isles welcome you on your way to take your stand beside the armies of many Nations now fighting in the Old World the great battle for human freedom.
The Allies will gain new heart & spirit in your company.
I wish that I could shake the hand of each one of you & bid you God speed on your mission.

George R.I.

April 1918.

KING GEORGE'S MESSAGE TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE UNITED STATES

The London Times, in describing the occasion, referred to the attitude of the British public as follows:

All along the way people gathered thickly. There were dense crowds in the neighborhood of Charing Cross, in the Mall, around the Victoria Memorial, and in Grosvenor Gardens. Rarely has the Stars and Stripes been so conspicuous in London; the flag flew from public and private buildings. It was waved here and there by spectators. It was worn in many buttonholes. London Americans set the fashion of bringing flags small enough to carry and big enough to add emphasis to a personal demonstration. Some English people followed their example, and others were heard wishing that they had "brought their American flags from home." Street hawkers of buttonhole favors had learned the phrase "Old Glory," and shouted it familiarly.

But the real lesson of the day came from the crowd everywhere. It taught those critics who have complained that during the war London has forgotten how to cheer, that London still remembers. The people cheered the American troops, they cheered the Guards, they had a special shout for wounded sailors and soldiers; and by no means did they forget to cheer the King. Occasionally, however, there were silences which seemed to speak of an understanding of the mission of this array of martial youth; of the sacrifice that mingled with the

glory of devotion; perhaps also of the history that Britain and America have begun to make in union.

The bearing of the American troops was described in the following passage:

It is worth noting that when the colors passed many men received them with bared heads, and that "Off with your hats!" was heard now and then in admonition from a civilian. Considering that the custom of so honoring the colors of British regiments is still far from universal, this may be accepted by Americans as a rather notable tribute.

Three things were striking in these Americans—their youth, their seriousness, and their modesty. The first quality is easily conceded to America; we all think of her as young. Those of her sons whom London scrutinized so keenly came under arms only last Summer. They are officered chiefly by men who then passed through the Officers' Training Corps, through the commanding officer and the Lieutenant Colonel belong to the old regular army. They might, therefore, be expected to deserve the name of boys, by which they were affectionately called. But it was their presentation of the idea of youth, of the quintessence of youth, which struck the spectator. Nor was it modified by the suggestion of dead earnestness which accompanied it and might seem to clash with it. The qualities in combination distinguished the American battalions from any young English regiment, which strikes the observer as at once older and more light-hearted. Not that there was really any lack of hilarity about the Americans in their hours of ease. The one who sang a comic song in front of the barracks before parade had a joyful heart, and was certainly a cause of joy to the Londoners who stood listening to him. As for the men's modest demeanor, it ought to dispose of the notion that the Americans cherish any intention "to show us how things should be done"—if that suggestion is not long since dead.

Physically, the regiment was marked by well-set shoulders, bronzed faces, and general fitness. It looked sinewy, and went along with a fine swing. A few men were pointed out for their unusual height. Spectators on the outskirts of the crowd had an excellent opportunity of appraising these giants. Otherwise the standard of stature was level.

The pride of Americans in the troops—and there were many Americans, naval, military, and civil, among the onlookers—was easy to see. Before the embassy it reached its highest manifestation. The building was decorated with flags, like most of the houses in Grosvenor Gardens. The American Ambassador (Mr. Page) took the salute outside the embassy. In his company were Admiral Sims, Commander Babcock, and Lieut. Col. Slocum. Mrs. Page was an interested spectator in the balcony above. Here the bands played "Pack Up Your Troubles" and "John Brown's Body." A reminder of American history and of the foundations of the United States was introduced when several veterans of the civil war joined the procession.

No Limit to Size of America's Army

More Than 700,000 Additional Young Men Registered Under the Draft Law

ON the recommendation of the Secretary of War, who appeared before the House Committee on Military Affairs on May 23, the committee agreed to give President Wilson authority to raise an army of practically unlimited size. The text of the provision to be incorporated in the Army bill was adopted unanimously. The committee had originally been in favor of limiting the size of the army to 5,000,000.

On June 5 male residents of the United States who had reached the age of 21 years since that date in 1917 were required to register under the amended selective draft law. Nearly complete reports to the Provost Marshal General's office showed that 744,865 men complied with the law. This was 266,724 below the Census Bureau extimate, but as more than 200,000 did not register because they had already enlisted in the army, navy, or Marine Corps, the military authorities found the result entirely satisfactory.

So-called "work or fight" regulations were issued by the Provost Marshal General on June 3. All citizens were called upon to report to the nearest local board all men of military age who should be in

the idler or nonproductive classification after July 1, 1918. The local boards were given authority to summon any man who may be idle or nonproductively employed within its territory.

With the double purpose of increasing the number of men available for military service and of insuring fairer administration of the selective service law, Provost Marshal General Crowder on June 7 instituted a reinvestigation of the draft classification lists throughout the nation. General Crowder believed that by "slacker marriages" and underground claims to exemption on the ground of industrial or agricultural work registrants had escaped service, and that in some districts the local boards had interpreted the regulations too strictly. It was expected that more than 500,000 men would be brought by the reclassification into Class 1, which was being rapidly exhausted.

Another move toward the full utilization of the nation's man power was made on May 24 when the Secretary of War sent to Congress the draft of a bill authorizing the raising of the maximum age limit for voluntary enlistment in the army from 40 to 55 years. Between these ages there were probably 7,500,000 men, and thousands of them have applied to the War Department to be allowed to serve. The department planned to assign men over 40 years to noncombatant service, which calls for a very large proportion of men for every combatant at the front.

The War Department on June 6 permitted publication of reports to the Acting Chief of Ordnance (Brig. Gen. C. C. Williams) showing that since the United States declared war 1,568,661 rifles had been produced for the army. This total was made up of 1,140,595 modified Enfields, 1917 model; 176,796 Springfields, 1903 model, and 251,270 Russian rifles. The last named are used for training purposes and to equip home guards. There were also the equivalent of 100,000 Enfields and 100,000 Springfields made up in spare parts. With the rifles already in hand when war was declared, and allowing for the fact that only one-half of the soldiers in an army carry rifles, the Ordnance Department had enough rifles for an army of about 2,000,000 men, after making allowance for one year's wastage.

The organization of five new regiments and nineteen battalions of Railway Engineers, to be used in addition to the regiments already working in France, was announced by the War Department on June 6. The work was carried out by the staff of the Director General of Military Railways, Samuel M. Felton, in conjunction with the Engineer Corps. This brought the number of Americans engaged in railroad construction and operation in France up to 50,000.

A total of $160,000,000 has been spent on railway materials alone, not including supplies provided and used by the Engineer Corps proper. Director General Felton, describing the growth in personnel and the increase in the size of the task confronting his staff, beginning with the organization of the first railway regiment, said that early in 1917 the Chief of Engineers decided to organize a railway operating regiment. Mr. Felton, who had acted as his railway adviser in 1916, was asked to take charge of the work. Six railroads having headquarters in Chicago were called on to recruit one company each. The regiment formed the nucleus of the present railway organization. While it was being formed, the United States entered the war. One of the first requests transmitted to this Government by the French Mission was for assistance in strengthening the French railway systems to meet the increasing war strain. This request was made in April, 1917, and early in May Mr. Felton was called to Washington to organize nine railway regiments, including the Chicago regiment.

War Finance in Canada

Income Tax Begins at $1,000—New Taxes on Luxuries

THE new Canadian taxes in the budget for the fiscal year 1918-19 show marked increases, especially in income taxes. Exemption in the case of unmarried persons is reduced from $1,500 to $1,000, and for married persons from $3,000 to $2,000, the rate being 2 per cent. from $1,000 to $1,500 in the case of the unmarried and the same amount from $2,000 to $3,000 in the case of the married. The present rate of supertax is continued upon incomes up to $50,000, and above that there is a gradual increase, reaching 50 per cent. on incomes over $1,000,000. In addition there will be a war surtax upon incomes over $6,000, running from 5 per cent. on incomes between $6,000 and $10,000 and 25 per cent. on incomes over $200,000. It has also been decided to grant an exemption of $200 per child. The total war tax on incomes over $1,000,000 reaches 77 per cent.

The tax on tobacco is increased from 10 to 20 cents per pound; on cigars from $5 to $6 per 1,000; on cigarettes from $3 to $6 per 1,000; on foreign raw leaf tobacco from 28 to 40 cents per pound, and on foreign leaf tobacco stemmed from 42 to 60 cents per pound. It has also been decided to place a tax of 10 cents per pound on tea, and it is proposed to increase the duty on coffee to 5 cents for British coffee and to 7 cents for the general tariff. There will be a tax of 8 cents per pack on playing cards and a specific rate customs duty of 5 cents per lineal foot on moving-picture films. A special war excise tax of 10 per cent. is to be imposed upon the selling value of motor cars, jewelry, gramophones, phonographs, mechanical pianos, imported into or manufactured in Canada.

The Minister of Finance stated that $258,000,000 was the revenue for the year ended March 31, 1918, with civil expenditures of $173,000,000. The increase in interest and pensions for the coming year was estimated at $25,000,000. The Finance Minister stated that the war expenditures of the last year approximated $345,000,000, of which $167,000,000 had been spent in Canada. Up to March 31 the total outlay on the war was approximately $878,000,000, which included all expenditures at home and abroad. During the last two years they had applied $113,000,000 toward war expenditures, in addition to expenditures on interest and pensions. The net debt of Canada was now approximately $1,200,000,000.

He pointed out that trade was annually increasing, and that exports were now much greater than imports. The total trade had increased since 1913 from $1,000,000,000 to $2,500,000,000 last year, the balance of trade in favor of Canada being $625,000,000. Exports to Great Britain totaled $860,000,000, while imports were only $81,000,000. On the other hand, the balance of trade against Canada with the United States was $350,000,000.

Referring to immigration, the Minister of Finance said that, in spite of the war, over 200,000 people had entered Canada in the last three years, largely farmers from the United States. He anticipated large immigration into Canada shortly after the end of the war.

War Record of the United States

An Official Summary of American Activities During the First Year of Belligerency

By CHARLES POPE CALDWELL

Member of Congress from New York

[Delivered in the House of Representatives, May 22, 1918]

AT the outset, let me say frankly that we have made mistakes—yes, grievous mistakes—and had our foresight been as keen as the afterthought of our critics we might have accomplished more. But, notwithstanding these mistakes and omissions, America has done her share—indeed, more than her share—for she has done many times more than any of our allies suspected that she was capable of doing and more than the greatest enthusiast in America hoped she could do. She has confirmed our friends and confounded our enemies. Or, let me put it in another way: America has raised and equipped a bigger army in shorter time and now holds a greater section of the fighting front, transporting her forces 3,000 miles across an infested sea, in ten months, than England was capable of doing in twelve months across the English Channel of less than thirty miles. We began with less, went further, and arrived with more in shorter time. Yet their motive was necessity and ours only desire.

When war was declared in April, 1917, the standing army of the United States consisted of 136,000 officers and men, many of whom were in the foreign service, and the National Guard consisted of 164,000 officers and men, many of whom were too old for active service, and a large part of them physically unfit to perform the duty for which they had volunteered. Our experts told us that it would take two years to raise an army of 1,000,000 men and five years to train the commissioned personnel. It has now been about one year since the first legislation was passed authorizing the increase of our army for war purposes. The strength of our military forces is now as follows:

ARMY STRENGTH, MAY, 1918

	Officers.	Men.
Regular army	10,295	504,677
Reserve Corps	79,038	78,560
National Guard	16,906	411,952
National Army	33,894	510,963
On special and technical duty	8,195	.....
Drafted in April	.....	150,000
Drafted in May	.....	233,742
Total	148,328	1,889,894

Grand total, 2,038,222 officers and men.

So we have today an army of more than 2,000,000, of which 500,000 have already been shipped to France and 1,000,000 more have had the necessary training to fit them for foreign service. These are now waiting for the boats to carry them over. Our critics now complain that we have not done more, yet we have done in one year twice as much as they thought we could do in two years.

When war was declared, each of our allies sent commissions to America to advise us what to do and to assist us wherever possible in our preparation. The English told us that they did not need men, but they did need money and supplies; the Italians that they did not need men, but that they did need material and money; the Russians that they did not need men or material, but did need money and ammunition; the French told us that they needed raw material and money, and asked that a small expeditionary force be sent to hearten their people and as an earnest of our intention of seeing the war through.

Under this tutelage and squaring our conduct with the requests of our friends, it was thought by many to be inadvisable to attempt to raise an army of more than

1,000,000 men. Congress was therefore requested to pass military legislation limiting the army to the 136,000 regulars, the 164,000 National Guardsmen, and 500,000 drafted men, with authority to call an additional 500,000 in case they should be needed. Under the legislation that Congress passed, in spite of the recommendation from the Allies, we have already raised more than 2,000,000 men, and early in the year 1919 will have 3,000,000 men in the army. We have lately taken the "lid off" so that the President may have as big an army as necessity requires and our man power permits. Notwithstanding the fact that the appropriation measure now pending before the House is drawn with the view of supporting an army of only 3,000,000 men, I am confident that before many months deficiency appropriations will be necessary. The army is growing so rapidly and its needs are so urgent that the efforts heretofore made will be small in comparison with those of the next twelve months. We will probably have between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 men before the end of the next fiscal year.

TWENTY MILLION FIGHTING MEN

When we were considering legislation in the Spring of 1917, it was thought that our largest task would be getting men. Experience has shown that this is easy of accomplishment, made so by reason of the fact that we have left open the door for a reasonable amount of volunteers in the National Guard and regular army and passed a draft law under which all men of military age may readily be mobilized. The justness and fairness of the scheme as worked out by the Provost Marshal General have obtained the earnest co-operation and enthusiastic support of our people as a whole.

As I have said, our military law has been amended giving the President authority to call additional increments of men from time to time as needed. It has also been amended to permit him to register and classify all men that reach the age of 21 years. We now have 2,000,000 men in the army. The men between the ages of 21 and 31 years in 1917 have been classified, and there remains in Class 1 approximately 2,000,000 men physically fit not called. The class of 1918, which will be registered this Summer, will add another million, making a grand total of 5,000,000, without calling Classes 2, 3, 4, or 5, containing nearly 6,000,000, and without calling the boys from 18 to 21—3,000,000 more. If the war lasts until 1924 there will be added 6,000,000 more men. The potential man power of America for a seven-year war, therefore, may be conservatively estimated at 20,000,000 fighting men of recognized military age. This out of a population of 125,000,000.

Not because I think that all of our man power will be needed, but in order that we may get a view of the task that is in front of us and understand the necessity for the large army we are calling and the huge expenditures we are making, let me recall these facts.

THE ENEMY'S STRENGTH

The Central Powers at the outbreak of the war had a population of 142,250,000, in round numbers, of which 26,310,000 were males between the ages of 18 and 44, and if 70 per cent. of them were available for military service their man power would be approximately 18,360,000. Since the Russian fiasco Germany has occupied a territory greater in area than both Germany and Austria, in which there live upward of 51,000,000 people. And if the reports that we get are to be believed, the Kaiser has compelled the boys between 18 and 21 in this occupied territory to enter the German training camps, and he hopes in a short time to have them on the western front, thus augmenting his man power to approximately 21,000,000 fighting men.

This is the job we have on our hands. The newspapers tell us that the Kaiser has only 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 soldiers, but it would be wise for the members of this House in passing legislation affecting the conduct of the war to keep in mind the figures that I have just indicated. To meet this Great Britain—the British Isles, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—France, Italy, and the United States have a combined population from which they can draw 30,000,000

or 40,000,000, and in addition to these numbers there is an enormous reservoir from which to draw further man power in the colonies and possessions of the Allies and the twenty-three smaller countries now allied with us in the war. To show something of the relative strength of the contending forces I will read the following capitulation, which is believed to be substantially accurate and has been compiled after very careful inquiry from the best sources available:

MAN POWER OF CENTRAL POWERS COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE ALLIES

	A. Population 1914.	B. Estimated Males 18-44 inclusive, 1914.	C. Est'd avail. for mil. serv. of all kinds—70% of B.
CENTRAL POWERS			
Austria-H'ary	51,000,000	9,360,000	6,500,000
Bulgaria	4,750,000	800,000	560,000
Germany (Continental)	68,000,000	12,850,000	9,000,000
Ottoman Empire	18,500,000	3,300,000	2,300,000
Total	142,250,000	26,310,000	18,360,000
ASSOCIATED GOVERNMENTS			
Australia	5,000,000	850,000	595,000
Canada	7,500,000	1,275,000	892,500
France	39,000,000	6,630,000	4,640,000
Gt. Britain	46,000,000	7,820,000	5,474,000
India	320,000,000	54,400,000	37,800,000
Italy	36,000,000	6,120,000	4,284,000
Japan	54,000,000	8,180,000	1,390,000
New Zealand	1,200,000	204,000	142,800
Portugal	6,000,000	1,020,000	714,000
Serbia	2,800,000	476,000	333,200
South Africa	6,000,000	1,020,000	714,000
United States.	100,000,000	17,000,000	11,900,000
Total	623,500,000	104,995,000	68,879,500

The casualties resulting in death, permanent injury, or incapacity in the German Army have amounted to admittedly about 3,000,000 men during the four years of war, or approximately the same number as have been supplied by the young men who have reached military age during the same period. From this statement it would appear that from the point of man power Germany is no worse off today than when she started the war. The weakening of the German forces is represented, however, by the lack of nourishment for her workers, her women and children, and the discharges which must necessarily follow the reaching of advanced age by the old men called to the colors, both of which will be felt more keenly as time goes on, as well as the disease which must necessarily accompany conditions such as the war has produced. America will not begin to discharge her men on account of advanced age for twenty years. In other words, the man power of America will get stronger and the man power of the enemy must get weaker for the next twenty years, if, by any chance, the war should last that long. We have nothing to fear from this source.

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

The first war difficulty encountered came when we looked for shelter for the vast army being assembled. Much to the surprise of every one, it was soon discovered that there was not cloth enough in the world to put tents over an army the size of the one we were organizing, and there were not mills and machinery enough to make it. Therefore wooden cantonments were constructed. We built thirty-two cantonments with a floor space of 640,000,000 square feet, with the necessary water, sewers, lighting plants, storehouses, ice plants, hospitals, and recreation centres to take care of 1,280,000 men, in which undertaking there was used in ten weeks' time more human labor than went into the building of the Panama Canal. Besides these, we have constructed aviation fields, ordnance schools, and training schools for officers—herculean tasks in themselves. We have also put up at the ports of embarkation, and throughout the country, supply depots, and storage warehouses with a combined floor space of 24,220,000 square feet for the army, in addition to what the navy has done in that respect, and have constructed the enormous buildings erected for administrative purposes in Washington and elsewhere. Verily, your Uncle Samuel is a modern Aladdin, who, when he wants a thing devoutly, rubs the lamp of American patriotism and the genius of America produces overnight all that he requires.

When we entered the war we had practically no surplus clothing for our army, our reserve supply having been used up in the Mexican expedition. Our allies were using practically the full output of

all of our mills capable of producing cloth of the character used for uniforms. To take over these factories would have discommoded our allies. We met the difficulty by a change of the machinery in carpet factories, ducking mills, and kindred industries, and have been able to, during the last year, make Summer and Winter clothing enough for 2,000,000 men, and have a reserve supply of every article of wear for our soldiers sufficient to take care of the authorized increase.

TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT

England trained her first million a whole year in citizens' clothes and top hats, with walking sticks for guns, because she could not do otherwise, and this in spite of the fact that she was the greatest textile manufacturing country in the world and had all America to help her. Notwithstanding this shortage, our first 1,500,000 men were trained in uniforms and taught the manual of arms with a rifle. When England went into the war she had shortly before adopted a new type of gun, but her factories were not equipped to supply it. She abandoned her new type of gun, and has fought the war thus far with an admittedly inferior type of rifle, a large portion of which were made on order in the United States.

There went up a hue and cry that America adopt a foreign type of rifle, notwithstanding the facts that the rifle is the most necessary weapon of warfare, and we had the Springfield rifle in substantial quantity, admittedly the best rifle then being used in the world, shooting the most powerful and efficient ammunition ever prepared. In the face of this criticism, we adhered to our own weapon, adopting a modified and rechambered Enfield, which differs from a Springfield in such a small way that it is not worthy of discussion, now known as the United States rifle, model of 1917, resulting in some delay but now being produced in sufficient quantity.

When General Joffre made the request for a small expeditionary force, the critics of the Administration demanded what they thought was the impossible—i. e., that we ship to France during the first year 50,000 to 100,000 men. During the first ten days of May we shipped 90,000. Within one year after the first shipment America will have an army of 1,000,000 men in France, with their necessary arms, equipment, and supplies. It will be the best-fed, the best-clothed, the best-paid army of its size that the world has ever known, speaking the same language, worshipping the same God, and following the same flag. Its personnel will have the quickest perceptions of any soldiers in the world, and will have been trained under modern conditions, surrounded by the best moral influences, with the lowest percentage of disease, and will be nerved by the highest motives that actuate men.

Victory for our cause is therefore certain.

Italy's Third Year of War

Other Anniversaries, With Official Greetings Exchanged by the Allies and the United States

THE third anniversary of Italy's entry into the war was the occasion of an address by Prime Minister Orlando, delivered in the Augusteum at Rome on May 24, in which, in reaffirming the unity of the Allies, he said:

> For this unity, so solemnly consecrated again today, I express in the name of Italy my deep gratitude to all. To England, which could not send a more noble or more agreeable messenger than your Royal Highness, who brings to us a message reaffirming friendship with our country, a friendship which was shown at a time which was painful to us, and which has been strengthened by the intimacy of affection in the days of grief still more than in those of joy. To France, to our great sister toward whom with a feeling of renewed admiration our hearts are turned. To the United States, to this

young people, powerful in its strength and already rich in glory owing to the wisdom of its leader and the numerous virtues of its men. To the peoples conquered by the enemy because of their smallness, for which reason their heroic sacrifice and admirable bravery are all the more apparent. To those nations from the Baltic to the Adriatic which the common enemy has oppressed. To the oppressed nations in the interior and on the frontiers of enemy States which heroically rise in rebellion with the cry "Long Live the Entente!"

In the royal box were the Prince of Wales and Prince Peter of Montenegro. The vast audience contained the official representatives of all the allied powers and the United States, and the leaders of all political and social groups of Italy, with representatives from all the important cities. The Prince of Wales in his address said:

I come to you to assure you of the constant friendship and sincere affection of the British people for your nation, whose enlightened and precious sympathy is a proof of the creative unity of arms which nothing can again dissolve. In the city of Rome, the ancient capital of the world, the source of social order and justice, I proudly proclaim my conviction that the great object for which our two nations are fighting against the forces of reaction is inevitably destined to triumph, owing to the union of which our meeting this evening is symbolic.

The King of Italy addressed the following Order of the Day to the army and navy:

Soldiers on land and sea! The fourth year of war, which began today, finds you full of pride for the hard trials you have faced, and which, with admirable courage, you have overcome. In face of your firm decision to resist to the utmost the enemy was obliged to call a halt, and in daring and magnificent actions you have many a time shown him the indomitable spirit and resolute will to conquer with which you are animated. This priceless energy, revivified by the faith which your country has in you, is strengthened still further by the anxiety with which your oppressed and despoiled brothers await your coming.

Soldiers on land and sea! With the sacred image of a country entirely freed from the enemy imprinted in the very depths of your hearts, together with the ideals of justice and civilization which our war has adopted as its aims, I will accompany you in your future struggles, certain that the reward for the tireless energy which you, in common with our valiant allies, have shown will not be delayed much longer.

President Wilson sent the following message to the Italian people, after it had been read by Secretary Lansing at a Washington celebration of Italy's anniversary:

I am sure that I am speaking for the people of the United States in sending to the Italian people warm fraternal greetings upon this, the anniversary of the entrance of Italy into this great war, in which there is being fought out once for all the irrepressible conflict between free self-government and the dictation of force. The people of the United States have looked with profound interest and sympathy upon the efforts and sacrifices of the Italian people, are deeply and sincerely interested in the present and future security of Italy, and are glad to find themselves associated with a people to whom they are bound by so many personal and intimate ties in a struggle whose object is liberation, freedom, the rights of men and nations to live their own lives and determine their own fortunes, the rights of the weak, as well as the strong, and the maintenance of justice by the irresistible force of free nations leagued together in the defense of mankind. With ever-increasing resolution and force we shall continue to stand together in this sacred common cause. America salutes the gallant Kingdom of Italy, and bids her Godspeed.

France's Tribute to Great Britain

Great Britain's "Empire Day" was celebrated May 24 throughout France. In Paris there was an imposing demonstration at the Sorbonne, at which were present the President of the republic, Ministers, Ambassadors, and Deputies. President Deschanel of the Chamber in speaking of "the prodigy of Great Britain's effort" said:

This people of seamen and merchants came forward as volunteers in crowds; in the Spring of 1915 there were 2,400,000, and at the end of the same year 3,000,000. In May, 1916, King George announced that 5,000,000 men had been raised by voluntary recruitment. But this did not suffice. Parliament voted compulsory service, the greatest victory that the people ever gained over itself, a triumph of duty and conscience, the pledge of that

victory which we shall win together over the enemy.

When Germany over a year ago proclaimed unrestricted submarine warfare, she announced, too, England's capitulation at short notice. Instead of that hundreds of thousands of Americans are crossing the seas as allies. Germany has united France and England not for the present struggle but forever.

Before the war there was in a Calais belfry a Flemish peal of bells. On the clock dial two knights armed with lances—Henry VIII., King of England, and Francis I., King of France. Every time the hour struck they exchanged lance thrusts—one at 1 o'clock, three at 3 o'clock, and twelve at midday. A German shell hit the knights and ended the fight forever. It is the only German shell which ever showed esprit, remarked a French wit.

Georges Leygues, Minister of Marine, who spoke in the name of the French Government, said that, thanks to the maritime supremacy of Great Britain, the Entente had the mastery of the sea and could look to the future without concern

Reviewing the work that the navies silently accomplished, he mentioned that in the course of last month they had sunk more submarines than the Germans were building. They protected the transports which in April disembarked on the coasts of France more than 400,000 soldiers.

"In the past," he continued, "mastery of the sea was always a powerful means of conquest. At present it forms in addition a powerful guarantee with which none other is comparable. The enemy knows that he will retain neither in the east, nor in the west, nor in the south the territories which he momentarily occupies, and he knows, moreover, that he will not wrest from us the mastery of the sea. That being so, the issue of the war is certain, and the navies take their place in the gratitude of the Entente alongside of its incomparable armies."

America s First Anniversary in France

President Poincaré of France sent the following cablegram to President Wilson on June 13, the anniversary of the arrival in France of the first American troops:

The Allies, owing to the Russian capitulation, are living through the most difficult hours of the war, but the rapid formation of new American units and the uninterrupted increase in oversea transportation are leading us with certainty toward the day when the equilibrium is restored.

President Wilson replied as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: Your telegram was certainly conceived in the highest and most generous spirit of friendship, and I am sure that I am expressing the feeling of the people of the United States, as well as my own, when I say that it is with increasing pride and gratification that they have seen their forces under General Pershing more and more actively cooperating with the forces of liberation on French soil.

It is their fixed and unalterable purpose to send men and materials in steady and increasing volume until any temporary inequality of force is entirely overcome and the forces of freedom made overwhelming, for they are convinced that it is only by victory that peace can be achieved and the world's affairs settled upon a basis of enduring justice and right. It is a constant satisfaction to them to know that in this great enterprise they are in close and intimate co-operation with the people of France.

WOODROW WILSON.

President Poincaré also sent a message to General Pershing, heartily praising "the gallant troops of your command who behaved so magnificently in the recent battles." He expressed the firmest hope in the continuation of the American successes.

General Pershing replied to President Poincaré as follows:

Permit me to thank you, Mr. President, for your kind message on the occasion of this anniversary. The enthusiastic reception which Paris gave us then has since been extended by all your people to the American Army.

Today our armies are united in affection and resolution, with full confidence in the final success which will crown the long struggle for liberty and civilization.

The following telegrams were also sent to General Pershing:

On the anniversary of your arrival in France to take command of the American troops I wish, my dear General, to express to you once more the greatest ad-

Judge Svinhufvud
Dictator of Finland

Professor Masaryk
Leader of Czech independence movement
(© Harris & Ewing)

M. H. Holubowicz
Premier of Ukrainia

General Petljura
Ukrainian War Minister

Professor Edward de Valera
President of the Sinn Fein, arrested in connection with an alleged German plot in Ireland
(© International Film Service)

Prince Sixtus of Bourbon
To whom the Emperor Karl wrote his famous peace letter. The Prince is fighting on the side of the Allies

miration for the powerful aid brought by your army to the cause of the Allies. With ever-increasing numbers the American troops cover themselves with glory under your orders in barring the route of the invader. The day is coming when, thanks to the superb effort of your country and the valor of persons, the enemy, losing the initiative of operations, will be forced to incline before the triumph of our ideal of justice and civilization.

CLEMENCEAU.

A year ago you brought to us the American sword. Today we have seen it strike. It is the certain pledge of victory. By it our hearts are more closely united than ever.

FOCH.

MY DEAR GENERAL: Your coming to French soil a year ago filled our country with enthusiasm and hope. Accept today the grateful homage of our soldiers for the daily increasing aid on the battlefield brought by their American brothers in arms. The last battles, where the magnificent qualities of courage and military virtue of your troops were demonstrated in so brilliant a manner, are a sure guarantee of the future. The day is not far off when the great American Army will play the decisive rôle, to which history calls this army on the battlefields of Europe. Permit me, my dear General, to express to you, on this anniversary day, my entire confidence and assure you of my feelings of affectionate comradeship.

PETAIN.

The Soldier Speaks

By JOHN GALSWORTHY

[By Arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

If courage thrives on reeking slaughter,
And he who kills is lord
Of beauty and of loving laughter—
Gird on me a sword!
If death be dearest comrade proven,
If life be coward's mate,
If Nazareth of dreams be woven—
Give me fighter's fate!

* * * * * * *

If God is thrilled by a battle cry,
If He can bless the moaning fight,
If when the trampling charge goes by
God Himself is the leading Knight;
If God laughs when the gun thunders,
If He yells when the bullet sings—
Then my stoic soul but wonders
How great God can do such things!

* * * * * * *

The white gulls wheeling over the plow,
The sun, the reddening trees—
We being enemies, I and thou,
There is no meaning to these.
There is no flight on the wings of Spring,
No scent in the Summer rose;
The roundelays that the blackbirds sing—
There is no meaning in those!

If you must kill me—why the lark,
The hawthorn bud, and the corn?
Why do the stars bedew the dark?
Why is the blossom born?
If I must kill you—why the kiss
Which made you? There *is* no why!
If it be true we were born for this—
Pitiful Love, Good-bye!

* * * * * * *

Not for the God of Battles!—
For Honor, Freedom, and Right,
And saving of gentle Beauty,
We have gone down to fight!

The War in the Air

Attacks by Massed Squadrons of Airplanes Become an Important Factor in Battle

AERIAL warfare entered upon a new phase with the opening of the German offensive in March, 1918, and largely bore out the prediction that the operations in the air would become almost as vital as those of infantry and artillery. Since early in the war airmen have been performing the scouting and observation functions which formerly belonged to the cavalry arm; and as the conflict has developed they have also become skilled in the art of harassing the enemy. So far these operations had been carried out by individual aviators or comparatively small squadrons, but the operations of March, 1918, witnessed the definite development of larger squadrons, manoeuvring as effectively as bodies of cavalry, and in massed formation attacking infantry columns. The possibilities of the new aerial arm were further demonstrated in the creation of a barrage, as effective as that of heavy artillery, for the purpose of holding back advancing bodies of infantry.

In the first days of the German offensive there took place an aerial battle which up to that time was unique in the annals of warfare. It was a battle not merely for the purpose of gaining the mastery of the air, but to aid allied infantry and artillery in stemming the tide of the German advance, and when the drive finally slowed down and came to a halt in Picardy, the allied airmen had undoubtedly contributed largely to the result.

During the first two days (March 21-22) of the German drive there was comparatively little aerial activity. The aviators on both sides were preparing for the impending battle, which actually began on the morning of March 23 and lasted all that day and the day following. At the end of the two days' struggle the allied airmen had gained a decisive victory, the point of which was complete ascendency in the air during the next five days, when the German aviators were entirely unable to prevent the allied fliers from doing what they liked.

UNPRECEDENTED AIR BATTLE

The story of the air battle of March 23-24 reads like one of the most extraordinary adventure tales ever imagined. The struggle began with squadrons of airplanes ascending and manoeuvring as perfectly as cavalry. They rose to dizzy heights, and, descending, swept the air close to the ground. The individual pilots of the opposing sides now began executing all manner of movements, climbing, diving, turning in every direction, and seeking to get into the best position to pour machine-gun fire into enemy airplanes. Every few minutes a machine belonging to an allied or German squadron crashed to the ground, often in flames. At the end of the first day's fighting wrecked airplanes and the mangled bodies of aviators lay strewn all over the battlefield.

All next day, March 24, the struggle in the air went on with unabated fury. The allied air squadrons were now on the offensive and penetrated far inside the German lines. The German aviators counterattacked whenever they could, and more than once succeeded in crossing the French lines. But at the close of the second day victory rested with the allied airmen, and during the next five days scarcely a German airplane took the air.

The nature of the military operations on the earth below during these five days, (March 25-29,) favored the allied airmen and permitted them to secure important results in attacking infantry. The Germans were advancing through the valley of the Oise and across the Picardy plains, while the Allies were en-

deavoring to bring up sufficient reserves to hold back the advance. The fighting was now in the open, and except for walls, trees, and ditches there was practically no cover of which the Germans could take advantage. This was exactly what suited the allied air squadrons as they sallied forth to harass and hamper the advancing German columns, which they attacked by day and night. Many German units were completely destroyed by showers of bombs, others were dispersed and demoralized, and there is no doubt that the allied squadrons, unopposed for the time by German aviators, did much to retard the advance of the enemy columns. The allied airmen literally swarmed in the air, but in carefully organized formations, so that their attacks would reap the largest possible gain.

ARTILLERY COLUMN SHATTERED

Some of the separate episodes illustrate the advantage of unopposed aerial operations. On March 25, for instance, a German artillery column moving along the road between Guiscard and Noyon, was attacked by French airmen and entirely dispersed. The machine gunners in the airplanes killed or wounded many horses which either fell down in their harness and blocked the road, or, panic-stricken, bolted in all directions, leaving the roads and adjoining fields covered with dead men and animals, wrecked guns, caissons, and wagons. Bodies of infantry were similarly broken up, dispersed, or demoralized. Showers of bombs from the airplanes created a barrage, and entire companies of German infantry were annihilated. In addition, railroad stations were damaged, transports blocked, and military works and depots of all kinds destroyed or put out of commission. At no previous time in the war did armies suffer so severely as did the German forces during the five days, March 24-29, 1918. The allied airmen did not come out unscathed. Many were killed by rifle fire, and many machines were lost. But the Allies held the mastery of the air and turned it to the fullest advantage, while the Germans were organizing new aerial squadrons.

On the fifth day of this period of allied air supremacy German airplanes began to appear once more, and with the organization of new enemy squadrons, the Allies' ascendency was no longer uncontested. Richthofen and other German air commanders came on the scene with their squadrons, and from March 30 onward there was continued fighting in the air between the opposing forces.

OFFICIAL DESCRIPTION

A day-to-day story of the air fighting on the Western front would vary little in its recitel of duels and raids and battles between opposing squadrons. But on some days there was more intense fighting than usual. Such a day was April 12, when the Allies achieved the feat of destroying or bringing down ninety-three enemy airplanes.

That day's work is described in Sir Douglas Haig's report from British Headquarters:

> On the 12th inst. atmospheric conditions were favorable for flying, and a great concentration of our airplanes was effected by us on the battlefront. Large numbers of low-flying machines were employed in bombing and sweeping with machine-gun fire roads packed with the enemy's troops. Thirty-six tons of bombs and over 110,000 rounds of ammunition were fired by us.
>
> While these attacks on ground targets were in progress, other formations, flying at a greater height, engaged the enemy's airplanes, which were extremely active in this sector. Other machines reconnoitred the battle area, bringing back information as to the positions of our own and the enemy's troops.
>
> On the remainder of the British front the usual work in co-operation with our artillery was carried out, and a very large number of photographs taken.
>
> In air fighting forty German machines were brought down by our airplanes, and twenty other hostile airplanes were driven down out of control. In addition, two of the enemy's machines were shot down by anti-aircraft-gun fire. Three hostile observation balloons were also destroyed. Twelve of our airplanes are missing.
>
> After dark the incessant bombing carried out by us during the previous twelve hours was continued until dawn. Over twenty-two tons of bombs were dropped on different targets, including the Don and Douai railway stations, two important railway junctions between Mazières and

Rheims, and roads leading up to the battlefront in the neighborhood of Estaires.

Sir Douglas Haig's report next day stated that low-flying machines reconnoitred the battlefront during the day and dropped over 1,200 bombs on the enemy's troops on roads leading to the front. The numbers of German airplanes destroyed on various days evidence the intensity of the air fighting. Thus, reports of successive days showed these totals: 21, 53, (two days;) 55, 21, 30, 97, (four days.) On May 25 it was stated that many more German airplanes had been added to the total of 1,000 machines recorded as having fallen to earth, or having been sent down out of control since the opening of the drive on March 21.

WORK OF BOMBING SQUADRONS

Some slight indication of the work of the bombing planes was given in a report of the British Air Ministry, which stated that the number of bombs dropped by British airmen over enemy lines in France, opposite the British front, during March was 23,099 by day and 13,080 by night. The Germans dropped in the area occupied by British troops 517 by day and 1,948 by night. During April the British dropped 6,033 bombs behind the enemy lines along the British front, and the Germans retaliated with 1,346 in the area occupied by British troops.

By reuniting practically all their available air force in the sector of attack the enemy won a short-lived superiority. On June 4 there was a good deal of air fighting, that day turning more steadily in favor of the Allies, who by the following day had gained the upper hand over the Germans.

A brilliant exploit by French aviators was that briefly recorded in the official report of June 5 to the effect that in the valley of the Savière French bombardment squadrons threw more than seventeen tons of bombs on enemy troop concentrations. Early in the afternoon the airmen were informed that a large number of Germans were assembling in the valley of the Savière. Owing to the configuration of the ground they were sheltered from the fire of artillery and it was evident that they intended to reinforce the German move westward into the Forest of Villers-Cotterets. Bombplanes were sent out.

The effect of the bombs was tremendous. The German soldiers broke headlong for cover, abandoning all thought of fight. Ten minutes later a bombplane group of the same strength arrived on the scene. At first no Germans were visible; then circling low, the airmen discovered the enemy hiding in the horseshoe wood of Hautwison on the eastern side of the valley. Again the devoted battalions were subjected to a terrible bombardment amid trees that gave no protection. Before the decimated units could re-form the first squadron had returned with a new load, and once more the wood was filled with the roar of explosions.

No human morale could stand such triple strain. In vain the German officers tried to re-form their panic-stricken men. When the French infantry counterattacked they had an easy victory over the weakened forces that had made the advance. The airmen's success against the reserves had nullified an advance that might have been dangerous.

GERMANS FIGHT GERMANS

One of the most extraordinary episodes of recent aerial fighting was the battle waged on June 5 between two flights of German planes. It was an unintentional but disastrous fight between brother aviators, during which British pilots joyfully and impartially rendered assistance first to one side, then to the other, until so many of the German fliers had been destroyed or damaged that the conflict could not continue. According to eyewitnesses two British officers in a fighting machine were leading a patrol along the lines, when they sighted a German Halberstadt two-seater, which, upon their appearance, fired a green signal light. The British leaders expected a trap, and waited to see what this unusual performance meant. In a short time six German scouts came wheeling out of the blue and joined the Halberstadt. Almost at once six other enemy scouts dived out of the sun on their comrades, whom

they apparently mistook for a British patrol about to attack the Halberstadt.

What happened was this: The Halberstadt had been acting as a decoy, and the green light had been meant as a signal for assistance. But there had been no expectation that two flights of German planes would respond at the same time. Not being able to distinguish the markings of their friends—and this has happened not infrequently before—the newcomers immediately began a furious attack upon them. The British leaders then guided their patrol into this mad mêlée and took a hand. The Halberstadt was the first victim, and this was shot down by a British commanding machine. Another British fighter in the meantime had accounted for two more enemy scouts, which were sent swirling to destruction. All the time the German aircraft were continuing their bitter battle among themselves, and several of them were seen to go down out of control before the engagement finally ended. The British leaders by their good judgment had led the Germans into their own trap.

ATTACKS ON HOSPITALS

Some hundreds of the personnel and patients of British hospitals behind the battlelines were killed and wounded on May 19 in the heavy attack by German bombing planes. Among those on the casualty list were several nurses, some of whom were killed, and several medical officers who were wounded. A large American hospital in the neighborhood escaped. A great number of the bombs were of extraordinary size, digging vast craters in the hospital grounds, while others were high-explosive shrapnel bombs, which scattered bullets through the crowded hospital tents and buildings. A three-seated airplane was brought down by gunfire while flying at a low altitude, and the occupants were made prisoner. The German Captain and the pilot sustained comparatively light shrapnel wounds, while the observer was not hurt. When questioned why he had directed his men against hospitals, the Captain asserted that he did not see the Red Cross signs. He said that he was seeking military objectives and had no desire to molest hospitals. With a shrug of his shoulders, the Captain added that if the British chose to build their hospitals near railways, they must expect to get them bombed.

The same group of hospitals was attacked again on the night of May 31. Several of them were hit and the casualty list among patients and workers was considerable. One hospital was almost demolished when an enemy aviator dropped an explosive on it after getting his bearings by letting fall a brilliant flare which lighted up the whole district. The raid lasted two hours. In one hospital one ward was destroyed and two other wards were damaged. Several attendants were killed in this place, and there were other casualties. The operating theatre of still another hospital was wrecked.

Altogether between May 15 and June 1 German airmen bombed British hospitals in France seven times, causing casualties totaling 991, as follows: Killed—Officers, 11; other ranks, 318; nursing sisters, 5; Women's Auxiliary Corps, 8; civilians, 6. Wounded—Officers, 18; other ranks, 534; nursing sisters, 11; Women's Auxiliary Corps, 7; civilians, 73.

On the night of May 28 German airmen deliberately dropped bombs on hospitals many miles in the rear of the front, in which there were scores of American and hundreds of French sick and wounded. A number of Americans were slightly injured by flying glass. One French nurse was killed and another injured. Several civilians died of wounds.

In addition to their operations against the Germans in France and Belgium, the Allies continued to carry the war into Germany. In a raid during the night of May 27 British long-distance bombing machines dropped between four and five tons of bombs on chemical works at Mannheim, the Landau railroad station, an electric power station at Kreuzwald, and on the Metz-Sablons railroad station. Very large explosions were caused and much damage done. The same night the important railway triangle at Liége in Belgium was bombarded. In spite of determined opposition by German airplanes, British aviators on May

16 dropped bombs on factories and the railroad station at Saarbrücken in Rhenish Prussia.

Cologne, the sixth largest city of Germany, was raided by British bombing planes on May 18. Bombs were dropped on railroad stations, factories, and barracks. Eighty-eight of the persons who were killed were buried in the same grave. The people of the city became panic-stricken. Aix-la-Chapelle was also attacked and factories set on fire.

TONS OF BRITISH BOMBS

British air squadrons carried out successful raids in Germany on May 31. Long-distance bombing machines crossed the Rhine and, in spite of strong opposition from enemy aircraft, dropped over a ton of bombs on the station and workshops at Karlsruhe. Another group of British airplanes dropped a ton of bombs on the railway triangle of Metz-Sablons with good effect and without losses. During the course of the day thirty-one tons of bombs were dropped on different targets behind the enemy lines. Twenty German machines were destroyed in air fighting, and six were driven out of control. During the night sixteen tons of bombs were dropped on targets in enemy territory. Six tons were dropped on the Bruges docks and on the Zeebrugge-Bruges Canal. In addition, four tons were dropped on railway junctions and the stations at Metz-Sablons, Karthaus, and Thionville.

Another typical day's work of the British aviators was that described in the official report issued on June 6. On the previous night long-distance bombing machines again attacked the Metz-Sablons station triangle and also the railway sidings at Thionville, dropping five tons of bombs with good results, although the visibility was indifferent. Next morning (June 6) the railway station at Coblenz was heavily attacked. The fine weather of June 5 enabled the British airmen to carry out much photographic, reconnoissance, and artillery work. Twenty tons of bombs were dropped on different targets, including hostile dumps and railway billets, the Armentières and Roye stations, and the Zeebrugge seaplane base. In addition long-distance day bombing machines heavily attacked the railway station and barracks at Treves, and the Metz-Sablons railway station, and the railways at Karthaus, returning without loss. Seven hostile machines and three German observation balloons were shot down during the day, and three hostile airplanes were driven down out of control. Four of the British machines are missing. On the night of June 5 thirteen tons of bombs were dropped on the St. Quentin, Boesinghe, Cambrai, and Armentières stations.

PARIS AND LONDON RAIDED

German aviators made an ineffectual attempt on the night of May 21 to raid Paris. Three persons were killed and several wounded in the outskirts of the city, but none of the raiders reached Paris itself. The following night another attack was made, and this time one of the German aviators succeeded in reaching the city. Bombs were dropped at various places, causing thirteen casualties, with one killed. German aviators also attacked the railroads north and northeast of Paris, but the bombs dropped caused no serious damage.

Forty-four persons were killed and 179 injured in the London area during an air raid on the night of May 19. Four of the German machines were destroyed, and a fifth fell flaming into the sea. This was the sixth raid on London since the beginning of 1918, and with the exception of that on Jan. 28 the most disastrous. Many of the casualties were among persons who were on the streets or in doorways, thus disregarding the warnings to seek shelter.

AMERICAN AVIATORS

Aerial fighting is the only form of modern warfare which gives opportunities for individual deeds of heroism; and every army has its list of airmen, dead or alive, who have distinguished themselves in thrilling fights high above the earth. Here, because there were Americans fighting in the air, mainly with the French, before the United States entered the war, this nation has already a

record which can vie with that of the other belligerents. On April 27 the standing of American aviators based on the number of adversaries shot down was as follows: Major Raoul Lufbery, 18; Major William Thaw, 5; Lieutenant Frank Baer, 5; Sergeant Baylies, 5; Captain Charles Biddle, 2, and Sergeant Vernon Booth, Sergeant August Grehore, Second Lieutenant Henry Grendelass, Sergeant Thomas Hitchcock, Lieutenant Friest Larner, Sergeant David Putnam, Sergeant W. A. Wellman, Lieutenant Allan Winslow, and Lieutenant Douglas Campbell, 1 each.

As the above list shows, Major Raoul Lufbery was easily America's leading airman, having far surpassed the initial record of an "ace," attained when an airman destroys five enemy machines. But his career was cut short on May 19, when he was killed in a dramatic combat with a German biplane behind the American sector north of Toul. Lufbery lost his life after six other American airmen had tried in vain to bring down the German machine. A German bullet set his petrol tank on fire, and Lufbery leaped from his machine.

LUFBERY'S LAST FIGHT

It was early in the morning when the German biplane appeared over the American airdromes moving slowly. Immediately the "alerte" signal was given and two Americans started up, and two others followed. When they got to a height of about 2,500 meters they found themselves face to face with a giant German biplane with a wing spread of sixty feet, carrying a pilot and two gunners, and driven by two engines. The engines were armored, and the pilot sat in a steel house. The gunners wore armor and occupied protected positions, each manning a heavy machine gun. The American fighters sent streams of bullets in vain against the new enemy.

By this time other Americans were in the air, trying to bring down the German, who loafed along, not seeming to mind bullets at all. The scene, in full view for many miles, looked like a lot of swallows pecking at a giant bird of prey. When one of the Americans landed, out of ammunition, and reported his inability to do damage to the German machine, Lufbery asked and received permission to try. He mounted up above the German, got his machine gun going well, and swept head first at the monster plane. When part of the way had been traversed he swerved off, supposedly because his machine gun jammed. But in a few minutes he was back at the German again, dashed by with his machine gun going, but produced no effect. He was seen to turn and start up at the enemy again, when suddenly he swerved and a thin line of flame shot from his machine, which seemed to hang still for a moment and then dart down. This took place at an altitude of 2,000 meters. When his machine was at an altitude of about 1,500 meters the American ace was seen to arise and leap into midair. From long experience he knew that to stay in his seat meant to be burned to death horribly. His body fell like a plummet, landing in the midst of a flower garden back of a residence in the village of Maron, while his machine fell in flames and landed on the ground a mass of wreckage. At Lufbery's funeral it was announced that the battleplane which had caused his death had been brought down by French airmen.

Lieutenant Douglas Campbell, a Californian, by bringing down his fifth German airplane on May 31, secured the distinction of being the first American-trained ace. Besides Campbell, America then had two other aces, Major William Thaw and Captain D. M. K. Peterson, but both Thaw and Peterson got their training with the French Army.

RICHTHOFEN'S DEATH

Germany has also lost her most aggressive aviator, Captain Baron von Richthofen, who commanded the most efficient of the German air squadrons. He was killed just after bringing down his eightieth machine. He was shot down in an aerial combat near Sailly-le-Sec on the Somme. With his "flying circus" of more than twenty followers, Captain von Richthofen flew toward the British lines about noon on April 20. Here they met two British airplanes, and von Richthofen separated himself from his

followers and started on a furious pursuit of these machines. Meanwhile a score of other British planes came swirling up and engaged the Germans. The Captain kept after his man and attempted to outmanoeuvre him. The British plane, which was accompanying the one under attack, got above the German. The three machines raced toward the British lines, their machine guns chattering like mad. They kept getting lower, until at last, when they were about fifty yards back of the British trenches, they were only a few hundred feet high. Meanwhile the other German machines were fighting the British squadron more than three miles away.

Machine guns and rifles on the ground came into action against Captain von Richthofen, who was also being fired at by at least one of his adversaries in the air. Suddenly his machine turned its nose downward and crashed to the earth. Examination later showed that the German pilot had a bullet through his heart. Von Richthofen was apparently killed while trying to break through the British aerial defenses in the Ancre region in oder that enemy reconnoissance machines might cross the lines to make observations on the defenses. A document captured by the British revealed the reason for his presence there. It was a communication from the "group commander of aviation" to the First Pursuit Squadron, of which von Richthofen's eleventh pursuit flight was part, saying: "It is not possible to fly over the Ancre in a westerly direction on account of strong enemy opposition. I request that this aerial barrage be forced to break in order that a reconnoissance up to the line of Marieux-Puchevillers (ten miles from the front) may be carried out."

Richthofen was buried with military honors behind the British lines. A large number of British fighting men and aviation officers, as well as Americans stationed at a neighboring airdrome, were in attendance. Mechanics of an aviation squadron had constructed a coffin, on which they placed a plate giving the aviator's name, rank, and other data. The body was carried on a motor car, with which marched a firing squad and many officers and men. Six British air service officers acted as pallbearers. As the procession moved to the burial place, scores of busy aviation mechanics paused and stood at attention as a tribute to the dead aviator. The Baron was buried under a hemlock tree, and the squad fired the last shots across the grave.

LIST OF GERMANS KILLED

A list printed in the Berliner Zeitung am Mittag on April 24 showed that of the forty-one German aviators who had brought down fifteen or more opponents since the beginning of the war, nineteen had fallen in action and two had been reported missing. The list of the fallen German fliers, together with the alleged number of their victims and the year of their death, follows:

Captain von Richthofen	80	1918
Lieutenant Boss	50	1917
Captain Bölcke	40	1916
Lieutenant Gontermann	39	1917
Lieutenant Max Müller	38	1918
Lieutenant Kurt Wolff	34	1917
Lieutenant Schaefer	30	1917
Lieutenant Allmenroeder	30	1917
First Lieut. von Tutschek	27	1918
Lieutenant Böhme	24	1917
First Lieut. Bethge	20	1918
Lieutenant von Eschwege	20	1917
Lieutenant Frankl	19	1917
Lieutenant Wintgens	18	1916
Lieutenant Baldamus	18	1917
Lieutenant Hess	17	1917
First Lieut. Immelmann	15	1916
Lieutenant Dossenbach	15	1917
Lieutenant Schneider	15	1917

Lieutenant von Bülow, with twenty-eight victims, and First Lieutenant Dostler, with twenty-six, were reported missing.

At the beginning of the offensive in March, Germany claimed 102 army aviators, each of whom had brought down more than seven airplanes or balloons in battles, and that the total number of victims up to May of these star fliers was 1,698. In this period forty-three of these aces had been killed and three were missing. Others probably had been disabled and were no longer in service. Of those still alive, whether still in the service or not, the ones with the best records were then Lieutenant Bongartz with thirty-three victories, Lieutenant Bucker also with thirty-three, and Lieutenant

von Richthofen, brother of the dead ace, with twenty-nine.

FRENCH AND BRITISH "ACES"

France has produced a number of brilliant military airmen, the latest to come into special prominence being Lieutenant René Fonck, who in one day (May 10) brought down six German airplanes. This achievement had not been equaled even by the late Captain Guynemer, of whom Fonck has become the successor in daring, skill, and resourcefulness as an air fighter. On June 4 it was announced that Lieutenant Georges Madon had won his twenty-eighth aerial victory.

A British airman with an extraordinary record, Captain James B. McCudden, who is only 23 years of age, was awarded the Victoria Cross on March 29 "for most conspicuous bravery, exceptional perseverence, keenness, and very high devotion to duty." He had already won nearly every decoration awarded in the British Army, including the Military Medal, the Military Cross, and the Distinguished Service Order. He went to France with the first British army in August, 1914, and, having had some experience of the air, was pressed into service as an observer at Mons and gave valuable information of enemy movements during the retreat. As a Sergeant he was officially promoted to be an observer, and quickly won fame for his expert handling of guns in several stiff fights. As the pilot of a single-seater scout McCudden has had over 100 fights and some wonderful escapes without sustaining the slightest hurt. The crack German pilot Immelmann was a deadly rival, and they had three duels, but the fight was broken off on each occasion without either man being able to claim an advantage. In the official announcement of the award of the V. C., it was stated that Captain McCudden had then accounted for fifty-four enemy airplanes, forty-two being definitely destroyed. The official statement added:

> On two occasions he has totally destroyed four two-seater enemy airplanes on the same day, and on the last occasion all four machines were destroyed in the space of one hour and thirty minutes.
>
> While in his present squadron he has participated in seventy-eight offensive patrols, and in nearly every case has been the leader. On at least thirty other occasions, while with the same squadron, he has crossed the lines alone, either in pursuit or in quest of enemy airplanes.
>
> The following incidents are examples of the work he has done recently:
>
> On Dec. 23, 1917, when leading his patrol, eight enemy airplanes were attacked between 2:30 P. M. and 3:50 P. M. Of these two were shot down by Captain McCudden in our lines. On the morning of the same day he left the ground at 10:50 o'clock and encountered four enemy airplanes; of these he shot down two.
>
> On Jan. 30, 1918, he, single-handed, attacked five enemy scouts, as a result of which two were destroyed. On this occasion he only returned home when the enemy scouts had been driven far east; his Lewis-gun ammunition was all finished and the belt of his Vickers gun had broken.
>
> As a patrol leader he has at all times shown the utmost gallantry and skill, not only in the manner in which he has attacked and destroyed the enemy but in the way he has during several aerial fights protected the newer members of his flight, thus keeping down their casualties to a minimum.
>
> This officer is considered, by the record which he has made, by his fearlessness, and by the great service which he has rendered to his country, deserving of the very highest honor.

Zinc Coins in Occupied Belgium

To obviate the great shortage of fractional currency in occupied Belgium, a shortage that hindered the most modest transactions, the German authorities decided early in March, 1918, to emit a large issue of zinc coins with a face value of 50 centimes, (10 cents.) The new coins have a diameter of 24 millimeters and bear on the face a coat-of-arms with a lion above a laurel branch, and with the value of the coin on the right. The obverse bears a five-pointed star, the inscription "België-Belgique," and the date. The centre of each coin is pierced by a hole 4½ millimeters in diameter.

Arrest of Irish Plotters

Sixty-nine Sinn Fein Members Imprisoned for Treasonable Relations With the Enemy

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for June contained a brief reference to the arrest of leaders of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, May 18, 1918, for being in treasonable communication with the Germans. Among the leaders arrested was Professor Edward de Valera, President of the Sinn Fein Society and a member of Parliament, who had refused to take his seat; also George Noble Plunkett, a Count of Rome and Member of Parliament; Mme. Markievicz, wife of a Polish Count; Arthur Giffith, one of the founders of the Sinn Fein movement; William T. Cosgrove, Treasurer of the Sinn Fein and Member of Parliament from Kilkenny City; Joseph McGuinness, Member of Parliament for South Longford; Darrel Figgis, an Irish poet; Dr. Richard Hayes, Herbert Mellowes, who led the Sinn Fein rising in Galway in 1916; Professor Monaghan, President of the local Sinn Fein Club at Drogheda; Pierce McCann, President of the East Tipperary Sinn Fein Executive; Frank Drohan, President of the Clonmel Sinn Fein Club; Dr. Thomas Dillon, Sean Milroy, and Sean McEntee, members of the Sinn Fein Executive; George Nichols, Coroner for the County of Galway, and Peter Hughes, Chairman of Dundalk Urban Council and a prominent Sinn Feiner. In all sixty-nine were arrested and imprisoned in England, not 500, as at first reported. The arrests were made between midnight and dawn by domiciliary visits, and were accomplished without any disorder, being a complete surprise.

OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION

Preceding the arrests the following proclamation was issued by Field Marshal French, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:

Whereas, It has come to our knowledge that certain subjects of his Majesty the King domiciled in Ireland have conspired to enter into treasonable communication with the German enemy; And whereas, Such treachery is a menace to the fair name of Ireland and its glorious military record—a record which is a source of intense pride to a country whose sons have always distinguished themselves and fought with such heroic valor in the past, in the same way as thousands of them are now fighting in this war; And whereas, Drastic measures must be taken to put down this German plot, which measures will be directed solely against that plot,

Now, therefore, we, the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, have thought fit to issue this our proclamation declaring, and it is hereby declared, as follows:

That it is the duty of all loyal subjects of his Majesty to assist in every way his Majesty's Government in Ireland to suppress this treasonable conspiracy, and to defeat the treacherous attempt of the Germans to defame the honor of Irishmen for their own ends.

That we hereby call upon all loyal subjects of his Majesty in Ireland to aid in crushing the said conspiracy, and so far as in them lies to assist in securing the effective prosecution of the war and the welfare and safety of the empire.

That as a means to this end we shall cause still further steps to be taken to facilitate and encourage voluntary enlistment in Ireland in his Majesty's forces, in the hope that, without resort to compulsion, the contribution of Ireland to those forces may be brought up to its proper strength and made to correspond to the contributions of other parts of the empire.

EFFECT OF ARRESTS

News of the arrests created a profound sensation in Ireland, but no breaches of the peace followed anywhere; in fact, the excitement over conscription subsided appreciably after the episode, likewise the activities of the Sinn Feiners. The leader of the Nationalists repudiated the treasonable work of the Sinn Feiners, and, in consequence of the disclosures, the alliance against conscription that had been formed between the Nationalists and Sinn Feiners was ruptured.

On May 25 the British Government issued a statement reviewing the causes of the arrests. In this document it was

stated that definite proof was at hand that after the abortive rebellion of Easter week, 1916, plans were made for a revolt in 1917, but that this miscarried because of America's entry into the war and Germany's inability to send troops to Ireland. An uprising in Ireland was planned for 1918 after the German offensive in the west had been successful and when Great Britain presumably would be stripped of troops.

The discovery of a German-Sinn Fein plot for landing arms in Ireland was made about April of this year, and even after the capture, on April 12, of the German agent who reached Ireland by submarine, munitions were shipped from Cuxhaven in the early part of this month.

Concerning the arrests in Ireland, the statement said that facts and documents, for obvious reasons, could not be disclosed at this time, nor could the means of communication between Germany and Ireland.

DETAILS OF INTRIGUE

With reference to the activities in 1918 the text of the statement was as follows:

Professor de Valera, addressing the convention of the Irish Volunteers on Oct. 27, 1917, said:

"By proper organization and recruiting we could have 500,000 fighting volunteers in Ireland. That would be a big army, but without the opportunity and means for fighting it could only be used as a menace. There already has been too much bloodshed without success, and I would never advocate another rebellion without hopeful chances of success. We can see no hope of that in the near future, except through a German invasion of England and the landing of troops and munitions in Ireland. We should be prepared to leave nothing undone toward that end."

On another occasion in January of this year de Valera said: "As long as Germany is the enemy of England, and England is the enemy of Ireland, so long will Ireland be a friend of Germany."

For some considerable time it was difficult to obtain accurate information as to German-Sinn Fein plans, but about April, 1918, it was ascertained definitely that a plan for landing arms in Ireland was ripe for execution, and that the Germans only awaited definite information from Ireland as to the time, place, and date.

The British authorities were able to warn the Irish command regarding the probable landing of an agent from Germany from a submarine. The agent actually landed on April 12 and was arrested.

The new rising depended largely upon the landing of munitions from submarines, and there is evidence to show that it was planned to follow a successful German offensive in the west and was to take place at a time when Great Britain presumably would be stripped of troops.

According to documents found on his person, de Valera had worked out in great detail the constitution of his rebel army. He hoped to be able to muster 500,000 trained men. There is evidence that German munitions actually had been shipped on submarines from Cuxhaven in the beginning of May, and that for some time German submarines have been busy off the west coast of Ireland on other errands than the destruction of allied shipping.

It will thus be seen that the negotiations between the executive of the Sinn Fein organization and Germany have been virtually continuous for three and a half years. At first a section of Irish-Americans was the intermediary for most of the discussions, but since America's entrance into the war the communication with the enemy has tended to be more direct. A second rising in Ireland was planned for last year, and the scheme broke down only because Germany was unable to send troops.

This year plans for another rising in connection with the German offensive on the western front were maturing, and a new shipment of arms from Germany was imminent.

An important feature of every plan was the establishment of submarine bases in Ireland to menace the shipping of all nations.

In the circumstances no other course was open to the Government if useless bloodshed was to be avoided and its duty to its allies fulfilled but to intern the authors and abettors of this criminal intrigue.

LANDING FROM SUBMARINE

On June 10 it was announced that the man who was put ashore on the west coast of Ireland from a German submarine on April 12, 1918, and who is now a prisoner in the Tower of London, was Lance Corporal J. Dowling of the Connaught Rangers. The collapsible boat in which Dowling was landed was made of canvas with a bottom of twenty-three wooden slats, each four inches wide, making the boat about eight feet long and two feet wide. The canvas sides, about twenty inches high, had an inner lining

of rubber fabric, to be blown up from a valve at the rear to give the boat buoyancy. There were loops along the sides in which short wooden braces or struts kept the boat from collapsing. The whole craft when rolled up weighed less than forty pounds. When the buoyancy chambers were pumped full of air the boat would easily support three men.

No effort had been made up to June 20 to put into execution the conscription law in Ireland, notwithstanding there had been a very meagre response to the call for volunteer enlistments.

Ireland's Food Shipments to England

A Limerick correspondent of The London Telegraph, on May 15, 1918, sent that newspaper the following table of Irish food exports to England, with other information not before made public:

Values of Foodstuffs Imported Into and Retained for Consumption in Great Britain from Undermentioned Countries. (Figures for 1917 are not available.)

	1912. Millions £	1913. Millions £	1914. Millions £	1915. Millions £	1916. Millions £
Ireland	30	36	37	46	59
United States	30	30	42	82	116
Argentina	31	31	27	46	36
Canada	18	19	23	27	41
British India	22	17	13	22	20
Denmark	20	22	23	20	20
New Zealand	9	9	11	16	18
Netherlands	14	16	17	14	13
Australia	13	15	16	12	10
Russia	17	15	13	8	1

This shows that for years Ireland's food supply to Great Britain was only exceeded by that of the United States of America, whose people, now fighting with us, probably will want more in future for themselves.

As regards the quantities of foodstuffs exported to Great Britain from Ireland, the following table speaks:

	Average, 1912-13.	Average, 1916-17.	P.C. Inc. or Dec.
Live cattle, number	832,000	889,000	+ 6.9
Live sheep, number	639,000	700,000	+ 9.5
Live pigs, number	233,000	239,000	+ 2.6
Butter, tons	37,000	36,000	— 4.0
Eggs, tons	56,000	69,000	+23.2
Poultry, tons	15,000	14,500	— 3.3
Bacon and hams, tons.	61,000	54,000	—11.5
Oats, tons	67,000	85,000	+26.9
Potatoes, tons	150,000	173,000	+15.3
Biscuits, tons	17,000	21,000	+23.5
Yeast, tons	7,000	11,000	+57.1
Cond. milk, tons	13,000	12,000	— 7.7

The following shows the quantities of foodstuffs, as nearly as possible, imported from foreign countries and British possessions, and is the latest we could obtain:

	Average, 1912-13. Tons.	1916. Tons.	P. C. Inc. or Dec.
Beef, fresh	423,000	353,000	— 16.5
Mutton	256,000	182,000	— 28.9
Pork	20,000	15,000	— 25.0
Meat, preserved (mostly tinned beef)	44,000	94,000	+113.6
Butter	201,000	107,000	— 46.8
Eggs	180,000	51,000	— 71.7
Bacon and hams	252,000	407,000	+ 61.5
Potatoes	373,000	85,000	— 77.2
Condensed milk	57,000	65,000	+ 14.0
Margarine	68,000	130,000	+ 91.2
Wheat	5,003,000	4,620,000	— 7.6
Barley	310,000	256,000	— 17.4
Oats	890,000	617,000	— 30.7
Rice	204,000	425,000	+108.3
Maize	1,614,000	1,198,000	— 25.8

It must be remembered that Ireland has now no foreign imports, and has to feed herself as well as help Great Britain. She consumes only one-fourth of her own cattle, and with only 10 per cent. of the population supplies 40 per cent. of the cattle and 30 per cent. of the pigs of the United Kingdom, despite shortage of imported cattle cakes, &c., formerly obtainable. Ireland also, by her position with regard to Great Britain, minimizes loss by U-boats, and by her proximity also makes more trips possible, and consequently more cargoes landed in a short time than is possible by any foreign nation or British possession.

As regards increased tillage, under the 1918 orders it is required that in holdings of over ten acres the area under cultivation this year must be 15 per cent. of the total arable land of the holding, in addition to that under cultivation in 1916, and in the case of holdings of over 200 acres 20 per cent. of the arable area. The result is that at the present time there are well over 1,000,000 more acres under cultivation than in 1916, a large proportion of such cultivation being voluntary. In County Limerick alone the area under corn crops shows an increase of 148 per cent., and that of all green crops, potatoes, mangolds, and turnips, of 33 per cent.

New Austro-German Alliance

Official Declarations Regarding It by the Chief Ministers of Both Empires

THE official text of the new treaty of alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary—as a result of the meeting of the Emperors, May 12, 1918—was not made public. Baron Burian, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, made the following declaration regarding it on May 16:

> The extension of the alliance, which in long years of peace had deeply penetrated the minds of the peoples and has stood the test of hard times, not only corresponds with what has now become a historic necessity, and is not only an imperative necessity, owing to the fact that Austria-Hungary and Germany, who are surrounded by a ring of common enemies, must firmly hold together in the centre in order to be able to resist the terrible embrace, but it also corresponds with the requirement of all patriotic Austrians, Hungarians, and Germans who think clearly about our future.
>
> Austria-Hungary and Germany do not desire to renew or extend the alliance in order to attack or oppress any one in the world, but to stand by each other when their vital interests are assailed. The new alliance will again be a defensive alliance, which today serves to bring about peace and will in future serve for its preservation. It will show the world that Austria-Hungary and Germany united are not to be beaten, and will convert our opponents to peace by the strength of our will for peace.

Dr. Wekerle, the Premier of Hungary, announced in the Hungarian lower house that the new alliance was a strengthening of the existing alliance and was for a considerable period. He added:

> I think that it will be a matter for general approval by Hungarians that our interests are so well looked after, and that they will be maintained by such a proved alliance. This alliance is therefore being renewed, and very naturally it will also extend to those questions which are directly connected with it. Naturally certain military agreements will also be concluded, but these cannot be called a military convention.

Count Michael Karolyi here interjected the inquiry, "During the war?" Dr. Wekerle proceeded:

> Agreements may be concluded during the war relating to common action and common equipment, but having no connection with army organization as such. We shall in no respect give up our right of decision as regards economic rapprochement. Count Karolyi continually talks about "Central Europe," but "Central Europe" is a very vague idea. No one doubts that closer economic ties are desirable and also possible. I repeat that we shall not give up in a single respect our independent right of decision. The validity of the economic agreement will depend on the approval of the House. War aims were not discussed, for there can be no question of war aims.
>
> The entire alliance aims only at the maintenance of peace in all directions. The alliance can but improve the mutual relations between us allies, but it is not to be regarded in any way as a hindrance to any eventual relations which may be established in the economic domain with other nations; neither is it a hindrance to an eventual entrance into the so-called League of Nations. The guarantee lies in the fact that we have arranged a purely defensive alliance.

ANDRASSY'S VIEWS

Count Julius Andrassy, one of the most influential statesmen of Austria-Hungary, in a public statement discussed the new alliance in detail. He asserted that when Bismarck and the elder Andrassy were negotiating the treaty of alliance in 1879 the Iron Chancellor expressed a wish that the two great powers should conclude a defensive and offensive alliance against every eventuality. Andrassy, however, was absolutely opposed to this, and, being convinced that the German statesman would give way, was determined to break off the negotiations altogether rather than conclude an alliance of such a general character. His view prevailed, Count Julius added, and the treaty was directed exclusively against Russia.

The treaty which was discussed by the

two leading statesmen at Gastein nearly forty years ago, and which has since then directed the events of the world, has served its purpose so well, the Count continued, that it has become superfluous in its old form. "It has smashed the adversary against whom it provided protection." The treaty in its new form, he asserted, is merely an adaptation of the original one to altered conditions. In 1879, he stated, Russian Imperialism was the only common danger for Austria-Hungary and Germany, and it was appropriate therefore that the alliance should be directed against Russia. Now, however, the situation is completely changed, and "the danger against which we must protect ourselves is no longer Russian imperialism but the permanent animosity of, and possible new attacks by, those countries which have endeavored during the last four years, while straining all their forces to the utmost capacity, to annihilate the Central Powers and split them up into their component parts."

PARTITION OF AUSTRIA

The chief aim of those powers, according to Andrassy, is the partition of Austria-Hungary, on the ground that a lasting peace can be assured only by giving autonomy on a democratic basis to the various nationalities composing the Dual Monarchy. "Our present need is thus," he added, "an alliance that will protect us against these dangers of the future as it has protected us in the past." The Hungarian statesman considers it possible also that in course of time the old danger may revive in a new form, for the idea of a union of all Slavs in a Socialist Republican Confederation is the old program of most Russian revolutionaries and agitators. For this reason, too, he contends, the alliance in its new form is imperatively necessary, though the immediate danger has to be met first.

"It is only by holding together those "forces which have saved our two em- "pires now," he asserted, "that we can "protect ourselves against the future "danger that menaces us in the form "of a fresh attempt on the part of our "adversaries to attain what they are "this time unable to attain." The world is today divided into two parts, Count Julius observes, and he declares that it would be illusion and fanaticism to believe that things will be otherwise in the near future. He wishes to make it clear that the Central Powers are not responsible for this, and maintains that the new Dual Alliance is formed to insure that another already existing alliance shall not imperil "our existence and our future." He wishes also to point out most emphatically that the new Dual Alliance, like the old one, is purely defensive.

He believes that when this war is over no nation will be inclined to pursue an aggressive foreign policy, but he, nevertheless, maintains that guarantees must be given that neither of the contracting parties shall be involved in any plans of conquest and hegemony cherished by the other. He insists, furthermore, that the peace concluded with their defeated enemies by the victorious allied Central Powers must manifest clearly that it is no obstacle to the development of an international law which would prevent the waging of war as much as possible, and would settle the armament question on an international basis, and also that this alliance does not wish to continue to fight after peace has been concluded, but will pursue a peaceable policy in every respect; that it does not wish to be exclusive, but is desirous of effecting a friendly rapprochement with the countries today opposed to it.

Finally, he expressed the opinion that the interest of the Dual Alliance requires that "our relationship also with Bulgaria and with Turkey shall be made stable and shall be strengthened."

THE TWO EMPERORS

The following exchange of telegrams between Emperor Karl and the Kaiser was made public on May 15:

> At the moment of leaving the favored soil of the German Empire on my way home I feel impelled again warmly to greet you and to express my heartiest thanks not only for the very gracious but also for the truly friendly reception which you gave me yesterday. I am highly satisfied with our harmonious conference. From my heart and in true friendship I say may we soon meet again. KARL.

The Kaiser telegraphed in reply:

Many thanks for your friendly telegram. I am exceedingly glad that you are so satisfied with your visit here. It is a great joy to me also to have seen you and to have again established in our detailed discussions our entire accord regarding aims which guide us. Their realization will bring great blessings on our empires. I hope soon to be in a position to take advantage of your kind invitation. Hearty greetings to Zita and yourself. In true friendship. WILHELM.

CHANCELLOR'S STATEMENT

Count Hertling, the German Chancellor, in a statement regarding the new understanding between the two empires, said that the agreement had not been signed, but the basic ideas had been agreed upon. He added:

The deepening and further development of the work created by the great statesman Bismarck and by Count Andrassy will assuredly have beneficial consequences for Germany and Hungary. I need not specially emphasize the fact that all efforts aiming at the improvement of German and Hungarian relations and at bringing the peoples closer together have my warmest sympathy. M Clemenceau, who indulged in the illusion that he would be able to sever our firm alliance, will now be able to see from the results of the negotiations the fruits of his intrigues. The new Dual Alliance will, in particular, comprise two important sections, namely, the economic and military agreements.

The economic union of Germany and Austria-Hungary is not aimed at any State whatever. I am quite prepared for aggressive intentions and tendencies to be ascribed to us by our opponents, and the watchword given out by the Entente of an economic war after the war against the Central Powers can now go ahead. This assertion, however, is entirely false. We want nothing but our place in the sun. We are quite entitled to harmonize our common interests and to act together. As regards the military side of the discussions, I must emphasize the fact that our agreements for the future have no aggressive character. We only desire the consolidation of our present relations. We also desire to remain just as closely bound together after the war as during the war, which has drawn us together.

If the world should one day unite in an International Peace League Germany would unhesitatingly and joyfully join in. Unfortunately the present conditions give very little hope of that. Our desire is to win and to preserve peace. Our policy has ever been a policy of peace, just as our alliance with the monarchy is a peace alliance; that is, an alliance for the preservation of peace. We are now fighting for our existence and for peace, which we also long for.

I am still optimistic enough to believe that we shall have peace this year. I say "optimistic," as the speeches which we hear from Entente statesmen still talk of crushing the Central Powers. It might have been thought that the attacks on Mr. Lloyd George, which, after all, indicate a strengthening of the peace idea, would have created a better basis for possibilities of peace. That, however, has not been the case. At the moment I cannot say more than that I cherish firm confidence that further events in the west will bring us nearer to a speedy end of the war, and that the alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary, which has been tested and extended during the war, will then bring renewed prosperity and rich blessings.

The Imprisoned ex-Czar in the Crimea

Djuber Castle, in the Crimea, became the compulsory residence of the Romanoff family in April, 1918, after their removal from Tobolsk, Siberia. A correspondent of the Frankfurter Zeitung who visited the ex-Czar in May gives this account of his new prison home:

"The castle is splendidly situated with a commanding view of the sea. The vicinity is embellished by beautiful residences. Twenty-five Soviet soldiers form the special guard of the former imperial family; armed with rifles and machine guns and hand grenades, they are under the orders of one officer. These soldiers are determined to prevent any attempt at flight, but, on the other hand, they are also firmly resolved to protect the ex-imperial family against any odious attack. Till recently the Romanoffs spent money freely on their garrison, but now they have financial difficulties, and can no longer pay the soldiers so well. The presence of the Soviet soldiers is sometimes irksome to the imperial family, but at times they are also glad to show their appreciation at being protected against the raids of brigands who infest the country. * * * Grand Duke Nicholas refused to be interviewed, declaring that as a private individual he had nothing to say."

Exchanging Thousands of Prisoners

Franco-German Agreement, Signed at Berne, Provides for Release of More Than 300,000 Captives

THE exchange of certain classes of French, Belgian, and German prisoners, totaling about 330,000, began on May 15, 1918, in accordance with an agreement arranged at Berne, Switzerland, by a conference of French and German delegates held there from April 2 to April 26, and later ratified by both Governments. It was announced at the same time that Italy had completed a similar arrangement.

The news of the Franco-German agreement came as a complete surprise to Great Britain and the other allies, and aroused an instant demand for negotiations looking to a release of British prisoners on similar terms. There was a tendency in some quarters to criticise the French Government for its separate action in the matter. After a lively debate on the subject in the House of Commons on May 28, Lord Newton, head of the Prisoners of War Department, stated that the British Government had "already entered into negotiations with the German Government with a view to arranging a wide scheme of exchange, following, broadly speaking, the agreement recently concluded between France and Germany." On the same day a dispatch from Holland announced that both the British and German Governments had informed the Netherlands Government that they wished to send delegates to The Hague shortly to discuss matters relating to the exchange of prisoners.

TOTALS OF PRISONERS

Between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 prisoners have been taken on both sides since the beginning of the war. The latest exact figures on the subject were published in the Summer of 1917, when the Central Powers held 2,874,271 prisoners, and the Entente Allies held a total of 1,284,050. Germany alone had 1,690,731 prisoners, including 17,474 officers; Austria-Hungary, 1,092,055; Bulgaria, 67,582, and Turkey, 23,903, a total of 2,874,271, of whom 27,620 are officers. This total was made up of the following nationalities:

	Total Number.	In Germany.
Russian	2,080,699	1,212,007
French	368,607	367,124
Serbian	154,630	25,879
Italian	98,017	.....
Rumanian	79,033	10,157
British	45,241	33,129
Belgian	42,437	42,435
Montenegrin	5,607	.....

The British prisoners of war not in Germany were divided between Bulgaria and Turkey.

The prisoners of the Allies, not including 40,000 Austrians and Bulgarians captured by the Serbians and now in Italy or 20,000 Turkish prisoners in Egypt, were distributed as follows:

	Total Number.	In Engl'd.	In France.	In Russia.	In Italy.
German	594,050	85,000	259,050	250,000	....
Austr'n	630,000	....	....	550,000	80,000

At the same time Switzerland was sheltering 26,000 interned war prisoners, of whom 16,000 were French, English, and Belgian, while 10,000 were German. In addition, 7,000 relatives were visiting interned men in Switzerland. Most of these interned prisoners will be released by the new agreements, while other thousands will take their place.

FRANCO-GERMAN TERMS

The Franco-German agreement, which, being the first exhaustive document of its kind in this war, will serve as a model for those that follow, provides that all privates and noncommissioned officers who have been prisoners in France and Germany for eighteen months shall be exchanged, man for man and rank for rank, in the order of priority of capture. Officers over 48 years of age are to be released, and certain other classes of officers are to be interned in Switzerland, while the French and Belgian in-

Inhabitants of Picardy who were forced to leave their homes when the German advance began

(© International Film Service)

A town in France practically wiped out in the German offensive which began on March 21, 1918. The road was cleared subsequently for the passage of British troops

(British Official Photo from Underwood)

terned soldiers already in Switzerland are to be released. It is estimated that there are 150,000 prisoners on each side who will be exchanged under the Franco-German agreement alone, and as transportation difficulties will prevent the moving of more than 10,000 a month each way, the repatriation of the 300,000 or more who have been in captivity since 1914 will require at least fifteen months. The interned civilians, it is stated, should all be back in their own countries in six months. The release terms are to go on applying to later prisoners as soon as their captivity amounts to eighteen months.

The status of citizens of occupied territory is profoundly modified by the provisions of the agreement, which expressly stipulate that deportations shall cease. Both sides bind themselves not to use released soldiers or civilians in war work. The validity of Germany's promise on this point was a theme of bitter comment in England when the terms of the French agreement first became known.

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENT

The most important articles in the Franco-German convention, which is very long, may be summarized as follows:

Article 1. Direct repatriation, without regard for rank or numbers, for sub-officers, Corporals, and soldiers who have been in captivity at least eighteen months at the time when this agreement goes into force: (a) who have reached the age of 40 years and are not yet 45, and are fathers of at least three living children; (b) who have reached the age of 45, but are not yet 48.

Art. 2. Direct repatriation, man for man and rank for rank, for sub-officers, Corporals, and soldiers in captivity for at least eighteen months, and not included in any of the classes mentioned in Article 1.

Art. 3. In the exchange provided for in Article 2 no distinction will be made between sub-officers. Corporals will be ranked with them.

Art. 4. Internment in Switzerland, without regard for rank or numbers, for all officers in captivity at least eighteen months: (a) who have reached the age of 40 years and are not yet 45, and are the fathers of at least three living children; (b) who have reached the age of 45 years, but are not yet 48.

Art. 5. Internment in Switzerland, man for man, regardless of rank, for sub-officers in captivity at least eighteen months and not included in the foregoing categories.

Art. 6. The order of priority for repatriation and internment shall be determined by priority of captivity and by equal duration of imprisonment after considering age. If this order cannot be followed exactly, the repatriation of the prisoner who has to remain shall not be delayed beyond two months at most.

Art. 9. Repatriation, without regard to rank or numbers, for officers, sub-officers, Corporals, and soldiers who were taken prisoner prior to Nov. 1, 1916, and who on April 15, 1918, find themselves interned in Switzerland by reason of wounds or illness.

TRANSPORTING PRISONERS

Art. 10. The repatriation of these prisoners shall be effected in the following manner: Each train in either direction shall contain 700 prisoners of war to be exchanged, man for man. Each train coming from Germany, moreover, shall contain 100 French prisoners of war designated in Article 1, and each train from France shall contain 50 German prisoners of the same category, until the total in this class on both sides is exhausted. The repatriation shipments should contain a monthly average of 15 per cent. of noncommissioned officers and 85 per cent. of privates.

Art. 11. At the beginning of each series of ten trains of private soldiers there shall be formed on each side a convoy of 400 officers to be interned in Switzerland in accordance with Article 5. This convoy shall include, besides, 100 French officers coming from Germany and 50 German officers coming from France to be interned under Article 4, until the total on each side is exhausted.

Art. 12. The first two trainloads of officers provided for in Article 11 shall start from Lyons, the third from Constance, the fourth from Lyons, and so on alternately. The first ten trains of private soldiers arranged for under Article 10 shall start from Constance; the ten trains of the second series shall go from Lyons, and so on alternately.

Art. 13. Prisoners of war who do not yet come under the conditions prescribed in Articles 1-5 shall be repatriated or interned in Switzerland, as the case may be, as rapidly as the prescribed conditions are fulfilled.

Art. 14. Officers in sound health who are interned in Switzerland either under the present agreement or under the Berne agreement of March 15, 1918, cannot be repatriated save in exceptional cases and solely for serious illness or accident.

Art. 16. Article 19 of the Berne convention of March 15, 1918, concerning the employment of repatriated soldiers shall be applicable to prisoners benefiting from the present agreement. Released Belgian prisoners can be employed in France under the same conditions as repatriated French prisoners.

Art. 17. All the foregoing provisions are to apply to German prisoners of war captured by Belgian troops and to Belgian prisoners taken by German troops. The Belgian offi-

cers, sub-officers, and soldiers shall be included in the repatriated and interned French groups in the proportion of one Belgian for ten Frenchmen, up to the exhaustion of the number of German war prisoners who were captured by Belgian troops and who come under the foregoing provisions.

Art. 18. In the repatriation and internment of prisoners under Articles 1-5 only men in sound health are to be counted. Ill or wounded prisoners will continue to be repatriated directly or interned in Switzerland under the conditions laid down under Articles 7-18 of the Berne agreement of March 15, 1918.

Art. 20. The provisions contained in Articles 1-19 of the present convention shall cease to be in force on Aug. 1, 1919, if one of the two Governments shall have given notice to that effect to the Swiss Political Department before May 1, 1919.

FOOD FOR PRISONERS

The articles following those just summarized relate to the treatment of prisoners remaining in captivity. The most important are these:

Art. 25. The daily rations of officers must be sufficient in quantity and quality, especially as regards meat, vegetables, and seasoning, after taking into account the food restrictions imposed upon the civil population. The management of food su lies by the prisoner officers themselves is to be favored in every way.

Art. 26. The daily rations allotted to imprisoned privates in Germany and in France must contain a minimum of 2,000 calor for men not working, 2,500 calories for ordinary workers, and 2,850 calories for prisoners doing heavy work.

Art. 27. Prisoners of war shall, in general, receive the same ration of meat as the civil population.

Art. 28. The minimum ration of bread allotted to imprisoned German officers, sub-officers, and soldiers in France is fixed at 350 grams a day. It will be increased to 400 for prisoners working outside the camp. The minimum bread ration allotted to French war prisoners in Germany is the same as that for the civilian population and is never allowed to go below 250 grams.

Art. 29. The German Government authorizes for all war prisoners a collective assignment of bread at the rate of two kilograms (four pounds) of bread per man per week. The providing and distributing of these consignments of food will continue to be assured for all the camps and detachments affected by the present agreement. The provisions are to be sent free and by fast freight. The consignments are to be distributed without any charge whatever and by the most direct and rapid routes available. The empty sacks can be returned to the country of origin.

Art. 33. The provisions of Articles 25-32 are applicable to Belgian prisoners in Germany as well as to German prisoners who have fallen into the power of the Belgian Government and are now in France.

LIBERATING CIVILIANS

The second part of the agreement deals solely with civilian prisoners:

Art. 1. Civilian prisoners, regardless of age or sex, are authorized, upon their own demand and under conditions hereafter stated, to leave the country where they are held; this applies alike to interned persons and to those who have been liberated after a period of internment.

Art. 2. The word internment is to include all civilians who, whatever the cause or date of their commitment, are or have been detained in any place of internment against their will.

Art. 3. Civilians who at the beginning of the war had their domicile or habitual residence either in the State where they are or on the free territory of the other State will be conducted to the Swiss frontier, whence they can proceed to Germany if they come from France or to France if they come from Germany.

Art. 4. Civilians who at the beginning of the war had their homes in a locality of the occupied regions will be sent back there. They can ask to be taken to the Swiss frontier, and the request will be complied with whenever military necessity does not stand in the way. In cases where, for military reasons, the return of such persons to their homes is impossible, the civilians in question shall be sent to the frontier or to another part of the occupied territory, which will be assigned to them, as nearly as possible, in accordance with their wishes.

Art. 5. If a civilian desires to remain in the territory or State where he now is interned, he will be authorized to do so on condition that his residence there shall be permanent.

Art. 9. The civilians interned in Switzerland at the moment when this agreement goes into effect will be freed from internment.

Art. 12. Civilians who return to their country under the present agreement cannot be employed in military service, either at the front, or in the war zone, or in the interior of occupied enemy territory, or in the territories or possessions of an allied State.

Art. 13. The arrangements for the liberation of civilians shall be put into operation immediately after this agreement goes into effect. Reckoning from that date, the transportation ought to be finished in a space of not more than three months for civilians now actually interned and six months for those interned at some time in the past. This transportation will be furnished free.

The following articles deal with the population of occupied territory:

Art. 17. The inhabitants of occupied territory cannot be compelled to work, except under the following rules: The work must be done under the best material and moral conditions, with due regard to personal aptitudes, social conditions, sex, age, and the physical status of the workers. Members of a family, so far as possible, must not be separated. Their labors must never involve any obligation to take part in war operations against their own country. Work can be demanded only (a) as service for the needs of the army of occupation, within the limitations laid down in Article 52 of The Hague Convention regarding war on land; (b) with the object of preventing idleness on the part of persons capable of working, who are supported at public expense, and who have refused voluntary employment; (c) with the object of providing, in the absence of other means, for the existence of the population.

Art. 18. Persons compelled to work under Article 17 must be employed, with the exception mentioned, in the locality of their domicile or in its immediate neighborhood. If for military or economic reasons an inhabitant has to be removed from his home in order to put him at work, this removal shall not in any case take him outside the occupied territory, nor shall it bring persons whose residence is more than thirty kilometers from the firing line within the limits of that zone.

Suitable provision shall be made for housing and food for workers who shall receive fair remuneration, and, if need be, medical service. Besides rest periods and normal changes they shall be given permission as often as possible to visit their families, with whom they shall also be allowed to correspond and exchange parcels.

Art. 19. Aside from the cases designated in Article 18, and aside from the case of a total or partial evacuation of a locality for military reasons, an inhabitant of occupied territory cannot be displaced from his home against his will, unless, because of his personal attitude, his presence endangers military security or public order.

Art. 20. No civilian coming from one of the two States can in future be interned in the other State or in the occupied territories. Nevertheless, a civilian who, by reason of his personal attitude, and in the interest of military security or public order, has to be removed from his domicile in occupied territory, can be taken into the territory of the occupying State. The duration of his absence from occupied territory must be limited to a period of strict necessity and must not exceed six months, save in exceptional cases. At the expiration of this period the interested person is authorized to return to the occupied territory, unless the authorities should prefer to conduct him to the Swiss frontier.

The foregoing Franco-German agreement was entered into for an initial period of fifteen months, beginning May 15, 1918, and can be renewed for periods of three months each. A Belgo-German agreement of narrower scope was signed at Berne on March 22, 1918, relating only to civilian prisoners.

Horrors of Austrian Prisons

Inhuman Treatment of Civilian Women and Men at Internment Camps

A CORRESPONDENT of The London Telegraph who spent three years in captivity in Austria has told of the horrible brutalities and cruelties suffered by interned aliens in that country. He states that there are both stations and camps for the interned prisoners, but the former are employed to exploit the captives; they are more livable than the horrible camps, but to live at a station one is charged three to ten times more for food and lodging than the current rates for citizens, and the prisoners suffer greatly for want of food and decent sanitation.

He describes the experiences of prisoners at a place called Illmau, in lower Austria, as typical of Austrian methods. A party of Englishmen were taken there shortly after they had been arrested in Vienna. They were marched along for about twenty kilometers, carrying their bags or packages. It was very cold, below freezing point, and when at last they arrived at Illmau at dark they were pushed into a kind of cellar, three or four steps below the level of the ground. A soldier locked them in, telling them they could go there and die. It was a place with no windows—only a small hole in

the floor. The floor, bare earth, was wet and muddy, water trickling down the walls. For every two men was one straw sack, also damp, of course, and they were so closely packed that they could not lie stright.

During the day it was so dark that they could not see each other's faces. In the morning they were told that, if they wanted to wash, they might go to the pump from which they also got their drinking water. This pump stood in the middle of a manure heap, and could only be reached by wading knee deep through the liquid pool surrounding the manure heap. The quality of the drinking water can be rather imagined than described. The treatment was most rough; the only argument a guard ever used was the butt end of his rifle—if not the bayonet. Not many words were wasted on the "Schweine - Engländer," (Swine - English.)

One day some high officials came to inspect Illmau, and after they had seen the above-ground portion, the Englishmen, who were shut up in their cellar, could hear them asking if no one was shut up in the cellars, as by rights they ought to inspect the cellars, too. But the guard officer assured them on his solemn word of honor that the cellars were empty. And those who were there did not dare to call out—they knew what their punishment would be—"stringing up" at least. This is an old punishment, where the wrists are fettered behind the back, a cord attached and passed through a ring in the wall over the prisoner's head. This cord is then pulled tight, till the man is forced right on to his toes. He is then kept so for about an hour, or till he faints. This was often done at Illmau.

After the Englishmen had been in their wet cellar for a week, and were nearly all ill with the terrible cold, they were told they could go into an upstairs room. These rooms were occupied by Serbs and Poles, nearly all very ill with consumption and very dirty. Each man received a blanket of a kind of checked pattern. When these blankets were hung up in the yard to air it was impossible to recognize their pattern—they were all a crawling mass. The room into which the Englishmen were put was so full that when they lay down at night they were almost one on the top of the other. The consumptives were always expectorating, and "sanitary arrangements" were unknown.

Drosendorf was a camp where, especially during the first months, prisoners endured the greatest hardships. They slept in sheds, in stables, sometimes on wet straw, sometimes without, and were treated as brutally as in other camps. "Here were also some women," says the correspondent, "and a lady I knew personally. When the latter was brought there with other prisoners, male and female, after walking for miles, they were shut into a large room—men and women together. There the 'sanitary arrangements' consisted of a large pail put down in the middle of the room. This lady was kept in this room with the men for some days, and not allowed to leave it. In this camp at present there are principally Russians, and rarely a day passes that a death does not occur from starvation. Here, as also in the large camp of Katzenau, the rations are as follows:

> Breakfast.—Tea made of a mixture of dried birch and strawberry leaves, and sixty grams (about two ounces) of bread.
>
> Midday.—Soup made of turnips, or potatoes boiled and served in the water they are boiled in, (no salt or fat,) and another sixty grams of bread.
>
> Evening.—Same as breakfast. At some places the same vessels are used for washing the floors and for boiling the soup.

Estergom in Hungary was at the beginning a much dreaded place. It is surrounded on three sides by the Danube and barbed wire on the fourth. At the beginning there were over 30,000 prisoners—men, women, and children—there, but not sufficient accommodation, so many spent the nights out of doors in the rain and endless mud. Some lived in tents. Of course striking a match in the dark was strictly forbidden, and when once some one did strike one, the guards rushed in, striking about them blindly with their fixed bayonets. Once one unfortunate Scotchman was attacked very badly with dysentery in the middle of the night, and came out to ask the guard to take him to a doctor. The guard simply

ordered him to go back to the tent and be quiet. When the sick man begged again, the guard knocked him down with the butt end of his rifle.

One camp, which was even lately mentioned as a disgrace in the Austrian Parliament, is Thalerhof, near Graz, the capital of Styria. Here they kept principally their own refugees from Galicia.

The London Telegraph correspondent writes of Thalerhof:

"One Polish lady who had been there for eight months is now in Raabs. She was taken away from her own house in Galicia in the clothes she stood in, allowed to take nothing with her. Eventually she reached Thalerhof. Through her sufferings there the poor woman is so broken down that it is almost impossible to get her to speak of what she has been through. A little she told me. When they—she and other ladies, priests, peasants, men of all classes—were brought to Thalerhof, the ladies (not the peasant women) were told they must come and bathe. It was many degrees below freezing point, but they were taken to a shed, open all round, down the middle of which a long row of troughs half filled with dirty water was arranged. The water had already been used by soldiers for washing their clothes. Then they were ordered to undress.

"The soldiers with fixed bayonets surrounded these ladies, while they completely undressed in the open, and forced them to bathe in the troughs, threatening them with fixed bayonets all the time and torturing them with coarse jokes. The low-class women were left quiet, not forced to bathe like this. After the bath was over they were shut up in a room crowded with people full of vermin. The ladies were always chosen for the dirty work—never the peasant women, just as the priests were set to clear up the 'sanitary arrangements,' which there consisted of a long open ditch with a board along one side of it.

CIVILIANS KIDNAPPED

"At the beginning they had a cruel way of arresting people. They would march them off as they stood, not letting them communicate with wives or friends or relatives. I know of one lady who for about two months did not know where her husband was, while he knew just as little about her. Two Serbian ladies, mother and daughter, who had also been at Salzerbad, had been staying at a little watering place in Dalmatia, where they had gone for many years. One evening, when they were only dressed in cotton dressing gowns, they were asked by an official to come down to a steamer lying at the wharf. Only for a few minutes, he said; there were just a few questions to be asked. So they went just as they were, and went on the boat with several others; some one began to ask them questions, when, to their horror, they noticed the ship was moving. They were taken right away, as they were. At every port they stopped and brought in others in the same way.

"In Fiume they landed, were handcuffed two and two, and marched through the streets to the prison. There the daughter and her 65-year-old mother, who had been also handcuffed, spent the night in a cell, with only two upright chairs in it. Next day they and all the other prisoners collected up to then were packed into third-class carriages, packed as close as they would go, and in each compartment two soldiers, fully accoutred, with fixed bayonets, and smoking like chimneys. Although it was hot Summer, all the windows were kept shut. In this way they were brought to Marburg—a journey of some four or five hours in ordinary time—but they took two days for it. All this time they had nothing to eat. People came to the train selling things; but, as all their money had been taken away from them on the boat, they could get nothing. In Marburg they were put in the prison, and kept there for eight months."

Abuses in German Prison Camps

Examples of Heartless Treatment

QUARTERMASTER SERGEANT T. DUGGAN of the First Coldstream Guards, who was at the prison camp at Schneidemühl (Posen) from 1914 to March, 1918, described the horrors at that camp as follows:

Prisoners of all nationalities, Russians, French, British, and Belgians, were kept there, the majority being Russians. At the beginning they lived in holes in the ground without any covering whatever. Quartermaster Sergeant Duggan showed me a photograph illustrating this condition of things, which lasted for some time, it being a month before the prisoners had any covering over their heads. The food was so bad that the British could never eat it.

About December, 1914, a typhus epidemic began. It continued for four or five months. Schneidemühl has one camp divided into three inclosures, the whole camp containing about 40,000 prisoners. The daily average of deaths was certainly not under thirty. Another photograph was shown to me depicting a long procession of coffins during the epidemic. A gigantic German carrying a rifle headed the procession, which was mainly composed of unfortunate Russian prisoners. Anything more pathetic cannot be imagined. Photographs were also shown me of the actual funeral service and place of interment. These photographs showed many being buried at one time in one long trench. After the interment, where the bodies were deposited four deep, one above another, the Germans made mounds surmounted by crosses, intimating that only two persons were buried beneath each mound.

It is impossible to estimate now how many were buried altogether, but many thousands died from this typhus epidemic. When the epidemic broke out a terrible condition of affairs quickly ensued, and it was not until it had been raging for a fortnight that Russian doctors arrived on the scene. Some of the patients were then first sent to hospital. The camp's condition, even after the doctors' arrival, was perfectly awful.

A British merchant Captain, who was released in May from internment in a German prison camp, asserted under oath that after his ship was torpedoed he was locked up for twenty-four hours in the U-boat for refusing to answer questions. On the following day he was searched, and for still refusing to answer was sentenced to be shot on reaching port, or before if he should cause any annoyance. One of the principal officers called him a liar and an English swine.

Some days later the submarine put into Heligoland, and the Captain was transferred to an underground cell ashore. Later, after scanty and bad food had made him ill, he was marched with other prisoners from merchant ships to a camp. Kept naked in intense cold for three hours while his clothes were being searched, German officers stood about laughing. His garments were returned to him wet, and he was put in barracks, where his only covering was verminous blankets.

In another compound the conditions were better, but the food uneatable. The prisoners were skeletons in rags. If they fell down from weakness they were kicked and clubbed, beaten with the flat of swords, and kept standing at attention in freezing weather. They had to fight like wild beasts for food that a dog would refuse. Funerals were a daily occurrence.

Transferred to Brandenburg, where he lived five and a half months, the fare was such that, by the time his own parcels of food arrived, he had lost twenty-eight pounds in weight. Twenty degrees of frost have been registered on the inside wall of the barrack in the mornings, and in Summer the heat was intolerable and the flies and mosquitos very trying. Sanitation was almost nil; 850 Russians died at that camp earlier in the war, and several were burned to death there shortly before the Captain arrived.

Rebuilding Disabled Soldiers

Wonderful Work That Italy Is Doing to Render Maimed Men Self-Supporting

By PROFESSOR RICCARDO GALEAZZI
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OUR idea is that the future prospects of a disabled soldier must not be built upon his assurance of obtaining a pension, but upon the rebuilding of him physically, and the retraining of him technically, to take up a self-supporting position in life.

Therefore, there must be no scrapping of the broken soldier. When we bring him from the battlefield, and find that a limb or limbs have to be amputated, the soldier thus wounded is placed in a special category, and we cannot discharge him from the army until every care has been taken to rebuild him physically, morally, and professionally. Then, having given him his limbs and his re-education gratuitously, we also give him gratuitously whatever implements or machinery may be necessary for him to practice his new trade. Not until then do we put him on his new road of life.

The organization for the different stages of this treatment is interesting. In Italy each army corps has its special province or district. And each of those geographical sections has a complete organization for the care of the disabled. There is the surgical hospital, the orthopedic institute, and the school for retraining the soldier in whatever trade he may be capable of following.

When the amputation wound is sufficiently healed in the surgical hospital, we give the soldier a month's leave, fitting him with a temporary limb for use during that time. When the month is out—that is, before he has had time to get into lazy habits at home or suffer from the effects of misdirected sympathy—he must enter the school for the re-education of the disabled. To this school is also attached the orthopedic institution. Here he has his definite set of limbs fitted. A plaster cast is taken and each limb is made with particular individual care; and during the first weeks of its use the soldier is under the constant supervision of the doctors, so that they can alter the artificial limbs according as any defects become manifest.

I may also say, for it is an important point, that the limbs made for the common soldier are the same as those made for the Colonel, and the one gets them gratis just as the other does. Not only that, but we have a National Institute whose duty is to take care of these limbs, renew them and alter them free of cost, as long as the soldier lives.

What are the limbs like? Well, for instance, even where a man has lost both hands, we have fitted artificial ones which enable him to write with pen or pencil, to use knife and fork, to button his clothes, and to shave with a safety razor. Thus we get rid of the constant depression from which a soldier would otherwise suffer were he to feel dependent upon some friend for every hand's turn in his daily life.

One of the great sources of success in applying these limbs is the special Italian system, the theory of which was laid down by Vanghetti, of making the amputation so that the muscles from the living part of the arm can be attached in such a way to the artifical limb as to get an organic muscular connection. Thus the natural muscles of the living arm actually can be got to work the artificial fingers or leg, as the case may be. I have made several of these connections

with full success. And the system is now becoming almost the rule all over the country. It is a special Italian invention, though some of the German professors want to claim the credit for it.

The most important feature, however, of our Italian system is the insistence on retraining. If the soldier's disablement does not allow him to follow his ordinary calling in life, and if he be not of independent means, he is absolutely bound to spend at least a month or six weeks in the training school. There he is asked to choose a trade or calling in keeping with his physical ability. We keep him for at least about six weeks, and show him the whole system in working order. Of course, if he cannot be persuaded, we must allow him to go home, for, after all, we are a free country. But when he remains he is put through a thorough course of training.

During these first weeks in the school the new limbs are fitted, for the school works in connection with the orthopedic institute. In the school we teach the illiterate peasants to read and write. We teach all sorts of designing and drawing, all commercial subjects, all the artisan trades, and also technical farming. Generally we give preference to these trades that can be practiced at home; and we do not encourage largely such trades as would call for work in large factories. In the case of farmers or farm laborers, who are too seriously injured to undertake the heavy work in the fields, we teach them the finer technique of vine culture, wine making, cheese making, &c.

And it generally happens that these disabled men return to life better fitted for their work than they were before the war.

Sneezing Powder in Gas Attacks

A report from a correspondent on the Picardy front, dated May 6, 1918, described how the Germans launched a heavy gas attack against the Americans, sending over within a short period 15,000 shells, containing chiefly mustard gas. This attack was notable for a new German device, which is described as follows:

The Germans introduced gas warfare, forcing modern soldiers to wear gas masks. Now after the use of masks has proved an effective weapon against gas they are using a new weapon to force the allied soldiers to take off masks that they may be easily killed by lethal phosgine and diphosgine gases.

The weapon is nothing more or less than sneezing powder fired in high explosive shells. This powder percolates through mask respirators and brings on sneezing spells which lead the men to take off their masks and to receive the full effect of lethal gases. It has been used against the Americans. The method in use is to fire a number of sneezing powder shells just before a gas attack or to scatter them along among lethal gas shells.

The German now uses his gases in four methods: First, clouds, which depend on a favorable wind; second, projectors, also depending on the wind; third, long-range artillery gas shells, and, fourth, hand grenades. Deadly gases, such as phosgine and diphosgine, are used in short-range guns, while neutralization gas, intended only to prevent activities of allied soldiers far back of the lines, is used at long range. Mustard gas is much used in this way. The latest perfection in the use of lethal gases is to fire twelve or more mortars shooting large-calibre shells at the same time by an electrical arrangement, thus producing great concentration.

Russia Under Many Masters

A Month's Events Amid the Chaos Produced by Bolshevist Misrule and German Invasion

THE State Department at Washington on May 16, 1918, published the text of a protest to Germany made by the Russian Government on April 26. The document opened with the following statement: "The Russian "Government has taken every measure "possible strictly to fulfill the Brest-"Litovsk treaty from the Russian side, "and in this way to secure for our peo-"ple the chief aim of this treaty—a "state of peace. But in reality no such "state of peace exists." The message then enumerated the grievances of the Russians. It pointed out that by advancing upon Kursk and Voronezh the German and Ukrainian troops infringed the Russo-Ukrainian frontier line, "which was one-sidedly established by "the Ukrainian Rada itself, and offi-"cially made known to us by the Ger-"man Government." At the same time, the protest said, Russian military property in Finland was being seized by the White Guards, operating in agreement with German detachments and under instruction from the German staff.

The document also called attention to the fact that, although the Soviet authorities had declared their readiness to open peace negotiations with the Ukrainian Central Rada, neither the Ukrainian Government, "which is now directed by Germany," nor the Berlin Government itself, had given any answer to the Russian offer. "Owing to such circumstances," the message declared, "the "Soviet Government considers itself com-"pelled to mobilize all necessary forces "in order to secure the freedom and in-"dependence of the Russian Republic, "which is now menaced beyond the limits "established by the Brest-Litovsk "treaty." The document concluded by reiterating the complete readiness of the Russian people to fulfill the conditions of the Brest-Litovsk pact, and by demanding that the German Government should formulate the new demands, "in "the name of which it directs Ukrainian, "Finnish, and German troops against "the Russian Soviet Government."

GERMAN PROMISES

In response to this protest, Berlin, on May 13, advised the Soviet Government through the Russian Ambassador in Berlin, that Germany would stop the invasion of Russian territory, and that it would observe the Brest-Litovsk treaty and restore the rights of Russians residing in Germany. In spite of this assurance, however, the advance of the German Army in Great Russia did not cease. According to a Moscow dispatch, dated May 25, the Germans occupied the district town of Valuyki, in the Government of Voronezh, which is Great Russian territory, and made further advances. The occupation was preceded by a battle which lasted four days. The Teutons also continued their operations in the Don region, where a battle occurred near Bataisk, and in the Caucasus. They mined the Strait of Kerch, or Yenikal, known to the ancients as the Cymmerian Bosporus, which is the only passage from the Black Sea into the Sea of Azov. German airships appeared over Novorossysk, on the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus, and their submarines entered its port. This was done apparently to intimidate the Transcaucasian Government, which refused to cede Novorossysk to Turkey. About the same time Bolshevist detachments crossed the Caspian, attacked the Turks and recaptured the port of Baku. Another battle was won by the Russians over the Turco-German troops in the Kars district of Transcaucasia on May 24. The enemy retreated along the Ardahan road, massacring the population as they went.

Early in June the Germans made a

further advance in the south, namely, in the Roslav region and in the district of Rylsk, Government of Kursk. They advanced from the Rostov Railway toward Voronezh and captured Roventki. They also made an attempt to cut the Tsaratsyk Railway near the Kumyigar River. On June 10 the Germans started a new movement eastward along a front sixty miles wide, between Valyiki, captured previously, and Zhukovo.

BLACK SEA FLEET

A large part of the Russian Black Sea fleet fell into the hands of the Germans when they captured Sebastopol, but two large ships and two destroyers escaped. A telegram to the Berliner Tageblatt, dated May 12, said that the majority of the captured vessels had been so neglected that only two battleships were in good condition. One dreadnought and four cruisers had previously been captured at Odessa. On June 6, the Moscow Government offered to surrender the Black Sea fleet to Germany on the following conditions: 1. The ships to be restored after the war is over. 2. Germany to refrain from using the vessels. 3. Invasion of Russia to stop.

According to a memorandum sent on May 21 by Foreign Minister Tchitcherin to the Bolshevist Ambassador Joffe in Berlin, Russian merchantmen and even a hospital ship were attacked by the Germans in the Black Sea, and the menace of German attack constituted a serious obstacle to navigation in the Baltic and Arctic.

On June 6, Germany delivered an ultimatum to the Soviet Government, demanding the return of the remainder of the Russian Black Sea Fleet from Novorossysk to Sebastopol, as a condition for the cessation of hostilities on the part of the Central Powers. The Commissary for Foreign Affairs expressed himself in favor of acceding to the demand, and Lenine ordered the surrender of the ships.

The Soviet Government had no illusions as to the stability of the Brest-Litovsk peace, but in its opinion the time for a new clash with the Central Powers was not yet ripe. Consequently, in the face of German aggression, it pursued a policy of preserving this "bad peace" by all manner of concessions and compromises.

The tasks which the Soviet Government were facing were outlined by Nikolai Lenine in several speeches made before the Central Executive Committee of the Councils, in the middle of May. His words were to the effect that war was threatening the Soviet Republic from many quarters. Either of the belligerent groups of imperialistic powers might, in his opinion, at any moment attack Russia. The ambitions of Skoropadsky and of the new Caucasian Government, which was under the influence of German militarism, was regarded as another source of danger. "We shall do the little we can," said Lenine, "all that diplomacy "can do to put off the moment of at-"tack. * * * We shall not defend "the secret agreements which we have "published to the world; we shall not "defend a 'Great Power,' for there is "nothing of Russia left but Great Rus-"sia, and no national interests, because "for us the interests of the world's so-"cialism stand higher than national in-"terests. We stand for the defense of "the socialistic fatherland."

Lenine professed belief that this defense was facilitated by the profound schism which divided the capitalistic Governments, by the fact that "the German bandits" were pitted against "the English bandits," and that there were economic rivalries between the American bourgeoisie and the Japanese bourgeoisie. "The situation is," said Lenine, "that "the stormy waves of imperialistic reac-"tion, which seem ready any moment to "drown the little island of the Soviet So-"cialist Republic, are broken one against "another." It was his intention to take full advantage of this situation, and to keep Russia out of the war for as long a time as possible, with a view to curing her economic wounds and building up her military power for the coming clash with world capitalism. Economic recuperation, in the largest sense of the word, was thus declared to be the immediate problem of the revolution. The expropriation of capital became a matter of

secondary importance in comparison with the task of consolidating the gains of the proletariat and putting them to good use. "We have accomplished two tasks," said Lenine in concluding his speech before the Central Executive Committee on May 16. "We have seized "the power, and we have divided it "among all Russia. We point to the "realization of the third and most diffi- "cult task, namely, the disciplining of "the proletariat to such a degree that "every corner of Russia shall be per- "meated thereby."

NO PEACE WITH UKRAINE

The Bolshevist Government made efforts to come to terms with the Ukraine, and also with Finland. In the middle of May a Russian peace delegation arrived in Kiev. Germany appointed Baron Mumm von Schwarzenstein, Ambassador to the Ukraine, as its representative to the peace conferences, with almost dictatorial powers, especially in questions relating to boundaries. The efforts of the Soviet Government to make peace with the Ukraine remained ineffectual. The delegates were unable to agree regarding the frontier line. Repatriation of Ukrainians living in Great Russia was another stumbling block. The removal of property by repatriated Ukrainians, it was objected, would conflict with the Soviet regulation allowing only small sums of money to be exported from Russia. Besides, said the Bolsheviki, this would give propertied Russians a simple means of escape from the Soviet Republic.

According to a London dispatch, dated June 7, Germany was responsible for the delay in the negotiations. The German command at Kiev was reported to have declared Russo-Ukrainian peace inopportune before all important points in the Ukraine were occupied.

It was reported on June 10 that Germany and Russia had entered into an agreement under which Finland ceded to Russia the fortresses of Ino and Raivola, with the understanding that they were not to be fortified, while Russia surrendered to Finland a part of the Murman Peninsula, with an outlet to the ocean, thus bringing German influence close to Russia's arctic ports and to the railroads connecting them with the interior of the country.

INTERNAL CONDITIONS

Upon the whole, conditions in Russia showed no signs of improvement. Famine existed in Petrograd and in other, particularly urban, districts of Great Russia, while civil war was still raging in Siberia and in some parts of European Russia. According to information made public by the State Department at Washington on May 21, cholera broke out in Astrakhan and in the Caspian Sea region. Observers of Russian life also noted the growing moral laxity of the population and its complete indifference to public affairs.

Reports from Eastern and Central Russia indicated that in many districts less than half the usual acreage was plowed. This was attributed to the shortage of seed, horses, and implements. Even where seed was available the peasants, uncertain of the disposition of the land and the crops, did not plant extensively. Breadstuffs were scarce even in grain centres, and prices were very high. The attitude of the farmers to the city people continued to be one of distrust and hostility, and the exodus of the city dwellers into the country continued.

A recent article in Maxim Gorky's daily Novaia Zhizn (New Life) speaks of the conditions prevailing in the Russian village in the following terms:

> All those who have studied the Russian village of our days clearly perceive that the process of demoralization and decay is going on there with remarkable speed. The peasants have taken away the land from its owners, divided it among themselves, and destroyed the agricultural implements. And they are getting ready to engage in a bloody internecine struggle for the division of the booty. In certain districts the population has consumed the entire grain supply, including the seed. In other districts the peasants are hiding their grain underground, for fear of being forced to share it with starving neighbors. This situation cannot fail to lead to chaos, destruction, and murder.

The article gives also a glimpse of what is going on in the remnants of the Russian Army:

> There are numerous reports to the effect

that the soldiers are dividing among themselves the military property of the country and committing unspeakable acts of violence. Wild rumors are current about the troops returning from Asia Minor. It is said that they have brought with them into the Crimea a large number of "white slaves" and that there is in Theodosia a veritable slave market. The supply is so great that the price has fallen from 100 or 150 rubles to 15 or 30 rubles apiece.

RUSSIA A MADHOUSE

A terrible picture of the chaos in Russia is given by an educated woman in Petrograd, the daughter of a Russian diplomat formerly in Washington, and the widow of an officer in the Russian Army. To a former classmate in the United States she wrote:

It was bad enough before the March revolution, when our unhappy, half-witted Emperor, under the influence of his German wife, seemed to do everything possible to make people lose patience. But now we have a thousand anonymous potentates, the top ones paid by Germany, and the lower ones lured into supporting them by money, money, and money.

The present Government has abolished all laws, all courts, the police, land ownership, all private real estate in towns, all distinction of castes and grades in the army and navy. They have seized all the banks, are opening all the private safes, and confiscating all gold and silver found therein, though it had never been said before that it was criminal to have it. Of course, everything they "decree" is so mad that it is quite sure not to last forever, but the chaos they make will take centuries to forget. The country is going back to a savage state. And we will not live to wait for better times.

All Russia is suffocating—every day brings new surprises that show that there is but one way out of it—the grave. On the ground of liberty they abolish all laws, Judges, attorneys, and substitute for it "people's courts of justice," with only soldiers, workmen or peasants, often quite illiterate and always without the slightest knowledge of court proceedings, taking the places of the former judiciary.

On the same ground they abolish all police, let loose all the criminals from the prisons, arm them, constituting from their number, together with workmen, deserters and hooligans, a "red guard," and fill the prisons to their utmost with all those who crave for order and will not work together with them toward the total ruin of the country.

On the pretense of equality they abolish all grades in the army and navy and make all posts elective by the simple soldiers. In most places it is understood as complete extermination, lynching of the officers, who, for being better educated, are under suspicion of being "counter-revolutionary." The highest posts are occupied by elected soldiers who very often can hardly sign their names, and the former officers are made simple soldiers, with a soldier's pay of $3.50 a month, and ordered to the lowest tasks, cleaning of the barracks, cooking food, taking care of the horses.

Our great country could only exist when all the wheels of the Government were working in harmony. Now everything is a perfect chaos. Everybody was willing to throw over the Czaristic Government, but not in order to change it for this one, of loot, anarchy, and treason toward our allies! Ah, the shame, the disgrace, and the folly of it!

LOOTING AND DESTROYING

The army, which now consists of young boys, (the regular one is long ago killed,) without any sense of duty, morals, and discipline, see their acquired "freedom" in the freedom to go home when they want to. And so all the trains, all the stations, are attacked and destroyed by this horde of savages, who kill engineers, if it seems to them the train goes too slowly, who martyrize the railway agents who tell them of the impossibility of starting their train, for there is another one coming toward them on the same track. As this human flood goes home without any organization, everything is looted and destroyed.

Some months ago I was believing myself to be quite well off. I have a house in Petrograd. Last Spring I was offered $125,000 for it, but was advised not to sell and go over to America to have my little girl become a happy American school girl. Now—I have on hand about $2,000 and no other resources; the house, like other private property, is being confiscated, the revenue going to the Government, that is to say, to the private pockets of the usurpers. The Government bonds annulated (repudiated)—and even if I had more money—believe me—there is nothing to buy.

Life in Petrograd is horrible—all the criminals, all the workmen, and demoralized soldiers rob the few cars that still bring some kind of products. In the very heart of the city, in daytime, you have your clothes taken off your back literally. Just think that there is no police, nobody to call for help, for those who would like to help have had their firearms confiscated, even the officers, even the highest Generals. All the soldiers, &c., are armed

and have become highwaymen. At any moment you can expect a number of them to come into your private lodging and, under the pretense of "perquisition," take away all your money and valuables.

Our money is not accepted anywhere abroad. Russia is bankrupt, so that it is impossible to escape. All my friends and relatives are in the same awful position. Everybody lives on his last money, even those who were quite rich. Their money was in Government or private bonds, and, as they are declared void, where will you get money from? My poor mind cannot grasp the whole thing; it is too great a madness. My only chance to save my little girl's life and my own would be to get away from here and go to the United States. Here, if we do not die in the next months, we will be slaves, regular slaves, of our lowest classes.

RAILROAD SITUATION

Some light was shed on the railroad situation in Russia by the report made on June 2 to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets by the Assistant Commissioner of Railroads. The percentage of disabled locomotives, he stated, was about 30, that of crippled cars being higher. In 1917 Russia had 560,000 cars and upward of 20,000 locomotives. The Germans seized a large number of cars and locomotives. Nevertheless, there was no scarcity of rolling stock, for the mileage had been reduced from 45,000 to 35,000. The general conclusion of the report was that the situation had slightly improved, especially in Siberia.

On April 22, Leon Trotzky made a report to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on the newly organized Russian Army. He defended the employment of officers of the old army on the ground that they were just as valuable as the military property taken over by the Soviet Government, and pointed out the eventual necessity of conscription. According to a London dispatch, dated June 8, the Soviet Government decided to introduce conscription. "One of the most promising things," said a Bolshevist diplomat in an interview on June 5, "is "the steady growth of the new Red "army. Its discipline already is better "than that of the old one. Its members "have so far been recruited from town "and factory workers. * * * We "shall nevertheless take measures to "provide for military training in villages "and towns and all necessary steps to-"ward raising the fighting capacity of "our new army, which already is by no "means negligible."

BOLSHEVIKI AND THE JEWS

A statement bearing on the situation of the Russian Jews under the Bolshevist régime was issued by the celebrated Russian jurist and former Senator, Oscar Grusenberg, and made public on June 10. The document follows:

Those who think that the Jews are at present ruling Russia are profoundly mistaken. The new laws, or rather administrative regulations, which the Bolsheviki have promulgated, have hurt the Jewish population more than other citizens, for the Bolshevist legislation has ruined the commerce and industry of the country.

After the Bolshevist insurrection we lived through events similar to those of October, 1905. In October, 1917, pogroms occurred in 200 Jewish towns and hamlets.

The tragedy of the Jews in Russia is heart-breaking. The united Russian Jewry, counting upward of 6,000,000, exists no longer. With the secession of the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland, the number of Jews in Russia is reduced to a million and a half. The situation of the Jews in the Ukraine, and particularly in Poland and Lithuania, under German domination, is very sad. The Jews have lost in this war, in killed and wounded, the majority of their youth. A great many Jewish soldiers are pining in prison camps, others are locked up in jails on slanderous charges of treason.

The Jews are almost the only nationality in Russia which, by every means available, is seeking to arrest the process of splitting up the Russian Empire, and which works for the reunion of the portions that have seceded.

Hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews were ruined at the moment when the Bolsheviki took over the Governmental power. The population visited its wrath on the Jews, because some of the Bolshevist leaders are or are said to be Jews. But the Russian Empire has been demoralized, not by the Jews, but by the old régime. Russia lacks great leaders with heroic characters, who know how to act in an hour of distress. This made possible the triumph of men like Lenine and Trotzky.

The Jewish leaders of the Bolsheviki are themselves a product of the old régime. Czarism persecuted and exiled them. Education they were forced to seek

abroad, and there, in foreign lands, they lost all connection with and love for Judaism and Russia. Every country is to them but a railroad station. It is these former Jews and present Bolshevists that are responsible for the appalling misery which has befallen the Russian Jews.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIST MOVEMENTS

An official French dispatch received in Washington on May 16 asserted that the opposition to the Soviet régime was growing stronger. On June 2 a Russian wireless message announced the discovery of a vast counter-revolutionary conspiracy, with ramifications throughout the country. Moscow was declared in a state of siege, a large number of persons were arrested, and stringent measures were taken to restrain the press. Boris Savinkov, Chief of the War Department under Kerensky, and Prince Kropotkin, the famous revolutionist and writer, were reported to have taken part in the conspiracy. A week later a Moscow dispatch reported that factory workers were boycotting Soviet delegates, that some provincial towns elected anti-Bolshevist Deputies to the Soviets, and that a general political strike appeared imminent.

In the middle of May the Central Committee of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party addressed to the National Council of the French Socialist Party and to the Parliamentary Socialist group the following message:

> The Bolshevist Government, which exists but by the grace of our German masters, assumes, under the pressure of Germany's Ambassador, a provoking attitude toward the allied powers, and particularly toward France, addressing to them insulting ultimatums which are in striking contrast with the servile docility they manifest in executing the orders of German imperialism. The Russian Social Revolutionary Party sends its socialist greetings to the French section of the Labor International, and protests against the spirit of the foreign policy of the present dictators of Russia.
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> The Social Revolutionary Party declares at the same time that the newly formed Communist group, formerly Bolsheviki, must on all accounts be excluded from the International for having called upon the most elementary principles of democracy to resuscitate forms of despotism and violence. They have betrayed the cause of international socialism by an infamous separate peace with the crowned despots of Central Europe, transforming Russia, disarmed, humiliated, and crushed, into an administrative supply house destined to sustain the German offensive in the west.
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> The Social Revolutionary Party expresses the hope that all the national sections of the Labor International will determine their attitude as regards the Bolshevist usurpers, taking into consideration this declaration of our party, which itself has the right to speak for all Russian labor, having held an absolute majority in the Constitutional Convention, whose powers will be resuscitated in spite of the sanguinary repressions made by the usurpers of power. We beg our French comrades to send this declaration to the Socialist parties of the allied countries.

FIGHTING IN SIBERIA

Armed opposition to the Soviet Government was confined chiefly to Eastern Siberia. In the first week of June clashes occurred in Transbaikalia between the Government troops and the anti-Bolshevist forces led by General Semenoff. The Soviet troops were apparently mastering the situation. It was reported that they included armed Teuton prisoners, and that General Semenoff was expecting Japanese reinforcements. The other leaders of anti-Bolshevist forces, Admiral Kolchak, Colonel Orloff, and General Kalmakoff, co-operated in protecting the railways and massed their troops, which include Russians and Chinese, for an offensive. The Soviet Government repeatedly protested to China against the assistance it had given to General Semenoff, requesting that the Chinese Government should either close the Manchurian frontier to the General's forces or permit the Bolshevist troops to cross into Manchuria and subdue the rebel. On May 25 Ambassador Francis published a statement from Secretary Lansing to the effect that American Consuls had given no aid to General Semenoff, or any other anti-Bolshevist leader. The message contained an assurance of "the friendly purposes of the United States toward Russia, which will remain unaltered so long as Russia does not willingly accept autocratic domination by the Central Powers."

Late in May a new Government ap-

peared in the south of Russia. It claimed to represent the regions of Don, Kuban, Terek, Astrakhan, and Northern Caucasus, and was emphatically Bolshevist in its orientation. It was headed by a dictator, General Krasnoff, who had served under Kerensky up to the fall of the Provisional Government. His manifesto declared that the Don Government was a sovereign State, at war with the Soviet Republic, and on friendly terms with the Ukraine. This manifesto contained the following statement: "Yesterday's foreign foes, the Austro-Germans, have entered our territory in alliance with us to fight against the Red Guard and for the establishment of order on the Don."

Another anti-Bolshevist Government was formed, early in June, in Eastern Siberia. The new State, which proclaimed itself an independent republic, purported to include the entire territory stretching from Lake Baikal to the Pacific, as well as the district of Irkutsk and the Island of Sakhalin, comprising a population of 2,500,000.

Violent clashes occurred between the Soviet forces and the Czechoslovak troops, which had joined the Russian Army to fight for the allied cause. The Czechoslovaks defeated the Soviet army, which was trying to enforce Trotzky's order to disarm them, seized the railway stations at Penza, on the Volga, in an effort to force their way to Vladivostok, and penetrated into the Ural region.

DISMEMBERING RUSSIA

During the month under record Germany made further steps in pursuance of her policy of subjugating the *membra disjecta* of the former Russian imperium.

On May 13 it was reported that Berlin planned to turn Lithuania into a "semi-federal" German State. The next day Emperor William issued a proclamation declaring Lithuania a free and independent State, on the basis of the action of the Lithuanian Landsrat, which, on Dec. 12, 1917, had announced "the restoration of Lithuania as an independent State, allied to the German Empire by an eternal, steadfast alliance, and by conventions chiefly regarding military matters, traffic, customs, and coinage, and solicited the help of the German Empire." The declaration assumed that Lithuania would "participate in the war burdens of Germany, which secured her liberation." According to information made public by the State Department at Washington, the Germans were forcing the Lithuanian peasants to work for the landowners at a starvation wage and were taking stringent measures against city workers.

Similar conditions prevailed in Livonia. A message sent on May 21 by Tchitcherin to Ambassador Joffe stated that the Germans had created a reign of terror there, persecuting labor and assisting the Barons in suppressing their political adversaries.

In the Ukraine the Germans disarmed the troops of the overthrown Rada and backed Skoropadsky's dictatorial régime with bayonets. Sporadic uprisings of peasants against the Teutons continued. In the Province of Kiev the Germans used gas bombs against several revolted villages, and whole communities were asphyxiated. Revolts also broke out in the Governments of Podolia and Poltava. Resistance was offered mainly in connection with German food requisitioning. It was reported that the Germans had twelve army corps in the Ukraine. In the middle of May the Central Powers granted a loan of 4,000,000 marks to the Ukraine.

GERMAN ATROCITIES

The German atrocities in White Russia are thus described in a Russian Government dispatch received in London on May 14:

> In the Bobrinsk district entire villages have been set afire and plundered. In the village of Buda a Uhlan patrol extorted a contribution of several thousand rubles, and, when the peasants had paid part of it and were unable to pay more, the Uhlans surrounded the village and bombarded it.
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> In other villages peasants, women, and children who endeavored to escape from fires were pursued by Uhlans and cut to pieces with swords or flogged with whips. In one village an old Jew was first flogged and then hanged in the presence of all the villagers. Most savage acts were perpetrated in Jewish villages. All

persons suspected of belonging to the Bolsheviki and those in military uniforms were immediately shot.

In Finland the Germans helped the White Guards to suppress the revolution, and strengthened their grip on the country. Some of the captured Red Guards were shot—7,000 were reported executed on June 6—others were to appear before twenty-one specially created courts. The reprisals of the White Guards were directed particularly against the Russians in Finland. A Russian wireless, dated May 14, contained the following statements: "Even 12-year-old children have "been shot. At Viborg one witness saw "200 corpses, mainly Russian officers "and mere schoolboys. According to "other witnesses, more than 600 persons "were executed in two days." The German headquarters in Finland estimated the number of persons massacred at 70,000. The Finnish High Court of Justice ordered the arrest of all Socialist members of the Finnish Diet. In contravention of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the German commander demanded the control of the Russian war supplies at Helsingfors, which were valued at 150,000,000 rubles.

On June 12 the Finnish Government introduced into the Diet a bill providing for the establishment of a monarchic form of government in Finland. The Finnish King, who is to be a hereditary ruler, shall be invested with broad powers regarding treaties with foreign States, and shall have the absolute veto in several important matters.

The new Finnish Government is emphatically pro-German. This was illustrated by the membership of the new Cabinet formed by Paaskivi. There were signs, however, that anti-German sentiment was developing among the masses of the people. General Mannerheim, Commander of the White Guard, resigned late in May, aparently as a protest against the Germanization of the Finnish Army. This army is now commanded by German officers. The Germans also took over the control of the Finnish Military College, and undertook to organize the Finnish coast fleet. They are constructing two railways in Northern Finland.

In the middle of May the White Russian Republic was proclaimed with the consent of Germany. The new Government seemed to favor a union with Lithuania, under the military protectorate of Germany. On June 4 it was reported that the new republic had been recognized by the Ukraine.

Early in May the Tartar National Council met at Bakhchisaray, Crimea, and issued a statement protesting against the entrance of the Austro-German troops into the Crimea. The council declared that the Crimea, whose population is 70 per cent. Tartar, intends to maintain its complete independence till conditions in Russia grow more settled.

According to a London dispatch, dated June 7, fierce fighting was going on between the troops of the Caucasian Government and the Turks. These are reported to have massacred 10,000 Armenians in a fortnight. The Government had ordered the mobilization of all men between the ages of 19 and 42.

ALLIED INTERVENTION

The subject of allied military intervention in Russia for the purpose of freeing the country from German domination attracted a great deal of attention in June. The allied Governments did not define their attitude toward this matter, but it seemed certain that the United States did not favor sending an interallied military expedition into Russia. Japan refrained from any action in this direction. The only measure it took was to enter into an agreement with China for the protection of the general peace in the Orient from possible German and Bolshevist aggression. The principal clauses of the military treaty between China and Japan, signed May 16, 1918, are in substance as follows:

> The two Governments, with a view to warding off the danger constituted for them by the penetration of German influence toward the eastern frontier of Russia, have decided to regulate their conduct in regard to the enemy by placing themselves in agreement on a footing of perfect equality, and in according each other mutual aid in that region where their common action is to be exercised.
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> The Chinese authorities will facilitate the task of the Japanese authorities, who will be enabled to conduct the transport

of troops and establish in the occupied territories works which shall be removed at the conclusion of military operations, and, moreover, undertake to supply war material and munitions, as well as engineers and a medical staff and other necessary specialists.

The Japanese must in return respect Chinese sovereignty and local customs, and will evacuate Chinese territory as soon as the operations are terminated. The agreement will automatically cease to be valid as soon as the state of war between the two contracting parties and the Central Powers is terminated.

One article of the agreement provides that Chinese troops may be employed outside the national territory, and another stipulates that the two Governments shall come to an understanding with the Chinese Eastern Railway Company if this railway should have to be used during the course of the operations.

RUSSIAN OPINION

In Russia proper the Soviet authorities and radical public opinion opposed foreign intervention of any kind. Late in May the official Bolshevist organ printed an article asserting that Russia desired from the Allies no help intended to drag her back into the war, but that "Russia would appreciate in the highest "degree any assistance toward the im- "provement of transportation and com- "munication facilities and the rehabili- "tation of her economic life." Even the moderate press found foreign military intervention undesirable. The Moscow Prizyv, the official organ of the Social Revolutionaries, however, declared editorially that "the intervention of the "Allies alone can give us the real mili- "tary strength and indispensable sup- "port for thrusting back the yoke of the "German, and for reconstituting Rus- "sia." On June 11, Boris Bakhmeteff, the Russian Ambassador at Washington, transmitted to the State Department a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democrats, (also known as Cadets,) the Russian Liberal Party. The resolution pointed out that the Cadet Party did not recognize the Brest peace, and looked to the Allies for the amelioration of Russian conditions. The statement emphatically denied the assertion that the Russian democracy was opposed to allied aid. It insisted, however, that the success of the allied action would depend upon "the support of national feeling in Russia." The resolution concluded: "It is further "imperative for Russian public opinion "to receive assurances that the expedi- "tion will be co-ordinated with the in- "violability of the rights and interests "of Russia, and that the actions of all "the Allies on Russian territory will be "performed under international control."

SENATOR KING'S RESOLUTION

On June 10 a resolution favoring intervention in Russia was offered in the Senate by Senator King of Utah. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The full text of the resolution follows:

Whereas, The people of Russia after centuries of political servitude are finally about to realize their aspirations for liberty and the constitution of a federal republic; and,

Whereas, The innate sense of justice, desire for public order, and the community life of the Russian people promise a sound moral basis for the institutions of liberty and the equal rights of men under the law as incorporated in a republican form of government; and,

Whereas, It is the traditional policy and the interest of the United States of America to promote and protect the progress of liberty and the principles of democracy as incorporated in republican institutions; and,

Whereas, The people and the Government of the United States hailed with great and sincere good-will the prospects for the establishment of these principles in the great domains of Russia for the permanent welfare, political dignity, and beneficence of the Russian people; and,

Whereas, The Imperial Government of Germany, by intrigues and propaganda, and in perfidious violation of the pretended peace with Russia, designs to destroy the Government of Russia and the unity and nationality of the Russian people, and for this purpose is attempting to separate Russia into small vassal States in order to more effectually bring the people, territory, and resources of Russia within the German power; and,

Whereas, In the pursuit of this perfidious purpose, Germany is now subjecting Russia to industrial and economic servitude, and is attempting to recruit troops from among the people of Russia to replenish her depleted armies, and to promote her felonious purpose in the world; and,

Whereas, The Russian people desire to establish a republican form of Govern-

ment and are in sympathy with the cause of the United States of America and of the Allies, and would welcome assistance in neutralizing German intrigue and propaganda, and in repelling the intrusion of German power; and,

Whereas, German troops are now operating in Russia and are making advances, with a view to taking possession of Russian territory, including Siberia, and subjecting the same to political domination and industrial servitude; and,

Whereas, The cause of the Allies and the principles for which they wage war are thus placed in jeopardy; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that a commission be sent to Russia to co-operate with the American Ambassador and other representatives of our Government to overcome and neutralize German propaganda in Russia and to aid in Russia's economic, industrial, and political freedom; and be it

Further Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that a military expedition be organized and sent by the United States of America, in conjunction with the Allies, including Japan and China, to co-operate with the armies of the Russian people to repel the advance of German arms and to expel from Russia German military power and establish therein the authority of the people and Government of Russia.

The policy of the Washington Government in June remained one of nonintervention in Russia, but there was a strongly representative and widely increasing public opinion that the United States should join with Japan, China, and the Allies to aid Russia and prevent further German penetration. This sentiment was especially outspoken and vigorous in the West and on the Pacific slope, where previously anti-Japanese and anti-Chinese prejudices had predominated.

INTERVENTION URGED

A Supreme Council was held at Tokio June 7, attended by Prince Fushimi, Field Marshals Yamagata and Terauchi, (the Premier,) and Lieut. Gen. Oshima, the Minister of War. A joint conference of the Field Marshals and the Admirals was summoned for June 10.

The Entente Governments of Europe were declared in a Tokio dispatch dated June 15 to be bringing increasing influence to bear to induce Japan to intervene in Russia. Among the several French officers who arrived in Tokio to consult with the General Staff was Major Pichon, who was head of the French military mission to Russia, and whose recall was demanded by the Bolsheviki. Major Pichon was reported to be striving for intervention in Siberia as a military necessity with the same energy that he opposed Rumania's entrance into the war as an ill-advised step. Major Pichon formerly was Military Attaché at Bucharest. The partisans of intervention were finding support from A. I. Konovaloff, formerly Minister of Trade and Industry in the Russian Provincial Government, and especially from Jules Destrée, who was appointed Belgian Minister to Petrograd in August, 1917. M. Destrée, who is a Socialist, arrived in Japan after vainly seeking to return to Europe across Finland.

"It is urgently imperative for the defense of the interests of the Entente that there shall be a liberation of the Russian people from Germanic domination," M. Destrée declared. "The Trans-Siberian Railroad is the only remaining communication with the outside world, and this could be destroyed at any time by the German prisoners, of whom there are 20,000 under arms in Siberia. I saw armed Germans at every station, ostensibly allies of the Bolsheviki. The destruction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad would mean the complete abandonment of Russia to the Teutons."

CZECHS IN SIBERIA

It was reported on June 15 that the Czechoslovak troops operating against he Russian Soviet Government in Siberia and the Ural region continued their successes. During the 9th and 10th of June, having occupied Samara, they advanced rapidly toward Ouffa.

On the Siberian railroad from Theliabinsk to Tomsk (a distance of 1,250 miles) all the towns were reported to be in the hands of the Czechoslovaks. Omsk was occupied on June 8 by a united force of Slavs and Cossack peasants under command of Colonel Ivanoff, the Soviet forces having retired from Omsk and Tunen.

The new Siberian Government estab-

lished in the Omsk-Nicholaevsk region notified the Soviet Government at Moscow of the abolition of the government of soldiers and deputies in Siberia and of the creation of the new Provisional Government. The notification stated that the Siberian Government, which is joined by Commander Ivanoff in the forwarding of communication, does not intend to work for the separation of Siberia from Russia, and is ready to negotiate for a supply of provisions to the northern district of Russia.

Should the Council of Commissioners at Moscow, however, attempt to re-establish the Soviet power in Siberia, it was declared, the Siberian Government would resist and would discontinue the sending of bread grains to Northern Russia.

Letters From Trotzky and From Kerensky's War Minister

Two letters from Russian officials, very different in contents but both of historical significance, were brought to the outside world by Herman Bernstein, who had been sent to Petrograd by The New York Herald. One is a confidential letter from Trotzky to Lenine, written at Brest-Litovsk at the end of the peace conference, as follows:

It is impossible to sign their peace. They have already agreed with fictitious Governments of Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and others concerning territorial concessions, military and customs treaties, in view of self-determination. These provinces, according to the German interpretation, are already independent German States, and as independent States have already concluded territorial and other agreements with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Today I put these questions squarely and received a reply leaving no room for misunderstandings. Everything was stenographed. Tomorrow we shall present the same questions in writing We cannot sign their peace.

My plan is this: We announce the termination of the war and demobilization without signing any peace. We declare we cannot participate in the looting war of the Allies nor a looting peace. Poland's, Lithuania's, Courland's fate we place upon the responsibility of the German working people. The Germans will be unable to attack us after we declare the war ended. At any rate, it would be very difficult for Germany to attack us because of her internal conditions. The Scheidemannists adopted a formal resolution to break with a Government that makes annexationist demands of the Russian revolution. The Berliner Tageblatt and the Vossische Zeitung demand an understanding with Russia by all means; Centrists favor an agreement. Internal strife is demoralizing the Government, a bitter controversy is raging in the press about the struggle on the western front; we declare that we end the war, but do not sign peace.

They will be unable to make an offensive against us. Verteidigungskrieg. If they attack us our position will be no worse than now, when they have the opportunity to declare us agents of England and Wilson, after his speech and comments on attack. I must have your decision. We could well drag negotiations one, two, three, or four days; afterward they must be broken off. I see no other solution than that proposed.

I clasp your hand.

Your TROTZKY.

Answer by direct wire: "I agree to your plan" or "I do not agree."

This letter is in accordance with the published circumstances. Trotzky apparently endeavored to persuade Lenine that if Russia should declare the war at an end, while refusing to sign a formal peace, the Germans would not attack. They, on the contrary, attacked at once, and Trotzky collapsed. History must determine whether he was honestly mistaken or was merely seeking a means of "saving his face," while acting in the German interest.

FROM BORIS SAVINKOV

The other letter is by Boris Savinkov, Kerensky's Minister of War, and for many years a leader in the terrorist wing of the Social Revolutionary Party. It was published last April in the Russky Viedomosti. The Lenine Government promptly suppressed it and confiscated the paper, but Mr. Bernstein succeeded in smuggling a copy out of Russia. It reads as follows:

We are vibrating with indignation at the Bolshevist decrees and their ignominious peace. We feel ourselves humil-

iated and disgraced. We are mercilessly handed over "Kamerad" to any one. Nevertheless, we are doing nothing, because we do not even venture to say, "God be praised, it was not we but our neighbor who was shot." Yet we shall never forget that Lenine, Nathanson and company arrived in Russia via Berlin. The German Government helped them. The gift demands a gift in return. Lenine and his satellites have repaid Germany handsomely, first through the subsidized journal Pravda, next by the naked front, then by Brest-Litovsk, and finally by an incredible peace.

What have they done with my Russia? It is necessary to be a fanatic or a paid agent to be able seriously to maintain that the international proletariat would help us. Only criminals and lunatics could base a political computation upon such support when Lenine and his coadjutors entirely destroyed Russia's former means and power. The Germans lifted the mailed first and Lenine instantly gave way, but others commenced howling about the necessity to defend the fatherland, not only my Russia, but the newly invented fatherland. Who can believe the men who destroyed the army and declared that the idea of fatherland is a prejudice? Who can believe that they would defend Russia? They are impotent. Nor do I believe that they are sincere. The Soviet admitted that the declaration of Lenine was right that we Russians ought to put up with the loss of Finland, Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, White Russia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and part of the Caucasus districts. The rights of Russia exist no longer. There are only separated towns and villages, economically dependent upon foreigners. The position of Russia is like that of Poland after the partition. Has not William realized his dream? Have not the People's Commissaries deserved the Iron Cross?

The Bolsheviki have served Germany and serve Germany still. It is no secret that Russia is covered with a net of German organizations, and that the Russians who are wishing for the restoration of the monarchy are working hand in hand with the Germans. It is no secret that many Russians dream of the day on which the Germans will enter Petrograd and German policemen appear in the Nevsky Prospekt. They prefer the devil himself to the Bolsheviki. What have they done with my Russia?

The Bolsheviki are our national misfortune, but Russia must be saved, not by our enemies, not by German bayonets, but by ourselves. We Russians must again be masters of Russia. It must never be said that we are weak without the imperial assistance of William and are unable to organize a State. It was not to reach this goal that we sacrificed streams of Russian blood throughout three years, nor was it in order to follow the program of the Bolsheviki or to stretch out our hand toward the enemy. As sure as it is treason against Russia to compromise with the Bolsheviki, so sure is the agreement with Germany under which we are now living worse treason against Russia. We must not forget that the Russian Nation does not die. Sooner or later it will dawn upon the people of Russia what my Russia ought to be, and the treason will never be pardoned. It is an aberration to believe that Nicholas will be able to return. But when will my Russia stand forth again vigorous and free? I only know one thing. I learned when young: Through work and fight thou shalt win thy right. We must work and fight against the Germans and the Bolsheviki.

After the revolution of March, 1917, had achieved what terrorism had been powerless to accomplish, M. Savinkov threw himself heart and soul into the task of saving the army. He realized more clearly than did any of his revolutionary associates, Kerensky included, that a surrender to the Germans with the Socialists in power would inevitably compromise the Socialist cause in Russia. As Chief Commissioner of the Coalition Government with the armies of the southwestern front he strongly supported General Korniloff in taking stern measures to restore discipline. Kerensky quarreled with Savinkov because the latter, becoming Minister of War, continued to support General Korniloff. Savinkov is a comparatively young man, of great determination and resource. He is well known as a writer.

Growth of the Jugoslav Movement

Project for a South Slavic State, Aided by the Czechs, Threatens to Disrupt Austria-Hungary

OF the many internal troubles tending toward the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the one that has grown most rapidly in the last year is the Jugoslav movement—the movement for an independent State to be known as Jugoslavia, and to include all the Southern Slavic provinces of Austria-Hungary, as well as Serbia and Montenegro in the Balkans. This project assumed a new phase in May, 1918, when it received the active support of the millions of Czechs in Bohemia, Austria's northwest border province. The Czech demand for a free Bohemia and Jugoslavia helped to precipitate a political crisis at Vienna, which Emperor Charles met by summarily suppressing Parliament. All indications pointed to the existence of a united effort of the Slavs, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Croatians, and Italians to throw off the Teutonic yoke, completely dismembering the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The only session of the Reichsrat that has been held in Austria-Hungary since the war began was opened on May 31, 1917, and closed abruptly by imperial order on May 4, 1918. Throughout that period the Slavic Deputies in the lower house showed increasing hostility to the war methods and plans of the Teutonic minority which rules the empire. The house consisted of 516 members, of whom only 233 were Germans. The dominant nationality has for years managed to keep its control of the Reichsrat through alliance with the Poles, who hold 80 or 90 seats, but in the Spring of 1918 the Poles broke away from the Germans, and suddenly the Government discovered that it was in a minority and that its war budgets were in serious danger of being defeated. Then it resorted to the drastic measure of adjourning Parliament under threat of force.

Already the Czechs, Slovaks, and Jugoslavs had been working together in Parliament, generally getting the support of the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) and the Italians. In the closing months of 1917 this tendency was accentuated, when the Polish leaders came into closer alliance with the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugoslavs. This was cemented by a congress of Czech Deputies, held in Prague on Jan. 6, 1918, which adopted unanimously the declaration given below. The document was at first suppressed by the Austro-Hungarian censor, and the few publications that got hold of it were not allowed to leave the country.

THE CZECH DECLARATION

Despite this attempt at suppression the text of the document reached the outside world through the Czecho-Slovak National Council. It is as follows:

> In the fourth year of this terrible war, which has already cost the nations numberless sacrifices in blood and treasure, the first peace efforts have been inaugurated. We, the Czech members of the Austrian Reichsrat, which, through the verdicts of incompetent military tribunals, has been deprived of a number of its Slav Deputies and Czech Deputies to the dissolved and as yet unsummoned Diet of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and to the equally unsummoned Diets of Moravia and Silesia, recognize the declarations of the Czech Deputies in the Reichsrat, and deem it our duty emphatically to declare, in the name of the Czech Nation and of its oppressed and forcibly silenced Slovak branch of Hungary, our attitude toward the reconstruction of international relations.
>
> When the Czech Deputies of our regenerated nation expressed themselves during the Franco-Prussian war on the international European problems they solemnly declared in their memorandum of Dec. 8, 1870, that "all nations, great or "small, have an equal right to self-deter- "mination, and their complete equality "should always be respected. Only from "the recognition of the equality of all "nations and from mutual respect of the "right of self-determination can come "true equality and fraternity, a general "peace and true humanity."

SHADED AREA SHOWS THE PROJECTED STATE OF JUGOSLAVIA, INCLUDING SERBIA, MONTENEGRO, AND SLAVIC PORTIONS OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

We, the Deputies of the Czech Nation, true even today to these principles of our ancestors, have, therefore, greeted with joy the fact that all States based upon democratic principles, whether they are belligerent or neutral, now accept with us the right of nations to free self-determination as a guarantee of a general and lasting peace.

Also the new Russia accepted the principle of self-determination of nations during its attempts for a general peace as a fundamental condition of peace. The nations were freely to determine their fate and decide whether they want to live in an independent State of their own or whether they choose to form one State in common with other nations.

DEMANDS INDEPENDENCE

On the other hand, the Austro-Hungarian delegate declared, in the name of the Quadruple Alliance, that the question of the self-determination of those nations which have not hitherto enjoyed political independence should be solved in a constitutional manner within the existing State. In view of this declaration we deem it our duty to declare, in the name of the Czecho-Slovak Nation, that this point of view of the Austro-Hungarian representative is not our point of view. On the contrary, we have in all our declarations and proposals opposed this solution, because we know, from our own numberless bitter experiences, that it means nothing but the negation of the principle of self-determination. We indignantly express our regret that our nation was deprived of its political independence and of the right of self-determination, and that by means of artificial electoral statutes we were left to the mercy of the German minority and of the Government of the centralized German bureaucracy.

Our brother Slovaks became the victims of Magyar brutality and of unspeakable violence in a State which, notwithstanding all its apparent constitutional liberties, remains the darkest corner of Europe, and in which the non-Magyars, who form the majority of the population, are ruthlessly oppressed by the ruling minority, extirpated, denationalized from childhood, unrepresented in Parliament and civil service, deprived of public schools, as well as of all private educational institutions.

The Constitution, to which the Austro-Hungarian representative refers, falsified even the justice of the general suffrage by an artificial creation of an over-representation of the German minority in the Reichsrat, and its utter uselessness for the liberty of nations was clearly demonstrated during the three years of unscrupulous military absolutism during this war. Every reference to this Constitution, therefore, means, in reality, only a repudiation of the right of self-determination for the non-German nations of Austria who are at the mercy of the Germans; and it means an especially cruel insult and injury to the non-Magyar nations in Hungary, where the Constitution

Austria-Hungary Sketch Map Showing Slavic Populations in Threatened Revolt

THE SLAVS IN ALL PARTS OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE BREST-LITOVSK TREATY, HAVE DEVELOPED AN ORGANIZED OPPOSITION TO THE RULE OF THE GERMAN MINORITY AT VIENNA. IN THE NORTHWEST THE CZECHS OF BOHEMIA AND THE SLOVAKS OF MORAVIA, CONSTITUTING THE CZECHO-SLOVAK MOVEMENT, HAVE TAKEN PART IN SERIOUS RIOTS AT PRAGUE AND ELSEWHERE ON BEHALF OF INDEPENDENCE. THE POLES AND RUTHENIANS OF GALICIA AND BUKOWINA ARE SUPPORTING THEM POLITICALLY. IN THE SOUTHWEST THE SLOVENES, CROATS, AND SERBIANS HAVE DEVELOPED A STRONG JUGOSLAV MOVEMENT, DEMANDING THE CREATION OF A NEW STATE HEADED BY THE KING OF SERBIA. THIS MOVEMENT RECENTLY GAINED THE SUPPORT OF THE ITALIANS BOTH IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND IN ITALY.

is nothing but a means of shameful domination by the oligarchy of a few Magyar aristocratic families, as was again proved by the recent electoral reform proposal.

SELF-DETERMINATION

Our nation longs with all the democracies of the world for a general and lasting peace. But our nation is fully aware that no peace can be permanent except a peace which will abolish old injustice, brutal force, and the predominance of arms, as well as the predominance of States and nations over other nations, and which will assure a free development to all nations, great or small, and which will liberate especially those nations which still are suffering under foreign domination. That is why it is necessary that this right of free national development and to self-determination of nations, great or small, to whatever State they may belong, should become the foundation of future international right, a guarantee of peace, and of a friendly co-operation of nations, as well as a great ideal which will liberate humanity from the terrible horrors of a world war.

We, deputies of the Czech nation, declare that a peace which would not bring our nation full liberty could not be and would not mean a peace to us, but only a beginning of a new, desperate, and continuous struggle for our political independence, in which our nation would strain to the utmost its material and moral forces. And in that uncompromising struggle it would never relax until its aim had been achieved. Our nation asks for independence on the ground of its historic rights, and is imbued with the fervent desire to contribute toward the new development of humanity on the basis of liberty and fraternity in a free competition with other free nations which our nation hopes to accomplish in a sovereign, equal, democratic, and socially just State of its own, built upon the equality of all its citizens within the historic boundaries of the Bohemian lands and of Slovakia, guaranteeing full and equal national rights to all minorities.

Guided by these principles, we solemnly protest against the rejection of the right of self-determination at the peace negotiations, and demand that, in the sense of this right, all nations, including, therefore, also the Czecho-Slovaks, be guaranteed participation and full freedom of defending their rights at the Peace Conference.

WAGRAM GATHERING

On March 2 a gathering of Jugosla met at Zagrub (Wagram) which included the Jugoslav Deputies of th Reichsrat, practically the entire membership of the Croatian Sabor, (the Legislature which exercises a limited amount of local autonomy,) and other representatives of the nation. According to the Hrvatska Drzhava, extracts from whose accounts have been translated by the Serbian Press Bureau in Geneva, they contained the following statement:

> After having discussed the general political and national situation the assembly has agreed on the necessity of a concentration of all parties and groups which, from the point of view of national self-government, demand the creation of a national and independent States of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs founded on the principle of democracy.

The language of this passage parallels the Declaration of Corfu, by which exiled leaders of the Jugoslav movement demanded the union of the Jugoslav territories in Austria-Hungary with Serbia and Montenegro into one kingdom under the Karageorgevitch dynasty. Austrian papers at once became agitated because there was no reference to the carrying out of this aim within the framework of the Hapsburg Empire. The fact that many, if not most, of those present were known to be in accord with the Declaration of Corfu, and the suspicion that practically all of them favored it at heart, caused many protests against the "introduction of the policy of Belgrade" in the Viennese press.

The matter was further complicated by the activity of the police in the affair, they having broken up the first session of the assembly and posted a guard around the hall. Demonstrations of the students against this, which seem to have gone no further than parading up and down the streets singing Slavic national songs, were broken up by the police with the utmost violence, and many were arrested.

This did not prevent a large gathering, principally of students, at the station the next day to bid farewell to Dr. Koroshetz, leader of the Jugoslav Club in the Reichsrat. Dr. Koroshetz is taking the lead in the organization of a Jugoslav National Council of some twenty-four members, whose aims are euphemistically described for the present

as " to arrange the tactics of the general Jugoslav policy."

The economic conditions which contribute to the revolutionary ferment in the Jugoslav countries were set forth in a speech in the Reichsrat in the course of a budget discussion just before this assembly by Dr. Matko Leginja, Deputy from Istria and Vice Chairman of the Jugoslav Club. He quoted the appeal from an Istrian commune which ended:

> We beg, ask, and demand bread, peace, and the return of our brethren, fathers, and sons to console us, to see that our fields are worked properly, and that there should be some one with us to close the eyes of the dying parents.

Of many instances of starvation which he gave was one of a parish in which in 1912 there were 67 births and 23 deaths. In 1917 there were 23 births and 68 deaths, without counting those who died in military service.

CONFERENCE AT ROME

The significance of the whole movement was deepened by the Conference of Oppressed Austrian Nationalities held at Rome on April 10, when a full understanding with Italy was reached. The territorial and other questions at issue between the Italians and Jugoslavs were settled, and the Poles joined the other delegates in the demand for a complete overthrow of the present Austrian Empire, declaring that the future of Poland lay in a firm alliance with the reconstituted nations of the Czecho-Slovaks, the Jugoslavs, and the Rumanians. The text of the formal declaration then adopted, is as follows:

> 1. Every people proclaims it to be its right to determine its own nationality and national unity and complete independence.
>
> 2. Every people knows that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is an instrument of German domination, and a fundamental obstacle to the realization of its rights to free development and self-government.
>
> 3. The Congress recognizes the necessity of fighting against the common oppressors.
>
> The representatives of the Jugoslavs agree:
>
> That the unity and independence of the Jugoslav Nation is considered of vital importance by Italy.
>
> That the deliverance of the Adriatic Sea and its defense from any enemy is of capital interest to the two peoples.
>
> That territorial controversies will be amicably settled on the principle of nationality, and in such a manner as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations; interests which will be taken into account at the peace conferences.

The Polish delegates added their declaration that they considered Germany to be Poland's chief enemy, and that they believed the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to be indispensable for the obtaining of their independence from Germany.

ITALY'S ACTIVE HELP

As a result of this important conference, a separate section was established by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to look after the propaganda in favor of the Allies in the Austro-Hungarian countries and in their armies. The Austrian Premier, Dr. von Seidler, stated in his last speech before the adjourning of the Reichsrat that the Austro-Hungarian Government was fully aware of this propaganda and had taken measures to combat it. A Slovene paper, the Slovenic, commented as follows:

> The German newspapers have begun at the same time to call the attention of the Jugoslavs to Italian imperialistic aims and to show all at once great devotion to our country, which, they say, is menaced by the Italian peril. With a special affection for our people, an affection never known before, they urge us to beware of our Italian neighbors, enumerating all the points of the London understanding with regard to our territory.
>
> In publishing this agreement the Grazer Tagblatt, that ultra national German organ, wished to give us a political lesson of which they might have saved themselves the trouble. It was superfluous, if for no other reason, because it came from German nationalists, whose counsels we can never follow.
>
> The Austrian Government and the German newspapers are troubling themselves in vain as to how to circumvent the Italian propaganda. It would be of more importance if they would take care to improve their system of government, the oppression and injustice of which only help the work of the propaganda. (Further thirty lines censored.)

PROTEST IN REICHSRAT

The Czecho-Slovak Deputies in the Reichsrat introduced a motion on April

23 which was suppressed by the Vienna censorship. In the name of the Slovak Parliamentary Union, the motion, introduced by Deputy Kalinov, demanded that the Reichsrat refuse to sanction the imperial ordinance of May 1, 1915, which extended the age of service in the Landsturm from 43 to 50 years. The arguments presented in support of this demand, as summarized by a Berne correspondent of the Paris Temps, constitute a protest of all the Czecho-Slovak nations:

1. Against the war.
2. Against the militarism which, directed by the absolute will of the monarch, has enchained the free will of nations.
3. Against the military tyranny that has installed itself in Bohemia, and which is militarizing every stratum of society.
4. Against the spirit and tendencies of the army leaders, who have made of the army an instrument of Germanization and Magyarization.
5. Against absolutism, because the law has been interpreted in an unconstitutional manner, without the consent of the Reichsrat.
6. Against the dual system and the will for annexation, against peace based on violence, and, still more emphatically, against the shameful exploitation of Czecho-Slovak territory through requisitions and incessant contributions.

The Czecho-Slovak Deputies added:

An attempt is being made to starve our country, which was the granary of the whole Hapsburg Monarchy, and whose population, alike in villages and cities, is now suffering atrociously from famine and misery.

Our declaration is, above all, a unanimous manifestation of the collective will of the nation. It proves:

That the Czecho-Slovak Nation is firmly resolved to dispose henceforth of its own life and goods and children by the sole agency of its freely elected representatives.

That our nation and, first and foremost, our women demand a general and just peace, which alone can bring liberty and independence to the nation, and which alone can cause justice to reign in the whole world.

That we wish henceforth to live our own life in a State of our own, as a member of a society of free nations, a society that will solve without violence the questions that arise between peoples, depending upon a friendly understanding, and thus bringing happiness to liberated humanity.

When the Austro-Hungarian Government under Premier von Seidler found itself confronted by a hostile Slavic majority in the Reichsrat, threatening the defeat of its war budgets, Emperor Charles empowered the Premier to "adjourn Parliament forthwith and inaugurate measures to render impossible the resumption of its activities." This was done on May 4. The Parliament had been composed of 233 Germans, 108 Czechs, 92 Poles, 33 Ruthenians, 42 Jugoslavs, and 19 Italians. The Germans had considerably less than a majority.

In another respect the suppression of Parliament was viewed as a concession to the Magyars. Those holding reign in Hungary since 1867 had been resentful at the claims of the Czechs and the Jugoslavs, fearing that the Government would be forced to make some concessions to them. If the project of unity were realized Hungary would be reduced to about half of its present size. On several occasions the Magyars had called on the Government at Vienna to suppress the Parliamentary agitation, threatening to form a separate Hungarian army and impose restrictions on the exportation of foodstuffs.

The Government, in a public statement, ascribed its action to the food crisis, which was very acute, adding: "The Government will devote its entire strength to the economic problem and will try to create conditions required to enable the population to hold out."

THE PREMIER'S ADMISSION

A Vienna dispatch stated that the Premier, addressing a conference of party leaders, had demanded that the Parliamentary sittings be postponed, and added that, unless they took this step, the Government would prevent the sessions by force. In the debate that followed he had admitted the existence of many problems which must receive consideration, especially that of the agitation for a South Slavic State, but had added:

Discussion of this problem, however, is impossible at present, because it concerns not only Austria but also Hungary and Bosnia. But one thing is certain—if such a State were created it could be only under the sceptre of his Majesty, as a

component part of the monarchy. It could not include those parts of Austrian territory which border on the Adriatic and are closely connected with districts where the German language is spoken. But national aspirations exist also in these districts, and it is only natural that the national wishes of the Southern Slavs be duly considered.

In the course of discussion of the question of revising the Constitution on the basis of national autonomy, Premier von Seidler announced that in Bohemia the Government would speedily issue regulations providing for the appointment of administrators for districts inhabited by distinct nationalities. After sounding a warning against inciting nationalities against one another, he said:

Our entire military and political situation has reached a climax. The next few months will bring a big decision. I am firmly convinced the decision on the battlefield will be in favor of Austria and her allies. Our economic, especially our food, conditions are very serious, but they are not at all desperate. To hold on now to a final happy decision is the vital question for the State. It therefore is necessary that, unhampered by Parliamentary confusion, the Government be left in a position to devote all its strength to these tasks.

FOOD SHORTAGE

The Austro-Hungarian Empire was at that time facing a dozen different crises, all aggravated by the problem of food. Even the racial animosities, always threatening to overturn the unstable rule of the German and Magyar minority over the Slavic majority, was inflamed into bitterness by sectional jealousies over food distribution. These crises reached a culmination in the decision of the Government to prorogue Parliament.

What straits the empire had reached were partially revealed by the Premier's speech to the party leaders, and also by the German official statement that all food supplies from the Ukraine during the month of May would be given to Austria-Hungary, on account of its greater need. Still more significant was Dr. von Seidler's admission, made public on May 4, that Austria was unable to feed the populations of North Tyrol and Northern Bohemia, and that he had, therefore, consented that the former be attached for provisioning purposes to Bavaria, and the latter to Saxony. This concession, the dispatch added, had been wrung from him by leaders of the German parties after a conference lasting six hours. It meant that for food supply purposes these portions of Austria were being annexed to Germany. The Austrian Government yielded with the greatest reluctance, realizing that the political consequences might be far-reaching. It was pointed out that this would accentuate the feud between the German and non-German races in Austria-Hungary, since the provinces affected are German-speaking, and would strengthen the agitation for the incorporation of Austria into a German federation.

The meeting of the German and Austrian Emperors at the German Great Headquarters on May 12 did not tend to allay fears of this nature. Though the results of the meeting remained secret, the belief was expressed in many quarters that it had constituted a formal acknowledgment of the subservient relations of Austria-Hungary toward the German Empire.

MARTIAL LAW IN PRAGUE

Shortly after the beginning of the war the Hungarian authorities suppressed the Slovak press almost in its entirety. Thus the Slovaks came to depend upon the Czech newspapers of Bohemia for their political and other information. On May 5 the Hungarian Government issued an order forbidding Czech newspapers from Bohemia and Moravia to circulate in Slovakia.

The whole Czech and Slovak population, indeed, was seething with hostility to the Imperial Government and its war policies. Prague, the capital of Bohemia, had become a centre for leaders of the Czecho-Slovaks, Jugoslavs, and Poles in their agitation for independence. Demonstrations of an anti-German character became frequent, and Czechs and Jugoslavs paraded the streets shouting "Long live Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George!" The manifestations against the Austrian State began afresh on the evening of May 17, when the police made

many arrests, and culminated on May 20, when the Government declared Prague under martial law. All political meetings were prohibited, and the police issued a proclamation announcing that any further disorders would be met with violent measures.

One of the events that had aroused popular hostility was the suppression of the Czech newspaper Narodni Listi. The last copy of this paper contained the text of the oath taken at Prague by the Czecho-Slovak, Jugoslav, and Polish journalists, as follows:

Gathered at Prague while the world war has made necessary a new reorganization of the world on the basis of a higher authority given to the people, we proclaim that we shall remain in the front line of battle for the freedom of peoples, that we shall fight together in favor of each other's interests, that we shall repulse together any despotic measure, and that we shall denounce together the oppression of the Austrian State.

We want to promote together the confidence of our people in the achievement of their aspirations, to encourage them to express their will more positively.

We raise our right hand and solemnly swear that we shall give all that we own, all our strength, all our possessions, for the liberation of our people and for the achievement of the political unity of the Czecho-Slovak people, the political unity of the Jugoslavs, and the political unity of the Polish people.

RIOTS IN WENSEL SQUARE

The disorders leading to the declaring of martial law were described by the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger a few days later in these terms:

The chief demonstration in the new outbreak occurred in Wensel Square in Prague on May 20. The demonstration was a big one and reached such pitch that in the evening the police had to interfere. The Czechs sang their patriotic hymn with its additional anti-German verses and raised cheers for President Wilson and Professor Masaryk, the Bohemian delegate now in the United States. Although Wensel Square was thereafter barred to the demonstrators by the police, the demonstrations were repeated at 10 o'clock at night, and not until midnight did the mounted and foot police succeed in restoring order.

Another account gave other details:

At the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Czech National Theatre speeches violently attacking Germany were delivered, and the renewal of the alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary was denounced. Several deputies addressed the crowd, urging resistance to the end and the sacrifice of wealth and blood for Bohemia. The theatre was then closed and rioting occurred in the streets outside. The Jugoslavs who had participated in the Bohemian festivities were ordered to leave the city. Crowds singing patriotic songs accompanied them to the railway station.

In the next week about 800 Czechs were arrested at Prague and other Bohemian cities on a charge of seditious conspiracy.

REVOLT IN AUSTRIAN ARMY

Riots and disorders in Bohemia continued to increase during the following weeks. Crowds at Chozen, exasperated by police brutality, set fire to barracks and to the City Hall, where the mounted police were lodged. Eight of the officers were burned to death. At Kolin the people pulled down the Austrian and raised the Bohemian flag. Public buildings were burned at Tabor and in other Bohemian towns, also at Olmutz, Moravia. At Prague the offices of two German newspapers were sacked. The Neue Freie Presse of Vienna declared: "Only the tenacity and union of those who desire the preservation of the State an make the monarchy survive this great crisis."

Mutinies among the Slavic troops in the Austrian Army also assumed serious proportions. A Vienna dispatch to the Berliner Tageblatt on May 3 gave the following details:

The troubles began in the Slovene Battalion of the 9th Infantry Regiment at Judenbourg. The German officers were killed, after which the troops gave themselves up to acts of anarchy. In time they were driven into the mountains, where they finally were disarmed after a combat.

The Czechs of Pilsen, stationed at Fumberg, also revolted. The rising was put down by the sword. Part of the rebels, having succeeded in passing the frontier, took refuge in the mountains of Saxony, where they were made prisoner by the Germans.

A third case of serious revolt took place at Funkirchen, where a Serbian regiment from Austria revolted and massacred the officers. The exact details of these revolts are difficult to obtain. It appears,

however, the instigators were Austrian soldiers returned from the prisoners' camps in Russia.

GERRYMANDERING BOHEMIA

On May 22 the Austro-Hungarian Government issued a decree dividing Bohemia into twelve districts, under a system giving new administrative and electoral advantages to the Germanic population. The German minority in the Imperial Parliament had been about to be completely isolated by a union of the Czechs, Slovaks, Jugoslavs, Ruthenians, and Poles. The electoral redistribution sought to avoid this by reducing the Czech strength in the Reichsrat at Vienna as well as in the Bohemian Diet. An official French bulletin dated May 22 said:

> The law bulletin of the Austrian Empire publishes a decree according to which the district Governments which were so long demanded by the Germans are established in Bohemia. The twelve district Captains who are nominated will represent the Statthalter of Prague in each district and will have the same powers.
>
> The boundaries of the districts are fixed, so far as possible, according to the national grouping. In the words of the decree, "the aim is to take the first steps toward the re-establishment of order in Bohemia." This decree foreruns undoubtedly a policy of repression, the first act of which tends to dismember Bohemia by granting to the German elements the guarantees or, better, the privileges which they demand.
>
> Up to the present, Bohemia comprised thirteen districts, only two of which had a majority of German population, according to statistics from Vienna. In four of the districts there are hardly any Germans. The new plan aims at creating in each of the twelve new districts a German minority and to grant to this minority, however small it may be, considerable advantages in the administrative and electoral domains.
>
> This method is meant to bring about as a first result a considerable increase in the number of German deputies in the Diet to the prejudice of the Czechs, who until now have held the majority of the seats. It is clear that this device of the Pan Germans is bound to arouse the most violent opposition on the part of the Czechs.
>
> A dispatch printed in all the Wagram papers calls attention to the fact that martial law has been proclaimed in several districts of Bohemia because in certain regions serious riots have occurred. More than 150 persons have been put in prison. The estate of Prince Furstenberg was ransacked. Riots occurred at Marsch, Ostrau, Pilsen, and Nachod. The Czech press expresses itself very violently. The Vetcher writes:
>
> "The Government is trying in vain to present its reform under bright colors, but it is evident at first sight, in fact, that nothing but the dismembering of Bohemia is under way. The Ministerial decree is preparing the parceling out of our fatherland and the foundation of a German province made of our own flesh."
>
> The Narodni Listi, which was suppressed by the censorship as guilty of "criminal dealings," has written:
>
> "It is in vain that threats are hurled at us to divert us from the line of conduct which we have decided to follow according to our proclamation. It is in vain that the sessions of Parliament are adjourned. Our indignation will not be less in June (the Austrian Chamber is to resume its sittings on June 19) and our opponents will have the opportunity of realizing it. The chart which, according to von Seidler, is to be granted to us will not change our resolution: 'We shall fight on without any consideration, with compromise, for the defense of the Czech State.'
>
> "This evidently shows the attitude of all the nationalities crushed by the Germans and the Magyars in the Dual Monarchy. The movement was not entirely unexpected, but it is possible that the fact of threatening them with a pitiless repression has advanced it and made it more formidable.
>
> "Emperor Charles is away from Vienna, and on his return he will find political conditions which the food situation will make even more distressing. Once more the frightfulness of German methods, so dear to the Germans, will bear its fruit by arousing rebellion of the people oppressed."

AUSTRIAN OFFICIAL VIEW

An official Austrian note, referring to the decree, said:

> Certain events, which were a danger to the safety of the State and presented even a character of high treason, took place during the first days of the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of the National Bohemian Theatre, and led the authorities to take repressive measures.

Swiss commentators explain that this alludes to a note from the police posted in Prague, which declared that mob gatherings and processions would be dispersed by force if necessary. Jugoslav guests, who had come to Prague to participate in the celebration, were obliged

to leave the city, and the newspaper Narodni Listi was suspended because the Austrian authorities declared: "The "manner in which this paper is worded "tends to arouse sympathy in favor of "the Entente States."

Accounts of the great gathering at Prague, which caused the Austrian Government to declare martial law, stated that the city was adorned with the Czech colors and the Slav tricolor flag. The Czech press expressed regret at the absence of Russians and great satisfaction at the presence of Poles. It was reported that the Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia were prevented by the authorities from attending.

The festival was organized by the recently formed Independence Party of Dr. Kramarcz, and the ceremonies consisted generally of a glorification of the union of the Slavic peoples.

WEAKENING NATIONALISM

It is stated by American sympathizers of the Czechs that the new decree is intended also to weaken the Bohemian national movement by decentralizing the forces of the nation and partly to prepare for the possible establishment of a province of "German Bohemia," such as has been talked of in case the national movement is so strong as to force the Austrian Government to try to compromise on some sort of federalization.

The Czecho-Slovak Nation, which has declared its demands for unity and complete independence, includes the Slovaks in the northern part of the Kingdom of Hungary and the Czechs, now divided among Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, three of the seventeen crown lands of Austria.

There has been much reference in German-Austrian papers recently to the possible establishment of a German Bohemia, to include the districts with the largest German population. Any rearrangement on this basis would be beset with obstacles, for the Czecho-Slovaks refuse to consent to any partition and the Germans demand not only the border districts for their German Bohemia, but the City of Prague itself.

It was recently reported that in April the Pope, acting through the Papal Nuncio at the request of the Vienna Government, had caused the arrest of Dr. Yeglitch, Prince Archbishop of Laibach, on account of his activities in behalf of the Jugoslav movement. Dr. Yeglitch was the head of the Slovene Catholic party in Parliament, and his arrest produced an outburst of indignation in Croatia and Slovenia. A Vatican dispatch later declared the report of the Pope's connection with the matter to be entirely without foundation.

BOHEMIANS IN ITALY'S ARMY

Troops from Bohemia began joining the Italian Army in April to fight against Austria. The first detachments of this Czecho-Slovak army, which is being formed in many centres out of the one-time subjects of Emperor Karl, have taken up their positions in various parts of the Italian line. They wear the Italian uniform, with certain distinctive signs. The effect upon their fellow-Slavs who are still fighting under the Austrian colors is a subject of considerable interest on both sides. The new position of affairs is being assiduously explained to them by airplane propaganda, and committees of their own race are accredited to and working with the Italian high command. G. Ward Price, a British correspondent, telegraphed from Italian headquarters on May 1:

> One night recently some of the Czechs fighting with the Italians were in the front line at a place where the Austrian battalion holding the trenches opposite consisted largely of their fellow-countrymen. After some preliminary conversation by megaphone one of the allied Czechs crawled out to the other lines and urged his compatriots to come over to our side, where they would be treated not as prisoners or deserters but as friends. The Austrian Czechs replied that they would willingly do so, but that the line behind their own was held by Hungarians, who would almost certainly see them moving out of the trench and open fire on them with machine guns.
>
> The allied Czech brought this message in to his friends, whereupon the Italian guns were asked to put down a barrage between the Austrian front trenches and their support line, driving the Hungarians to cover and isolating them from the Czechs, of whom some were thus able to cross over in safety to our side.

RACIAL DIVISIONS IN HUNGARY

Hungary in no less degree than Bohemia presents a problem of racial antipathies which has been a cause of serious unrest for centuries; aggravated by the present worldwide aspiration for independent nationalism it has thrown the country into turmoil and given a strong impetus to a revolutionary movement by the non-Magyar inhabitants. In a recent issue of The New Europe, D. Draghicescu, in discussing the situation in Hungary, gives the following facts regarding its racial divisions:

> Hungary is a country of 22,000,000 souls, of whom approximately 9,000,000 are Magyars and 13,000,000 non-Magyars, belonging to four or five different races. The Magyars have always insisted upon the fact that in Hungary they form by themselves a block of 9,000,000, while the other nationalities, taken altogether, are but 13,000,000, and that each of these, taken separately, constitute beside the Magyars a negligible minority. Naturally, if the 9,000,000 Magyars lived dispersed in all the provinces of Hungary, mingled with other nationalities in the proportion of 9 to 13, or 41 per cent., or if in each or in the majority of these provinces they formed a majority over the non-Magyars, or even an overwhelming majority over the most important of these nationalities, nothing could be done; the racial question in Hungary should not and would not arise. In that case, no doubt, the Hungarian State would properly bear the impress of the most numerous race, and would be, in fact, a national Magyar State, and the minority races would necessarily be sacrificed, even although their blood-brothers across the frontier might form powerful and prosperous States, (Rumania, Serbia, &c.) However objectionable might be the measures taken by the Magyars against these nationalities, they would, in such conditions, be up to a certain point excusable. It is impossible to create a strong and workable State and to insure peace and prosperity in a country so heterogeneous and containing an *imbroglio* of peoples each facing in its own direction and gravitating toward other neighboring States.

EACH RACE ISOLATED

He states that the Magyars, however, have never allowed it to be understood how the various races have been distributed in the kingdom, and he elucidates this as follows:

> Hungary consists of several provinces, each of which is inhabited by a separate nationality, homogeneous and compact. Of these provinces one of the most important beyond question is the Hungarian Pousta, situated on the banks of the Theiss and the middle Danube, and inhabited by 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 Magyars. The remaining 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 Magyars are scattered over the other provinces, forming the ruling caste and providing officials, magistrates, and police. Their business is to dominate the nationalities of these provinces and bend them under the yoke of the Magyars.
>
> In these other provinces each race is at home, and is as compact and homogeneous as the Magyars in the Pousta. Transylvania, for example, with the neighboring plains of the Banat, of Chrishana and Mamaramuresh is peopled by 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 Rumanians, among whom there are to be found here and there small bodies of Magyars. The Southern Slavs in their turn dwell in compact masses of between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 in the southern part of Hungary; and there are at least 2,000,000 Slovaks in the north, who also form a compact group. The Magyars are determined that the 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 of the Hungarian Pousta shall rule the 13,000,000 of non-Magyars in Transylvania, Jugoslavia, and Slovakia, and that these nationalities shall disappear, losing their language and individuality and adopting those of the Magyar people. It is nothing less than national suicide which the Magyars demand from these races, and, since this is refused, the jingoes of Budapest, enjoying carte blanche from the Emperor and the European powers, have for sixty years been carrying out a veritable campaign of murder against the non-Magyar races of Hungary.

TRANSYLVANIA'S CASE

The problem is intensified by the fact that the Serbs and Rumanians of Hungary see 5,000,000 of their brother Serbs and 7,500,000 of their brother Rumanians across their frontiers in Serbia and in Rumania under separate sovereignties of their own people. Mr. Draghicescu continues as follows:

> Doubtless, if Transylvania and Jugoslavia were merely isolated provinces without affinity or resemblance to neighboring States, as is, for example, the case of Ireland in the United Kingdom, we should admit that, however great might be the majority of these races over the Magyars, the racial question would not and could not arise. It would in that case be merely a question of domestic politics and administration without international interest. But this is far from being

the case in Transylvania, for instance, where the Rumanian population touches upon three sides the Rumanians of the kingdom, and where it has no contact with the Magyars, except on one-third of its racial frontier. Moreover, assuming the Magyars to have a certain superficial claim to ascendency in Hungary, where they are 41 per cent. of the whole population, this claim cannot be admitted in Transylvania, where they are but 15 per cent. to 18 per cent. In Jugoslavia the proportion of Magyars is even smaller. Now, if we imagine the reunion of Transylvania to Rumania to be an accomplished fact, the proportion of races in Greater Rumania would be 92 per cent. Rumanians to 8 per cent. Magyars; for if to the 7,500,000 Rumanians of the kingdom there are added 4,500,000 Rumanians of Hungary among whom there live scattered bodies of Magyars to the number approximately of 1,000,000, we shall have 12,000,000 Rumanians to 1,000,000 Magyars.

In this case, in place of the crying injustice of a 15 per cent. Magyar population seeking to dominate and exterminate a Rumanian population of 60 per cent., we should have a liberal State in which the Rumanians would constitute 93 per cent. and the Magyars between 6 and 7 per cent. In Jugoslavia the same process would give similar results. It is impossible for Serbs and Rumanians to be indifferent to the fate of their kinsmen threatened with Magyarization. If they desire to save their captive brethren, if they desire to liberate them and unite with them, it is not because they are themselves impelled by a spirit of conquest and inspired by a reprehensible imperialism. In them such aims would be absurd. They are roused against the Magyars by legitimate fears for their own fate and liberty in the future. If the Rumanians and Serbs of Hungary were finally Magyarized it would be a proof that the Serb and Rumanian Nations were ephemeral and might easily disappear without harm to any one. Once the resistance of the Serbs and Rumanians of Hungary was broken, the fate of the Serbian and Rumanian Kingdoms would be sealed. The Magyars, with the help of their German allies and masters, would soon overcome the Serbs and Rumanians in the free kingdoms, exposed as these would be to the treacherous onslaughts of Bulgaria.

Therefore, the true terms and proportions of this question may be stated as follows: It is a war of life or death between 9,000,000 Magyars and some 25,000,000 Slavs and Latins. The former are vigorously upheld by the Germans and the Bulgars. And the others? Surely they should have for allies all who desire that Germany and her vassals should not destroy the liberties of the world.

Supreme War Council Favors Free Poland and Jugoslavia

The session of the Supreme War Council of the allied Governments, held at Versailles on June 4, 1918, was attended by the Premiers of Great Britain, France, and Italy. At the close of its deliberations it issued the following statement:

The Supreme War Council held its sixth session under circumstances of great gravity for the alliance of free peoples. The German Government, relieved of all pressure on the eastern front by the collapse of the Russian armies and people, has concentrated all its effort in the west. It is now seeking to gain a decision in Europe by a series of desperate and costly assaults upon the allied armies before the United States can bring its full strength effectively to bear.

The advantage it possesses in its strategic position and superior railway facilities has enabled the enemy command to gain some initial successes. It will undoubtedly renew its attacks and the allied nations still may be exposed to critical days.

After a review of the whole position, the Supreme War Council is convinced that the Allies, bearing the trials of the forthcoming campaign with the same fortitude as they have ever exhibited in defense of the right, will baffle the enemy's purpose and in due course bring him to defeat. Everything possible is being done to sustain and support the armies in the field. The arrangements for unity of command have greatly improved the position of the allied armies and are working smoothly and with success. The Supreme War Council has complete confidence in General Foch. It regards with pride and admiration the valor of the allied troops.

Thanks to the prompt and cordial cooperation of the President of the United States, the arrangements which were set on foot more than two months ago for the transporting and brigading of American troops will make it impossible for the enemy to gain victory by wearing out the allied reserve before he has exhausted his own.

The Supreme War Council is confident of the ultimate result, and the allied peoples are resolute not to sacrifice a single

The scene in the Coliseum at Rome on April 7, 1918, when the Italian official celebration of the anniversary of America's entry into the war took place

(Photo Audivier)

The third anniversary of the sinking of the Lusitania May 7, 1915. Three large graves at Queenstown, Ireland, where 178 of the victims were buried

(British Official Photo from Underwood)

one of the free nations of the world to the despotism of Berlin. Their armies are displaying the same steadfast courage which has enabled them on many previous occasions to defeat a German onset. They have only to endure with faith and patience to the end to make victory for freedom secure. The free peoples and their magnificent soldiers will save civilization.

A supplemental official statement announced that the following declarations had been unanimously agreed to by the Premiers of the three nations:

The creation of a united, independent Polish State, with free access to the sea, constitutes one of the conditions of a solid and just peace and the rule of right in Europe.

The Allies have noted with satisfaction the declaration of the American Secretary of State, to which they adhere, expressing the greatest sympathy with the national aspirations of the Czechs and Jugoslavs for freedom.

AMERICA AND JUGOSLAVS

The American declaration referred to above was made public by Secretary Lansing on May 29 in these words:

The Secretary of State desires to announce that the proceedings of the Congress of Oppressed Races of Austria-Hungary, which was held in Rome in April, have been followed with great interest by the Government of the United States, and that the nationalistic aspirations of the Czecho-Slovacs and the Jugoslavs for freedom have the earnest sympathy of this Government.

Secretary Lansing's declaration was greeted with enthusiasm by Jugoslavs in both Europe and America. Premier Pashitch of Serbia a few days later communicated to the American Chargé d'Affaires at Corfu his profound appreciation of the action of the United States. Another result was a formal offer of military service by Jugoslavs residing in this country. The offer was made to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on June 5 by Don Niko Grskovich and John J. Grgurevich, acting as spokesmen for their fellow-Slavs. They explained that the Slovenians, Croats, and other South Slavs in the United States were intensely hostile to the German-Austrian cause, and were eager to cast their lot with the Allies, but because they were technically subjects of the Austrian Crown they occupied the status of enemy aliens and were unable to join the army.

"If Congress will enact a law taking this stigma from our people 50,000 enlistments in the American Army will be the immediate result," Mr. Grskovich told the committee. "Ultimately, nearly 500,000 of our people will be found fighting under the American flag."

Rumania's Thralldom

Subjection of the Nation to German Tyrannv Under a Supplementary Economic Treaty

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for June contained the text of the main treaty imposed on Rumania by Germany, known as the Peace of Bucharest. On May 10 it was announced that a "legal and political supplementary agreement" had been exacted, which completed the economic subjection of the country. The main clauses of this treaty follow:

CLAUSE I.—This provides for the resumption of Consular relations and the admission of Consuls. The treaty demands that a further Consular treaty shall be concluded as soon as possible, and stipulates for the indemnification of all damage suffered during the war by Consular officials or done to Consular buildings.

CLAUSE II.—This clause says that Rumania renounces indemnifications and damages caused on Rumanian territory as the result of German military measures, including all requisitions and contributions. Amounts which Germany has already paid for damages of the nature just described will be refunded by Rumania in so far as these have not been refunded from the country's means, or paid in the newly issued notes of the Banca Generale of Rumania, (note issue department.)

Within six months after the ratification of

the peace treaty Rumania will redeem out of her own means (with notes of the Rumanian National Bank or other legal means of payment) the notes issued by the Banca Generale, on the order of the occupation administration, and will not put them into circulation again, so that the balances and deposits which are held by the German Reichsbank for the covering of the same may become free.

Until redemption, the notes of the Banca Generale shall be recognized as legal tender. After the ratification of the peace treaty such notes shall no longer be issued.

Another article, under the same clause, provides that Rumania shall indemnify the Germans for all damages suffered by them on Rumanian territory as the result of the military measures of one of the belligerent powers. This stipulation also applies to the losses which the Germans have suffered as participants, and especially as shareholders, of undertakings situated in Rumanian territory. Immediately after the ratification of the treaty a commission shall meet in Bucharest to fix the amount of such losses. The contracting parties will each appoint a third of the members, and the President of the Swiss Federal Council will be asked to designate neutral personages to make up the other third, which is to include the Chairman.

Rumania will also indemnify neutral nations for damage which has been caused them on Rumanian territory as a result of German military measures, and which must be made good according to the principles of international law.

CLAUSE III.—This clause stipulates for the restoration of treaties and agreements between the contracting parties which were in force before the war, except for those cases in which the peace treaty provides otherwise, and in cases where such instruments are undenouncable for a certain period. This period is prolonged by the period of the duration of the war.

The contracting parties reserve until after the conclusion of a general peace the fixing of their attitude toward separate and collective treaties of a political character.

CLAUSE IV.—This contains prescriptions governing the restoration of ordinary relations between debtor and creditor. It says, too, that each contracting party will, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, resume the payment of its obligations, particularly the public debt service, to subjects of the other party.

Restoration and compensation for concessions and privileges in land and other rights are also dealt with.

CLAUSE V.—This deals with compensation for damage suffered during or immediately before the outbreak of war by civilian subjects of the respective parties in life, health, liberties, or property through acts contrary to international law.

Germans who were in the Rumanian public service before the war, and who were dismissed as enemy foreigners, shall, on their request, be restored to equal rank and equal salary, or, if this is impracticable, they shall be given fair compensation.

CLAUSE VI.—This clause says that the respective prisoners of war shall be sent home in so far as they, with the assent of the State concerned, do not desire to remain in its territory or to proceed to another country. The exchange of prisoners is to follow as soon as possible, at definite times to be further agreed upon.

The expenditure of each party for prisoners of war belonging to the other party up to April 1, 1918, will be calculated on the basis of an average rate of 2,000 marks (£100) for each officer in Germany, and 1,000 for all other prisoners in Germany, and 2,500 (£100) and 1,250 lei respectively for prisoners in Rumania. Immediately on the ratification of the treaty a commission composed of three members of each party is to meet in Bucharest to arrange details and to supervise the carrying out of the agreement.

Interned civilians will also be gratuitously sent home as soon as possible, in so far as they do not wish to remain in the country of their internment or go elsewhere.

CLAUSE VII.—This relates to the right of subjects of the contracting parties to return to the country of their origin without suffering prejudice.

CLAUSE VIII.—This stipulates an amnesty for offenses committed by prisoners of war, interned men, and certain others. It incidentally stipulates that Rumania shall grant an amnesty to its subjects for their political conduct or military conduct based upon political grounds during the war.

CLAUSE IX.—This provides that captured river craft, merchant ships, and cargoes shall be returned, or, if no longer in existence, be paid for, and compensation shall also be paid for the period they were in the captor's possession. Here, too, a commission will be appointed.

CLAUSE X.—This stipulates that various rights shall be accorded to German churches and schools in Rumania.

CLAUSE XI.—This says: "Rumania, after having obtained the assent of the Rumanian National Bank, agrees that the balances and deposits of the National Bank now at the German Reichsbank shall remain in the Reichsbank's charge for five years (and if Rumania falls behind with an installment, for ten years) as a security for Rumania's Public Debt Service, as regards the subjects of Germany; and may also, if necessary, be drawn on to pay interest and redeem drawn bonds."

The representatives of the contracting parties will meet in Berlin within four weeks after the signature of the treaty to make further arrangements regarding the fulfillment and further guaranteeing of Rumania's financial obligations.

CLAUSE XII.—This provides that the respective representatives shall meet in Berlin

within four months after the ratification of this treaty, further to supplement it.

CONTROL OF OIL FIELDS

Under the petroleum agreement between the Central Powers and Rumania, the Central Powers' controlling company, the Oil Lands Leasing Company, is endowed with exclusive rights of the most far-reaching character for thirty years, with the right of prolongation for two subsequent periods of thirty years, making ninety in all.

Up to one-quarter of the foundation shares will be offered to the Rumanian Government with the right of transfer to private interests, but Germany and Austria-Hungary insure their control by the creation of preference shares with a fifty-fold voting right, and these shares are exclusively at their disposal.

A State trading monopoly in oil in Rumania is also provided for, the exercise of the monopoly to be intrusted to a company that is to be formed by a financial group designated by the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments.

All kinds of privileges are stipulated for the Oil Lands Leasing Company, the position of which is most carefully hedged around.

The parties are agreed by the terms of Article IV. of the foregoing agreement that immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty the Rumanian Government will enter into negotiations with the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary regarding the manner in which Rumania's surplus oil and oil products can be placed at the disposal of Germany and Austria-Hungary without endangering the vital interests of Rumania in respect of the country's industries and its own needs. The provisions of Article IV., therefore, only enter into force should no other understanding have been arrived at before Dec. 1, 1918.

COST OF RUMANIA'S PEACE

A correspondent who was at Jassy for years and left there only a few days before the peace treaty was signed thus writes of Rumania's hard fate:

"What is the balance sheet of Rumania after eighteen months' hard struggle? Before August, 1916, she had absolute economic freedom and could sell her harvests to any one she pleased at any price she wanted. In 1915 and 1916 the Rumanian exporters sold wheat to Germany and Austria at from 10s. to 12s. a bushel. The Austro-German importers had to pay, besides, a heavy export tax in gold to the Rumanian Government. Now Germany has secured for herself and her allies practically the whole Rumanian harvest for years to come, at a price which she is going to fix, and in such conditions that 'no diplomatic intervention should be necessary in the future for securing the grain necessary for the allied Central Powers.'

"Rumania had in Europe, after Russia, the richest oil fields and the greatest production of oil. The fields were in American, German, and English hands, but the Rumanian Government had full control of the production and drew very large benefits. When the war broke out in 1914 the Rumanian Government at once prohibited the export of petrol and heavy oils to Germany. The German companies tried hard to send the much-needed petrol to their countries, but succeeded in smuggling only a small quantity through at enormous cost. After a year the production of petrol increased so much that the Government was compelled to allow the export of a small quantity, asking Germany in exchange to agree that Rumania should receive a certain quantity of goods the export of which was prohibited in Germany. The Germans will not forget that they had to pay for the petrol at the rate of about $200 a ton.

GERMAN OIL MONOPOLY

"Since November, 1916, the Rumanian oil industry has been destroyed. In the last ten days before the Germans penetrated into the rich Prahova Valley the British mission under Lieut. Col. Norton Griffiths destroyed everything — wells, tanks, refineries were burned, smashed to pieces, or blown up, so that even now, after a year and a half, the Germans have not been able to reconstruct them. According to statements made by German prisoners in November last, none of

the obstructed wells had been put in order again. The German engineers have worked hard, boring new wells, but have not succeeded in getting more than 10 to 15 per cent. of the normal production. However, although the refineries and wells have been destroyed, the oil fields exist, and I think that not even 50 per cent. of them have yet been worked in Rumania. The Germans know this, and the clause in the peace treaty that they should have the control and monopoly of the oil fields for ninety-nine years will make them the real owners and entirely independent of the American market. These two assets—the corn and the oil—on which the whole wealth of the Rumanian Kingdom was based, are thus under direct German control.

"Furthermore, Rumania has suffered much during the war. Towns and villages have been destroyed, and nearly the entire stock of railway carriages, vans, and locomotives has been lost. The productive capacity of the country has been enormously diminished. About 60 per cent. of the horned cattle and more than 70 per cent. of the horses have gone. Famine and disease have made ravages among the rural population, nobody having paid any attention to them. I have seen villages of 300 to 500 inhabitants reduced to 40. All the rest died from spotted typhus or other scourges. This shows how reduced are the means of national recovery after peace is signed. The financial situation is probably worse than the economic. At the outbreak of the war the budget amounted to 500,000,000 lei, ($100,000,000,) while the national debt was about 1,500,000,000 lei, ($300,000,000.) A few weeks before I left Jassy the Minister of Finance told me that the debt had increased to about $1,250,000,000. In the period from August, 1916, to February, 1918, the revenue had been very greatly reduced. As the military situation was always critical and the Government had decided twice, before the Russian disaster, to move to Russia, everybody who had a little money kept it at home and did not invest it in Government securities. Therefore only a small amount had been raised in Rumania by loans; the greatest part of the money had to be obtained from abroad, mainly from England, but also from France and the United States, at a rate of 4 to 5 per cent. Thus the interest which Rumania had to pay on her national debt represented about $62,500,000, or more than three-quarters of her budget in the pre-war days.

VON KUEHLMANN'S EXPLANATION

Dr. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, who forced the treaty, in an address before the Berlin Chamber of Commerce May 24, explained the advantages which the peace of Bucharest had brought to Germany. He said:

> Two points must be taken into consideration: First, guaranteeing Rumanian agricultural and petroleum production as urgently necessary for the carrying on of the war by the Central Powers and for the transition period; and, secondly, the important rôle which Rumania has to fill in providing a thoroughfare to the East, especially as she dominates the lower course of the Danube.
>
> It is here that there comes into effect the International Danube Delta Committee, upon which only States on the banks of the Danube can be represented. Only if the States agree to it will the countries lying on the Black Sea be able to come into it. Therefore, it is especially important for the German seaboard traffic that we have been able to secure sites for dockyards.
>
> Along with the Danube, the importance of the Rumanian railways must be considered, especially the Bucharest-Czernavoda-Constanza line, over which Germany must have control. It has been agreed with Bulgaria that this railway to Constanza, which is to be made a free port with grain silos and petroleum tanks, is to be leased to a German company for ninety-nine years.
>
> The cable between Constantinople and Constanza played an important rôle before the war. This cable is to be developed to the utmost and secured from enemy control.

Alluding to the agreement by which Germany had secured the Rumanian harvest of 1918-19, and the far-reaching option upon the entire Rumanian harvest for the next seven years, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

> One can look forward to the whole food question with a certain amount of confidence. * * * Formal war indemnities were not demanded by Germany, but the numerous privileges we secured

are equivalent, in the opinion of experts, to anything which would have been yielded by indemnities. When, some day, the damage caused by the U-boat warfare shall have been made good by newly-built ships, the sea route from Constanza will regain its importance. Whether traffic on the Danube will be able to compete with it is a question of the distant future. For the present we shall have to rely on the Danube.

MODEL PEACE TERMS

Discussing this treaty on June 1, the Nachrichten of Munich declared:

> The peace concluded with Rumania should serve as a model for the general peace terms to be concluded by the Central Powers. Germany has found a method of making conquered countries share her enormous war burdens without actually inflicting a crushing war indemnity. This method consists in enforcing on them a stipulation for preferential treatment to be accorded to Germany over a long period, so that Germany may be fully supplied with goods she needs. In this way Rumania will furnish the Central Powers with wheat and petroleum on advantageous terms for ninety years. A similar happy solution must also be adopted in all peace treaties to be conducted in the future.

Armenia's Sufferings in a New Phase

Turkish Invasion of the Caucasus Under the Brest Treaty—Struggle of the Georgians

BY the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty the Bolshevist Government of Russia gave up to Turkey the districts of Batum, Kars, and Erivan, comprising the southwestern portion of the Caucasus, between the Black and Caspian Seas. This region includes the Russian part of the former Kingdom of Armenia, with Turkish Armenia adjoining it on the south. It is inhabited largely by Armenians and by that other ancient people, the Georgians, between whom and the Turks there has been an age-long and deadly feud. Hundreds of thousands of Armenian refugees from Turkish persecution in Asia Minor had taken refuge here under the Russian flag in the last three years, especially after the first Petrograd revolution gave promise of liberty under a republic. Now Georgians and Armenians alike find themselves betrayed into the hands of their Turkish enemies.

Soon after the signing of the treaty on March 3, 1918, the Turks sent armed forces to take possession of the three districts named. They met with resistance both from the Armenians and from the Georgians, but neither of the betrayed nationalities had an army competent to cope with the enemy. The result was a new reign of terror, similar to that of the massacres in Turkish Armenia, and the world was horrified anew by the atrocities that ensued.

PROTEST OF ARMENIANS

The Armenian National Council on April 14 addressed the following protest to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the President of the Reichstag:

> The Armenian National Council, as the supreme body for the expression of the will of the Armenian people, is addressing you in connection with the tragic state of things in Armenia. Armenia is flooded with blood and, only recently saved from centuries of slavery, is again condemned to fresh sufferings. Following upon the withdrawal of the Russian troops, Turkish troops have already invaded the undefended country and are not only killing every Turkish Armenian but also every Russian in Armenia.
>
> In spite of the terms of the peace treaty, which recognizes the right of self-determination for these Caucasian regions, the Turkish Army is advancing toward Kars and Ardahan, destroying the country and killing the Christian population. The responsibility for the future destiny of the Armenians lies entirely with Germany, because it was Germany's insistence that resulted in the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Armenian regions, and at the moment it rests with Germany to prevent the habitual excesses of the Turkish troops, increased by revengefulness and anger.

It is hard to believe that a civilized State like Germany, which has the means for preventing the excesses of her ally, will permit the Brest-Litovsk treaty to be used by the German people, who have been involved in war against their own will, as a means for the creation of incalculable sufferings.

The National Council firmly believes that you will undertake the necessary measures, which depend solely upon you, to influence the Turkish authorities with a view to saving the Armenian people from fresh horrors.

POLICY OF ANNIHILATION

To this protest the Bolshevist Government of Russia added the following:

The offensive of the Turkish troops and detachments on the Caucasian front has been followed by the murder of the whole Armenian population. The peaceful population of women and children have been killed without mercy and their property has been plundered and burned.

The peace treaty, which we were forced to sign at Brest-Litovsk, left the determination of the future destiny of the people of the provinces of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum to themselves. The events which have taken place in these provinces testify that the old policy of the annihilation of the Armenian people is still to be applied.

On the Turkish front the advantage of the war was on the side of Russia, and Russia was forced to give up Ardahan, Kars, and Batum only because Germany was the ally of Turkey. The responsibility for all the horrors which the Armenian population is now suffering in those regions already occupied by the Turkish troops lies, therefore, with the German Government, which directly helped Turkey to secure these regions.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs protests against such abuse of the right of self-determination of the population of these provinces, and expresses the hope and insists on the necessity of immediate and energetic intervention on the part of Germany in the Caucasus, with a view to stopping further murders and the annihilation of the peaceful population, such as has taken place in Ardahan.

The Armenians and Georgians fought the advancing Turks, but their efforts were in vain; on April 17 Batum fell to the Turks, and the Ottoman troops were said to have a firm grip on these and other portions of the Caucasus.

STORY OF THE GEORGIANS

The rugged mountain region between the Black and Caspian Seas, known as the Caucasus, covers 180,603 square miles and consists of 14 provinces. The population in 1914 was 11,735,100, of whom 87 per cent. were illiterate; there are no less than 46 distinct nationalities among the inhabitants, chief of which are the Georgians and Armenians. The Georgians were the only nationality to maintain their independence up to the end of the eighteenth century. Georgia existed as a State long before the Christian era; Alexander the Great conquered the country. In 1080 the Kingdom of Georgia was established by David III. Peter the Great of Russia, recognizing its importance, entered into an alliance with the kingdom, and in 1721 Russian and Georgian troops penetrated to Baku, the rich industrial district bordering on the Caspian Sea. King Heraklius II., who reigned during the middle and end of the eighteenth century, received high praise from Catherine the Great and Frederick the Great for his military prowess and intellect, and in 1768 Russia and Georgia took joint action against the Turks.

In 1783 the Turks and Persians invaded Georgia, and Russia again concluded a treaty of protection, in which Georgia's independence was guaranteed. In 1801 Russia violated this treaty by annexing Georgia as a Russian province. The people revolted, but the uprising was unsuccessful. The Georgian mountaineers, however, never became reconciled to Russian dominion, and in connection with the Circassians carried on guerrilla warfare for forty years. In 1864 they were finally defeated and given the choice of submitting or emigrating to Turkey. Only 90,000 submitted and 418,000 emigrated to Turkey.

The jubilee of 100 years' alliance between the Kingdom of Georgia and Russia was celebrated in Tiflis, Sept. 26, 1901. At that time Czar Nicholas II. issued a manifesto acknowledging the loyalty of the Georgian people, who "voluntarily placed the kingdom under our protection," expressing imperial thanks to the Georgian Nation, and extending the promise of "my special attention and care for this brave nation, which is united with us by common ties of religion." This in face of the further fact that in 1811 the independence of the

RUSSIAN CAUCASUS REGION, INCLUDING GEORGIA AND RUSSIAN ARMENIA, PARTS OF WHICH WERE HANDED OVER TO THE TURKS BY THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK

Georgian Church, which had existed since the year 542, was abolished by the Russians and only six Bishoprics out of twenty-eight were allowed to remain, while more than $350,000,000 of church property was confiscated!

PROGRESS AMONG GEORGIANS

D. Ghambashidze, in a recent statement regarding the Georgian Nation, alludes to the progress made in the second half of the nineteenth century as follows:

The number of daily papers and weeklies in 1913 was twenty-four, and the number of books published in the same year on various subjects was about 240, amounting to 460,000 copies. It must also be remembered that 75 per cent. of the total population can read and write, and there are many schools and libraries. Eighty-five per cent. of the total population is composed of peasantry, whose chief occupation is very intensive agriculture, tobacco, wine, cotton, and silk being included in their products. The co-operative movement is also very strong in Georgia, there being about 400 co-operative societies, nearly 70 per cent. of the peasants being members.

During the last eight centuries the nobility of Georgia has devoted its attention chiefly to military occupations. There were about 5,700 officers in the Russian Army, among whom may be mentioned the very distinguished Generals, Princes Bagration, Amilakhvari, Tchavachavadze, Orbelliani, and Amiradjebi. Prince Imeretinski has acted as Governor General of Poland, and through his wise rule won great respect among the Poles. He was instrumental in obtaining the permission of the Emperor for the erection of a monument to the great Polish poet Mickevits in Warsaw. General Kazbek was commander of the fortress of Vladivostok and General Orbelliani was Commander in Chief of the Russian troops stationed in Finland.

Among the Georgian Bishops the most celebrated was Bishop Gabriel, whose famous sermons have been translated into English by the Rev. Dr. Malan, one-time Vicar of Oxford. There were also a great many Georgian professors at various Russian universities, among them the celebrated physiologist, Professor Tarhanov; the philologist, Professor D. Tchubinov, and Petriev, the late Dean of Odessa University. Distinguished Georgians like Prince Tchavachavadze and Eristov were members of the Russian House of Lords, while Mr. Tsereteli, the celebrated Georgian Deputy in the Duma, acted as one of the leaders during the present revolution.

The Armenian Nation also goes far

ARMENIA, SCENE OF EARLIER TURKISH ATROCITIES

back into ancient history. Six centuries before Christ the texts engraved on the rocks by King Darius mentioned Armenia by its present name. During centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era Armenia was an independent kingdom occupying the region between Mesopotamia and the valleys south of the Caucasus Mountains. This kingdom became Christian about the same time as the Roman Empire, and since then the Armenian Church has not ceased to be independent, not only of the Eastern, Greek, and Slavic Churches, but also of the Roman Church.

Professor Meillet of the Collège de France, Paris, states that there has beer an Armenian literature since the fiftl century of our era, and that the old Armenian writings are more original and interesting than the ancient Slavic literatures, which date from several centuries later. Historians of art agree that in architecture, from the fifth to the ninth century, the Armenians were creators of new forms. Professor Meillet adds that at a time when the very name of France did not yet exist, and when the French language had not been differentiated from the Latin, Armenia was playing a great part in history and had an important literature of its own.

At the period of the Crusades the Armenians founded a kingdom in Cilicia and aided the Crusaders. Since the last of the Crusades there have been no independent Armenians. Mussulman, Persian, and Turkish States have dominated their former country. In the nineteenth century the Caucasus portion was taken by Russia. But the Armenian Nation had its own customs, language, literature, and church, and all these it has kept. It had the will to live, and in spite of its subjugation it has lived.

SUCCESSFUL EMIGRANTS

Armenians, hindered by persecution from tilling their lands, emigrated to other countries, where they developed eminent qualities. Industrious farmers, attached to their native land, they have yet known how, under necessity, to adapt themselves to all the professions of the modern world. Thus they came to fill a large place in Constantinople, in Egypt, in Transylvania, in Poland, and more recently in Baku, in the whole basin of

the Mediterranean, and even in America. Everywhere they have made useful citizens; it was an Armenian, Althen, who introduced the cultivation of madder in Southern France. In their own country, where they had preserved a patriarchal system, most of them remained farmers.

The Armenian Church, which has not ceased to be autonomous, is the most democratic of the ancient Christian Churches; it is the only one in which laymen take part with the priests in the election of the head of the Church, the Catholicos, who lives in the Convent of Etchmiadzin, in Russian Armenia.

In the nineteenth century, though possessing no intellectual centre of their own, the Armenians found means for giving a modern literature to Russian Armenia and another to Turkish Armenia. Occupying a part of Asia that is a natural passageway between the Orient and the Occident, says Professor Meillet, they have been, since the fifth century, carriers of European civilization. Their vanguard position has made of them the martyrs of Western culture. Their success and their European character made them odious to their Turkish masters, who were less industrious than they. By the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 Turkey pledged herself to introduce reforms and ameliorations in Armenia, and to protect these people from attacks by the Kurds and Circassians; but the pledge was never kept. After the massacres at Sassun in 1894 Europe made a more imperious demand for reforms; Sultan Abdul Hamid promised them—and immediately ordered the great massacres of 1895 and 1896, which won for him the name of the Red Sultan.

UNDER THE YOUNG TURKS

The Young Turk revolution promised to improve the lot of the Armenians by instituting liberty in the Ottoman Empire; in reality the Young Turks desired only to make a unified empire of which they should be masters; they tried to "Turkify" all the races under them by persecuting those who wished to keep their own character; in 1909 they caused the Armenians at Adana to be massacred.

When the Young Turk Government allied itself with the Central Empires, learning organization from the Germans, it organized the destruction of the Armenians in 1915 on scientific lines. It ordered the deportation of these people from land which they had occupied for more than 2,000 years, and, after massacring the men and seizing the young women, it caused the rest of the women and the children to perish of hunger, thirst, and fatigue along the highways into which they had been driven; it sent them to die in the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians were thus destroyed. When the victorious Russian troops entered Erzerum and Trebizond they found only a few dozens of Armenians out of the tens of thousands who had inhabited those cities. The German authorities knew of these massacres; they made no protest.

In Syria the Christian population was destroyed by other methods; all the food was taken away, and then the district was isolated and the entrance of new food supplies forbidden. Hundreds of thousands of Syrians died of hunger. Germany knew of this crime; it did not protest.

EXTERMINATING A RACE

The great war gave the Young Turk leaders their long-desired opportunity to crush the Armenians. Henry Morgenthau, the United States Ambassador at Constantinople at that time, says in a recent statement:

> During the Spring of 1915 they evolved their plan to destroy the Armenian race. They criticised their ancestors for neglecting to destroy or convert the Christian races to Mohammedanism at the time when they first subjugated them. Now, as four of the great powers were at war with them and the two others were their allies, they thought the time opportune to make good the oversight of their ancestors in the fifteenth century. They drafted the able-bodied Armenians into the army without, however, giving them arms; they used them simply to build roads or do similar work. Then, under the pretext of searching the houses for arms, they pillaged the belongings of the villagers. * * * The final and worst measure was the wholesale deportation of the entire population from their homes

and their exile to the desert, with all the accompanying horrors on the way. * * * The facts contained in the reports received at the embassy from absolutely trustworthy eyewitnesses surpass the most beastly and diabolical cruelties ever perpetrated or imagined in the history of the world.

BARBAROUS TORTURES

Many of these horrors were told in detail in the monumental report of Viscount Bryce, portions of which were published in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, November, 1916. To these may be added a statement made to Mr. Morgenthau personally by an eyewitness—a German missionary!—and put into writing at the American Embassy in Constantinople, which reads in part as follows:

It was that very afternoon that I received the first terrible reports, but I did not fully believe them. A few millers and bakers, whose services were needed by the Government, had remained, and they received the news first. The men had all been tied together and shot outside of the town. The women and children were taken to the neighboring villages, placed in houses by the hundreds, and either burned alive or thrown into the river. (Our buildings being in the main quarter of the town we could receive the news quite promptly.) Furthermore, one could see women and children pass by with blood streaming down, weeping. * * * Who can describe such pictures? Add to all this the sight of burning houses and the smell of many burning corpses.

Within a week everything was nearly over. The officers boasted now of their bravery, that they had succeeded in exterminating the whole Armenian race. Three weeks later when we left Moush, the villages were still burning. Nothing that belonged to the Armenians, either in the city or the villages, was allowed to remain. In Moush alone there were 25,000 Armenians; besides, Moush had 300 villages with a large Armenian population.

We left for Mezreh. The soldiers who accompanied us showed us with pride where and how and how many women and children they had killed.

We were very pleased to see upon our arrival at Harpoot that the orphanages were full. This was, however, all that could be said. Mamuret-ul-Aziz has become the cemetery of all the Armenians; all the Armenians from the various vilayets were sent there, and those who had not died on the way came there simply to find their graves.

Another terrible thing in Mamuret-ul-Aziz were the tortures to which the people had been subjected for two months, and they had generally treated so harshly the families of the better class. Feet, hands, chests were nailed to a piece of wood; nails of fingers and toes were torn out; beards and eyebrows pulled out; feet were hammered with nails, as they do with horses; others were hung with their feet up and heads down over closets. * * * Oh! How one could wish that all these facts were not true! In order that people outside might not hear the screams of agony of the poor victims, men stood around the prison wherein these atrocities were committed, with drums and whistles.

On July 1 the first 2,000 were dispatched from Harpoot. They were soldiers, and it was rumored that they would build roads. People became frightened. Whereupon the Vali called the German missionary, Mr. ——, and begged him to quiet the people; he was so very sory that they all had such fears, &c. They had hardly been away for a day when they were all killed in a mountain pass. They were bound together, and when the Kurds and soldiers started to shoot at them some managed to escape in the dark. The next day another 2,000 were sent in the direction of Diarbekr. Among those deported were several of our orphans (boys) who had been working for the Government all the year round. Even the wives of the Kurds came with their knives and murdered the Armenians. Some of the latter succeeded in fleeing. When the Government heard that some Armenians had managed to escape they left those who were to be deported without food for two days in order that they would be too weak to be able to flee.

All the high Catholic Armenians, together with their Archbishop, were murdered. Up to now there still remained a number of tradesmen whom the Government needed and therefore had not deported; now these, too, were ordered to leave, and were murdered.

TOTAL NUMBER MURDERED

The total Armenian population in the Turkish Empire in 1912 numbered between 1,600,000 and 2,000,000. Of these 182,000 escaped to the Russian Caucasus, where now again they have been placed in peril of extermination at the hands of the Turks. About 4,200 escaped into Egypt, while 150,000 still remain in Constantinople. To these figures must be added the relatively small number of survivors still in hiding or scattered in distant provinces. Mr. Morgenthau concludes that 1,000,000 Armenians were harried out of their homes in Asia Minor,

and that the murdered number between 600,000 and 800,000. The remainder, in pitiful want of the barest necessities of life, hold out their hands to the Christian fellowship of America for aid.

In how far was the German Government responsible for the murder and deportation of the Armenians in Turkey? Mr. Morgenthau, summing up the story of his own fruitless efforts to get Baron Wangenheim, the German Ambassador, to intervene in their behalf, says: "Let me say most emphatically, the German Government could have prevented it." Now again it is the German Government that has handed over the Armenian refugees in the Russian Caucasus to the tender mercy of the Turks.

President Wilson's Addresses

Important Utterances on War Themes

President Wilson delivered two public addresses in May, 1918, the first in New York City, May 17, to inaugurate the second Red Cross campaign, the second before a joint session of the United States Congress, May 27, on the subject of a Federal revenue bill. The speeches are given herewith.

Red Cross Speech in New York

[Delivered in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, May 17, 1918]

THERE are two duties with which we are face to face. The first duty is to win the war. And the second duty that goes hand in hand with it is to win it greatly and worthily, showing the real quality of our power not only, but the real quality of our purpose and of ourselves. Of course, the first duty, the duty that we must keep in the foreground of our thought until it is accomplished, is to win the war. I have heard gentlemen recently say that we must get 5,000,000 men ready. Why limit it to 5,000,000?

I have asked the Congress of the United States to name no limit, because the Congress intends, I am sure, as we all intend, that every ship that can carry men or supplies shall go laden upon every voyage with every man and every supply she can carry. And we are not to be diverted from the grim purpose of winning the war by any insincere approaches upon the subject of peace. I can say with a clear conscience that I have tested those intimations and have found them insincere. I now recognize them for what they are, an opportunity to have a free hand, particularly in the East, to carry out purposes of conquest and exploitation.

Every proposal with regard to accommodation in the West involves a reservation with regard to the East. Now, so far as I am concerned, I intend to stand by Russia as well as France. The helpless and the friendless are the very ones that need friends and succor, and if any men in Germany think we are going to sacrifice anybody for our own sake, I tell them now they are mistaken. For the glory of this war, my fellow-citizens, so far as we are concerned, is that it is, perhaps for the first time in history, an unselfish war. I could not be proud to fight for a selfish purpose, but I can be proud to fight for mankind. If they wish peace let them come forward through accredited representatives and lay their terms on the table. We have laid ours and they know what they are.

But behind all this grim purpose, my friends, lies the opportunity to demonstrate not only force, which will be demonstrated to the utmost, but the opportunity to demonstrate character, and it is that opportunity that we have most conspicuously in the work of the Red Cross. Not that our men in arms do not represent our character, for they do, and it is a character which those who see and realize appreciate and admire; but their duty is the duty of force. The duty of the Red Cross is the duty of mercy and succor and friendship.

WHAT THE WAR IS DOING

Have you formed a picture in your imagination of what this war is doing for us and for the world? In my own mind I am convinced that not a hundred years of peace could have knitted this nation together as this single year of war has knitted it together, and better even than that, if possible, it is knitting the world together. Look at the picture. In the centre of the scene, four nations engaged against the world, and at every point of vantage, showing that they are seeking selfish aggrandizement; and, against them, twenty-three Governments representing the greater part of the population of the world, drawn together into a new sense of community of interest, a new sense of community of pur-

pose, a new sense of unity of life. The Secretary of War told me an interesting incident the other day. He said when he was in Italy a member of the Italian Government was explaining to him the many reasons why Italy felt near to the United States.

He said: "If you want to try an interesting experiment go up to any one of these troop trains and ask in English how many of them have been in America, and see what happens." He tried the experiment. He went up to a troop train and he said, "How many of you boys have been in America?" and he said it seemed to him as if half of them sprang up. "Me from San Francisco"; "Me from New York"; all over. There was part of the heart of America in the Italian Army. People that had been knitted to us by association, who knew us, who had lived among us, who had worked shoulder to shoulder with us, and now friends of America, were fighting for their native Italy.

Friendship is the only cement that will ever hold the world together. And this intimate contact of the great Red Cross with the peoples who are suffering the terrors and deprivations of this war is going to be one of the greatest instrumentalities of friendship that the world ever knew, and the centre of the heart of it all, if we sustain it properly, will be this land that we so dearly love.

SERVICE BY GIVING

My friends, a great day of duty has come, and duty finds a man's soul as no kind of work can ever find it. May I say this? The duty that faces us all now is to serve one another, and no man can afford to make a fortune out of this war. There are men among us who have forgotten that, if they ever saw it. Some of you are old enough—I am old enough—to remember men who made fortunes out of the civil war, and you know how they were regarded by their fellow-citizens. That was a war to save one country—this is a war to save the world. And your relation to the Red Cross is one of the relations which will relieve you of the stigma. You can't give anything to the Government of the United States; it won't accept it. There is a law of Congress against accepting even services without pay. The only thing that the Government will accept is a loan, and duties performed; but it is a great deal better to give than to lend or to pay, and your great channel for giving is the American Red Cross.

Down in your hearts you can't take very much satisfaction in the last analysis in lending money to the Government of the United States, because the interest which you draw will burn your pockets, it is a commercial transaction, and some men have even dared to cavil at the rate of interest, not knowing the incidental commentary that constitutes upon their attitude.

But when you give, something of your heart, something of your soul, something of yourself goes with the gift, particularly when it is given in such form that it never can come back by way of direct benefit to yourself. You know there is the old cynical definition of gratitude as "the lively expectation of favors to come." Well, there is no expectation of favors to come in this kind of giving. These things are bestowed in order that the world may be a fitter place to live in, that men may be succored, that homes may be restored, that suffering may be relieved, that the face of the earth may have the blight of destruction taken away from it, and that wherever force goes there shall go mercy and helpfulness.

And when you give, give absolutely all that you can spare, and don't consider yourself liberal in the giving. If you give with self-adulation, you are not giving at all, you are giving to your own vanity; but if you give until it hurts, then your heartblood goes with it.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

And think what we have here! We call it the American Red Cross, but it is merely a branch of a great international organization, which is not only recognized by the statutes of each of the civilized Governments of the world, but it is recognized by international agreement and treaty, as the recognized and accepted instrumentality of mercy and succor. And one of the deepest stains that rests upon the reputation of the German Army is that they have not respected the Red Cross.

That goes to the root of the matter. They have not respected the instrumentality they themselves participated in setting up as the thing which no man was to touch, because it was the expression of common humanity. We are members, by being members of the American Red Cross, of a great fraternity and comradeship which extends all over the world, and this cross which these ladies bore today is an emblem of Christianity itself.

It fills my imagination, ladies and gentlemen, to think of the women all over this country who are busy tonight and are busy every night and every day doing the work of the Red Cross, busy with a great eagerness to find out the most serviceable thing to do, busy with a forgetfulness of all the old frivolities of their social relationships, ready to curtail the duties of the household in order that they may contribute to this common work that all their hearts are engaged in, and in doing which their hearts become acquainted with each other.

When you think of this, you realize how the people of the United States are being drawn together into a great intimate family whose heart is being used for the service of the soldiers not only, but for the service of civilians, where they suffer and are lost in a maze of distresses and distractions. And you have, then, this noble picture of justice and mercy as the two servants of liberty. For only where men are free do they think the

thoughts of comradeship; only where they are free do they think the thoughts of sympathy; only where they are free are they mutually helpful; only where they are free do they realize their dependence upon one another and their comradeship in a common interest and common necessity.

MAKING THE WORLD DEMOCRATIC

I heard a story told the other day that was ridiculous, but it is worth repeating, because it contains the germ of truth. An Indian was enlisted in the army. He returned to the reservation on a furlough. He was asked what he thought of it. He said: "No much good; too much salute; not much shoot." Then he was asked: "Are you going back?" "Yes." "Well, do you know what you are fighting for?" "Yes, me know; fight to make whole damn world Democratic Party." He had evidently misunderstood some innocent sentence of my own.

But, after all, although there is no party purpose in it, he got it right as far as the word "party"—to make the whole world democratic in the sense of community of interest and of purpose; and if you ladies and gentlemen could read some of the touching dispatches which come through official channels, for even through those channels there come voices of humanity that are infinitely pathetic; if you could catch some of those voices that speak the utter longing of oppressed and helpless peoples all over the world, to hear something like the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," to hear the feet of the great hosts of liberty going to set them free, to set their minds free, set their lives free, set their children free, you would know what comes into the heart of those who are trying to contribute all the brains and power they have to this great enterprise of liberty.

I summon you to the comradeship. I summon you in this next week to say how much and how sincerely and how unanimously you sustain the heart of the world.

Address on Revenue Legislation

[Delivered Before Congress May 27, 1918, by President Wilson]

It is with unaffected reluctance that I come to ask you to prolong your session long enough to provide more adequate resources for the Treasury for the conduct of the war. I have reason to appreciate as fully as you do how arduous the session has been. Your labors have been severe and protracted. You have passed a long series of measures which required the debate of many doubtful questions of judgment and many exceedingly difficult questions of principle, as well as of practice. The Summer is upon us, in which labor and counsel are twice arduous and are constantly apt to be impaired by lassitude and fatigue. The elections are at hand, and we ought as soon as possible to go and render an intimate account of our trusteeship to the people who delegated us to act for them in the weighty and anxious matters that crowd upon us in these days of critical choice and action. But we dare not go to the elections until we have done our duty to the full. These are days when duty stands stark and naked, and even with closed eyes we know it is there. Excuses are unavailing. We have either done our duty or we have not. The fact will be as gross and plain as the duty itself. In such a case lassitude and fatigue seem negligible enough. The facts are tonic and suffice to freshen the labor.

And the facts are these: Additional revenues must manifestly be provided for. It would be a most unsound policy to raise too large a proportion of them by loan, and it is evident that the $4,000,000,000 now provided for by taxation will not of themselves sustain the greatly enlarged budget to which we must immediately look forward. We cannot in fairness wait until the end of the fiscal year is at hand to apprise our people of the taxes they must pay on their earnings of the present calendar year, whose accountings and expenditures will then be closed. We cannot get increased taxes unless the country knows what they are to be and practices the necessary economy to make them available. Definiteness, early definiteness, as to what its tasks are to be is absolutely necessary for the successful administration of the Treasury. It cannot frame fair and workable regulations in haste; and it must frame its regulations in haste if it is not to know its exact task until the very eve of its performance. The present tax laws are marred, moreover, by inequities which ought to be remedied. Indisputable facts, every one; and we cannot alter or blink them. To state them is argument enough.

WAR PROFITS AND LUXURIES

And yet, perhaps, you will permit me to dwell for a moment upon the situation they disclose. Enormous loans freely spent in the stimulation of industry of almost every sort produce inflations and extravagances which presently make the whole economic structure questionable and insecure, and the very basis of credit is cut away. Only fair, equitably distributed taxation of the widest incidents and drawing chiefly from the sources which would be likely to demoralize credit by their very abundance can prevent inflation and keep our industrial system free of speculation and waste. We shall naturally turn, therefore, I suppose, to war profits and incomes and luxuries for the additional taxes. But the war profits and incomes upon which the increased taxes will be levied will be the profits and incomes of the calendar year 1918.

It would be manifestly unfair to wait until the early months of 1919 to say what they are to be. It might be difficult, I should imagine, to run the mill with water that had already gone over the wheel.

Moreover, taxes of that sort will not be paid until June of next year, and the Treasury must anticipate them. It must use the money they are to produce before it is due. It must sell short-time certificates of indebtedness. In the Autumn a much larger sale of long-time bonds must be effected than has yet been attempted. What are the bankers to think of the certificates if they do not certainly know where the money is to come from which is to take them up? and how are investors to approach the purchase of bonds with any sort of confidence or knowledge of their own affairs if they do not know what taxes they are to pay and what economies and adjustments of their business they must effect? I cannot assure the country of a successful administration of the Treasury in 1918 if the question of further taxation is to be left undecided until 1919.

The consideration that dominates every other now, and makes every other seem trivial and negligible, is the winning of the war. We are not only in the midst of the war, we are at the very peak and crisis of it. Hundreds of thousands of our men, carrying our hearts with them and our fortunes, are in the field, and ships are crowding faster and faster to the ports of France and England with regiment after regiment, thousand after thousand, to join them until the enemy shall be beaten and brought to a reckoning with mankind. There can be no pause or intermission. The great enterprise must, on the contrary, be pushed with greater and greater energy. The volume of our might must steadily and rapidly be augmented until there can be no question of resisting it. If that is to be accomplished, gentlemen, money must sustain it to the utmost. Our financial program must no more be left in doubt or suffered to lag than our ordnance program or our ship program or our munition program or our program for making millions of men ready. These others are not programs, indeed, but mere plans upon paper, unless there is to be an unquestionable supply of money.

A TAX ON PROFITEERING

That is the situation, and it is the situation which creates the duty; no choice or preference of ours. There is only one way to meet that duty. We must meet it without selfishness or fear of consequences. Politics is adjourned. The elections will go to those who thing least of it; to those who go to the constituencies without explanations or excuses, with a plain record of duty faithfully and disinterestedly performed. I for one, am always confident that the people of this country will give a just verdict upon the service of the men who act for them when the facts are such that no man can disguise or conceal them. There is no danger of deceit now. An intense and pitiless light beats upon every man and every action in this tragic plot of war that is now upon the stage. If lobbyists hurry to Washington to attempt to turn what you do in the matter of taxation to their protection or advantage, the light will beat also upon them. There is abundant fuel for the light in the records of the Treasury with regard to profits of every sort. The profiteering that cannot be got at by the restraints of conscience and love of country can be got at by taxation. There is such profiteering now, and the information with regard to it is available and indisputable.

I am advising you to act upon this matter of taxation now, gentlemen, not because I do not know that you can see and interpret the facts and the duty they impose just as well and with as clear a perception of the obligation involved as I can, but because there is a certain solemn satisfaction in sharing with you the responsibilities of such a time. The world never stood in such a case before. Men never before had so clear and so moving a vision of duty. I know that you will begrudge the work to be done here by us no more than the men begrudge us theirs who lie in the trenches and sally forth to their death. There is a stimulating comradeship knitting us all together. And this task to which I invite your immediate consideration will be performed under favorable influences, if we will look to what the country is thinking and expecting and care nothing at all for what is being said and believed in the lobbies of Washington hotels, where the atmosphere seems to make it possible to believe what is believed nowhere else.

SPIRIT OF THE NATION

Have you not felt the spirit of the nation rise and its thought become a single and common thought since these eventful days came in which we have been sending our boys to the other side? I think you must read that thought, as I do, to mean this, that the people of this country are not only united in the resolute purpose to win this war, but are ready and willing to bear any burden and undergo any sacrifice that it may be necessary for them to bear in order to win it. We need not be afraid to tax them, if we lay taxes justly. They know that the war must be paid for, that it is they who must pay for it, and, if the burden is justly distributed and the sacrifice made a common sacrifice from which none escapes who can bear it at all, they will carry it cheerfully and with a sort of solemn pride. I have always been proud to be an American, and was never more proud than now, when all that we have said and all that we have foreseen about our people is coming true. The great days have come when the only thing that they ask for or admire is duty, greatly and adequately done; when their only wish for

America is that she may share the freedom she enjoys, when a great, compelling sympathy wells up in their hearts for men everywhere who suffer and are oppressed, and when they see at last the high uses for which their wealth has been piled up and their mighty power accumulated, and, counting neither blood nor treasure, now that their final day of opportunity has come, rejoice to spend and to be spent through a long night of suffering and terror in order that they and men everywhere may see the dawn of a day of righteousness and justice and peace. Shall we grow weary when they bid us act?

The President's Appeal for Economy

Secretary McAdoo, realizing that to carry the war through to a successful issue may test this nation's resources to the extreme limit of endurance and self-denial, inaugurated a campaign in the middle of May, 1918, for fuller conservation of food, fuel, labor, and money. In support of this campaign President Wilson issued the following signed letter on May 29:

This war is one of nations—not of armies—and all of our 100,000,000 people must be economically and industrially adjusted to war conditions if this nation is to play its full part in the conflict. The problem before us is not primarily a financial problem, but rather a problem of increased production of war essentials, and the saving of the materials and the labor necessary for the support and equipment of our army and our navy. Thoughtless expenditure of money for nonessentials uses up the labor of men, the products of the farm, mines, and factories, and overburdens transportation, all of which must be used to the utmost and at their best for war purposes.

The great results which we seek can be obtained only by the participation of every member of the nation, young and old, in a national concerted thrift movement. I therefore urge that our people everywhere pledge themselves, as suggested by the Secretary of the Treasury, to the practice of thrift; to serve the Government to their utmost in increasing production in all fields necessary to the winning of the war; to conserve food and fuel and useful materials of every kind; to devote their labor only to the most necessary tasks; and to buy only those things which are essential to individual health and efficiency; and that the people, as evidence of their loyalty, invest all that they can save in Liberty bonds and war savings stamps.

The securities issued by the Treasury Department are so many of them within the reach of every one that the door of opportunity in this matter is wide open to all of us. To practice thrift in peace times is a virtue and brings great benefit to the individual at all times; with the desperate need of the civilized world today for materials and labor with which to end the war, the practice of individual thrift is a patriotic duty and a necessity.

I appeal to all who now own either Liberty bonds or war savings stamps to continue to practice economy and thrift and to appeal to all who do not own Government securities to do likewise and purchase them to the extent of their means. The man who buys Government securities transfers the purchasing power of his money to the United States Government until after this war, and to that same degree does not buy in competition with the Government.

I earnestly appeal to every man, woman, and child to pledge themselves on or before the 28th of June to save constantly and to buy as regularly as possible the securities of the Government; and to do this, so far as possible, through membership in war savings societies. The 28th of June ends this special period of enlistment in the great volunteer army of production and saving here at home. May there be none unenlisted on that day!

WOODROW WILSON.

Memorial Day Proclamation, 1918

Following is the proclamation issued by the President of the United States for Decoration Day observance, May 30, 1918:

Whereas, The Congress of the United States on the second day of April last passed the following resolution:

Resolved, by the Senate, (the House of Representatives concurring,) That, it being a duty peculiarly incumbent in a time of war humbly and devoutly to acknowledge our dependence on Almighty God and to implore His aid and protection, the President of the United States be, and is hereby, respectfully requested to recommend a day of public humiliation, prayer, and fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnity and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of our cause, His blessings on our arms, and a speedy restoration of

an honorable and lasting peace to the nations of the earth; and,

Whereas, It has always been the reverent habit of the people of the United States to turn in humble appeal to Almighty God for His guidance in the affairs of their common life;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Thursday, the 30th day of May, a day already freighted with sacred and stimulating memories, a day of public humiliation, prayer and fasting, and do exhort my fellow-citizens of all faiths and creeds to assemble on that day in their several places of worship and there, as well as in their homes, to pray Almighty God that He may forgive our sins and shortcomings as a people and purify our hearts to see and love the truth, to accept and defend all things that are just and right, and to purpose only those righteous acts and judgments which are in conformity with His will; beseeching Him that He will give victory for our armies as they fight for freedom, wisdom to those who take counsel on our behalf in these days of dark struggle and perplexity and steadfastness to our people to make sacrifice to the utmost in support of what is just and true, bringing us at last the peace in which men's hearts can be at rest because it is founded upon mercy, justice, and good-will.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia, this eleventh day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighteen, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-second.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

Mexico and the United States

The President's Pledge

PRESIDENT WILSON delivered the following important speech to a delegation of Mexican editors at the White House June 7, 1918:

I have never received a group of men who were more welcome than you are because it has been one of my distresses during the period of my Presidency that the Mexican people did not more thoroughly understand the attitude of the United States toward Mexico. I think I can assure you, and I hope you have had every evidence of the truth of my assurance, that that attitude is one of sincere friendship—not merely the sort of friendship which prompts one not to do his neighbor any harm, but the sort of friendship which earnestly desires to do his neighbor service.

My own policy and the policy of my own Administration toward Mexico was at every point based upon this principle; that the internal settlement of the affairs of Mexico was none of our business; that we had no right to interfere with or dictate to Mexico in any particular with regard to her own affairs.

Take one aspect of our relations which at one time may have been difficult for you to understand. When we sent our troops into Mexico our sincere desire was nothing else than to assist you to get rid of the man who was making the settlement of your affairs for the time being impossible. We had no desire to use our troops for any other purpose, and I was in hopes that by assisting in that way and thereupon immediately withdrawing the troops I might give you substantial proof of the truth of the assurances that I had given your Government through President Carranza.

GERMAN INTRIGUES

And at the present time it distresses me to learn that certain influences, which I assume to be German in their origin, are trying not only to make a wrong impression, but to give an absolutely untrue account of the things that happen.

You know distressing things have been happening just off our coast; you know of vessels that have been sunk. I yesterday received a quotation from a paper in Guadalajara which stated that thirteen of our battleships had been sunk off the Capes of Chesapeake.

You see how dreadful it is to have the people so radically misinformed. It was added that our Navy Department was withholding the facts with regard to these sinkings. I

An American patrol under a French officer in the trenches in France. Some of the rifles are equipped for firing grenades

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Pont-à-Mousson, in the Toul sector, showing the Church of St. Laurent. The transparent fabric hung across the street is for the purpose of misleading enemy aerial observers

(French Pictorial Service)

have no doubt that the publisher of the paper printed this in perfect innocence and without intending to convey a wrong impression, but it is evident that allegations of that sort proceed from those who wish to make trouble between Mexico and the United States.

Now, gentlemen, for the time being at any rate, and I hope that it will not be a short time, the influence of the United States is somewhat pervasive in the affairs of the world, and I believe it is pervasive because those nations of the world which are less powerful than some of the greatest nations are coming to believe that our sincere desire is to do disinterested service.

We are the champions of those nations which have not had the military standing which would enable them to compete with the strongest nations in the world, and I look forward with pride to the time which I hope will come when we can give substantial evidence not only that we do not want anything out of this war, but that we would not accept anything out of this war; that it is absolutely a case of disinterested action.

And if you will watch the attitude of our people you will see that nothing stirs them so deeply as the assurances that this war, so far as we are concerned, is for idealistic objects. One of the difficulties that I experienced during the first three years of the war, the years when the United States was not in the war, was in getting the Foreign Offices of the European nations to believe that the United States was seeking nothing for herself, that her neutrality was not selfish, and that if she came in she would not come in to get anything substantial out of the war—any material object, any territory or trade or anything else of that sort.

In some Foreign Offices there were men who personally know me and they believed, I hope, that I was sincere in assuring them that our purposes were disinterested; but they thought that these assurances came from the academic gentleman removed from the ordinary sources of information and speaking the idealistic purposes of a cloister. They did not believe I was speaking the real heart of the American people, and I knew all along that I was. Now I believe every one who comes in contact with American people knows that I am speaking their purposes.

READY TO HELP RUSSIA

The other night in New York at the opening of the campaign for funds for our Red Cross I made an address. I had not intended to refer to Russia, but was speaking without notes, and in the course of what I said my own thought was led to Russia, and I said that we meant to stand by Russia just as firmly as we would stand by France or England or any other of our allies.

The audience to which I was speaking was not an audience from which I would have expected an enthusiastic response to that. It was rather too well dressed. It was an audience, in other words, made up of a class of people who would not have the most intimate feeling for the sufferings of the ordinary man in Russia; but that audience jumped to its feet in enthusiasm. Nothing else that I said on that occasion aroused anything like the enthusiasm that single sentence aroused.

Now that is a sample, gentlemen. We cannot make anything out of Russia. We cannot make anything out of our standing by Russia at this time—the remotest of European nations so far as we are concerned, the one with which we have had the least connections in trade and advantage—and yet the people of the United States rose to that suggestion as to no other that I made in that address.

That is part of America as we are ready to show it by any act of friendship toward Mexico. Some of us, if I may speak so privately, look back with regret upon some of the more ancient relations that we have had with Mexico long before our generation; and America, if I may now so accept it, would now feel ashamed to take advantage of her neighbor.

NO SELFISH AGGRESSION

So I hope you can carry back to your homes something better than assurances and words. You have had contact with our people. You know of your own personal reception. You know how gladly we have opened to you the doors of every establishment that you wanted to see and have shown you just what we are doing, and I hope you have gained the right impression as to why we are doing it. We are doing it, gentlemen, so that the world may never hereafter have to fear the only thing that any nation has to dread—the unjust and selfish aggression of another nation.

Some time ago, as you probably all know, I proposed a sort of Pan-American agreement. I had perceived that one difficulty in our past relations with Latin America was this: The famous Monroe Doctrine was adopted without your consent and without the consent of any Central American or South American States. If I may adopt a term that we so often use in this country, we said: "We are going to be your big brother whether you want us to be or not."

We did not ask whether it was agreeable to you that we should be your big brother. We said we are going to be. Now, that was all very well as far as protecting you from aggression from the other side of the water, but there was nothing in it that protected you from aggression from us, and I have repeatedly seen an uneasy feeling on the part of representatives of States of Central and South America that our self-appointed protection might be for our own benefit and our own interest and not for the interest of our neighbors. So I have said:

"Very well, let us make an arrangement by which we will give bonds. Let us have a common guarantee that all of us will sign a declaration of political independence and ter-

ritorial integrity. Let us agree that if any one of us, the United States included, violates the political independence or territorial integrity of any of the others, all others will jump on her."

I pointed out to some gentlemen who were less inclined to enter into this arrangement than others that that was, in effect, giving bonds on the part of the United States that we would enter into an arrangement by which you would be protected from us.

PEACE BY MUTUAL TRUST

Now, that is the kind of agreement that will have to be the foundation of the future life of the nations of the world, gentlemen. The whole family of nations will have to guarantee to each nation that no nation shall violate its political independence or its territorial integrity. That is the basis—the only conceivable basis—for the future peace of the world, and I must admit that I was anxious to have the States of the two Continents of America show the way to the rest of the world as to how to make a basis of peace.

Peace can only come by trust. If you can once get a situation of trust then you have got a situation of permanent peace. Therefore, every one of us, it seems to me, owes it as a patriotic duty to his own country to plant the seeds of trust and confidence instead of seeds of suspicion.

That is the reason I began by saying to you that I had not had the pleasure of meeting a group of men who are more welcome than you are, because you are our near neighbors. Suspicion on your part, or misunderstanding on your part, distresses us more than we would be distressed by similar feelings on the part of those less near to us.

It is you who can see how Mexico's future must depend upon peace and honor, so that nobody shall exploit her. It must depend upon every nation that has any relation with her and the citizens of any nation that has any relations with her keeping within the bounds of honor and fair dealing and justice, because so soon as you can admit your own capital and the capital of the world to the free use of the resources of Mexico it will be one of the most wonderfully rich and prosperous countries in the world.

And when you have foundations of established order and the world has come to its senses again we shall, I hope, continue in connections that will assure us all permanent cordiality and friendship.

In Flanders Fields

By Lieut. Col. JOHN D. McCRAE

[Written during the second battle of Ypres, April, 1915. The author, Dr. John McCrae of Montreal, Canada, was killed on duty in Flanders, Jan. 28, 1918.]

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly,
Scarce heard amidst the guns below.
We are the dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow.
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe!
To you from falling hands, we throw
The torch. Be yours to hold it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

America's Answer

By R. W. LILLARD

[Written after the death of Lieut. Col. McCrae, author of "In Flanders Fields," and printed in The New York Evening Post.]

Rest ye in peace, ye Flanders dead.
The fight that ye so bravely led
We've taken up. And we will keep
True faith with you who lie asleep
With each a cross to mark his bed,
And poppies blowing overhead,
Where once his own life blood ran red.
So let your rest be sweet and deep
In Flanders fields.

Fear not that ye have died for naught.
The torch ye threw to us we caught.
Ten million hands will hold it high,
And Freedom's light shall never die!
We've learned the lesson that ye taught
In Flanders fields.

Secretary Lansing on War Themes

Why the United States Is at War

ROBERT LANSING, Secretary of State of the United States, delivered an address in New York on May 23, 1918, in honor of the third anniversary of Italy's entrance into the war. He said in part:

Oh, you of the blood of a people who have given so much to civilization, no greater task has ever fallen upon you, no greater duty has ever been the lot of the Italian race, than that which is yours today. You are called forth to defend the land which is enshrined in the hearts of the world as the cradle of justice and liberty. Fail you cannot, fail you must not, fail you will not in such a cause and such a crisis.

This is no time to measure the price which must be paid in blood and treasure. No price is too large, no sacrifice too great for the protection of your sacred heritage from the invaders.

Today, America, youngest of the great powers of the earth, is proud to cross the seas and to stand side by side with the most ancient power of Europe in upholding the standard of democracy, and to unite in proclaiming to the nations tortured by war that peace must be won and will be won by the might of liberty-loving men, a glorious peace which will endure throughout the ages because it is written in the book of destiny that freedom will rise triumphant from the ashes of this desolated world.

To gallant Italy, to our loyal associate and friend, we of America extend greetings on this day of reconsecration to a noble cause, on this day when the Italian people renew their solemn pledge to resist to the uttermost the accursed ambitions of the military rulers of Germany and Austria.

Italy's decision was the decision of a people who preferred the horrors of war to dishonor, who preferred to die rather than to be enslaved by Prussian masters or by Prussia's vassals. It breathed anew the valor of Rome.

United with you of the Latin race are we who could desire no prouder title than "the Romans of the West." A citizen of this young Republic could crave no higher public virtue nor covet a more devoted patriotism than that which inspired a dweller on the Seven Hills in the brave days of the old Roman Republic.

My friends of America and of Italy, we will win this war. It may be on the wasted fields of Flanders and Picardy; it may be in the valley of the Piave and amid the snow-crowned peaks of the Alps; or it may be on German lands beyond the Rhine. Somewhere and somehow and some time we will win. It cannot be otherwise, for we fight for justice, for liberty, and for humanity.

AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Secretary Lansing delivered another address in New York on June 5 at the commencement exercises of Columbia University. In accepting an honorary degree from that institution he said:

Today this Republic stands with the democracies of the earth arrayed in battle against the most relentless enemy of human liberty which the ages have produced. To save this country of ours and to save the civilized world from Prussianism has become the supreme duty of the American people and of all other peoples who love justice and freedom.

In this titanic struggle we are joined not only with France, our historic ally, but also with Great Britain, our ancient foe. On the blood-stained fields of France we three, together with Italy, Belgium, and Portugal, are standing shoulder to shoulder against the plunderers. Our traditional friendship for France, which can never be forgotten, and our traditional enmity for Great Britain, which is forgotten, are swallowed up in this supreme crisis of liberty, our common heritage. The grave perils to our lives as nations unite us with bonds of steel as our armies face the foe of all mankind.

I am proud that in these terrible days we are associated with the tenacious warriors of Britain; I am proud that with our blood we can on French soil prove the affection which we cherish for the French people; I am proud that Italy, superb in her determined resistance, is our partner in this conflict, and that the indomitable spirit of the Belgians and Serbs is a living inspiration to gallant deeds and noble sacrifice. I am proud, as I know every American is proud, to be thus united with the nations which hate Prussianism and loathe the evil desires which it engenders in the hearts of men.

Prussianism has appealed to the sword, and by the sword Prussianism must fall. It is the divine law of retribution which we as the instruments of justice must enforce so that the world may be forever rid of this abomination. * * *

Let us understand that a Prussian-made peace would not be the end; that it would only postpone the final struggle. Now that this war has come upon us we must carry it through to a decision. We must not transmit to future generations the germs of militarism. From the spirit of despotism, which has caused this awful tragedy, this war must free the world. We have suffered enough. The nations must never endure such black days of agony as those in which we are living.

It is the supreme task of civilization to put an end to Prussianism. To listen to proposals for a Prussian peace, to compromise with the butchers of individuals and of nations so that they would by agreement gain a benefit from their crimes would be to compound an international felony, which this Republic will never do.

Force is the one way to end Prussianism, for it is the only thing which the Prussian respects. This war for democracy must be waged to a successful conclusion to make liberty and justice supreme on the earth. It will be a bitter struggle, with lights and shadows, for the foe is strong and stubborn; but in the end we shall triumph, for we must triumph or abandon all that is worth while in this world. May every American so live and so serve that when the day of victory over the Prussians dawns, as it will dawn, he may, by right of faithful service, share in the glory.

To that bright hour let us look forward with confidence, for the Supreme Ruler of the Universe could not decree otherwise. He has imposed upon us and our brave comrades in arms the task of freeing mankind from the curse of avarice and inhumanity which besets us. He has put upon us the burden of making this world a fit dwelling place for civilized men. Let us not shrink from the task or seek to avoid the burden. Convinced of the righteousness of our cause and of our destiny let us make war with all our energy. Let us keep our banners unfurled and our trumpets sounding to battle until victory is achieved.

Prussia wickedly sought war and Prussia shall have war and more war and more war until the very thought of war is abhorrent to the Prussian mind. So I read the spirit of America. So I read the supreme purpose of the Allies. Victory lies before us and beyond victory a just and enduring peace. Until that peace is sure America cannot and will not put aside the sword.

ITALIAN AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH

Count Mocchi di Cellere, the Italian Ambassador to the United States, in his address at the Italian anniversary celebration, said:

Literally speaking, this is the third anniversary of Italy's formal entry into the war. But perhaps I need not remind you, gentlemen, that our struggle against the enemy goes back to the time when, some twenty centuries ago, on those selfsame fields and mountains that are now a part of our common allied front, the Roman eagle was already waging that fight against the barbarians in which the American eagle has more recently joined us.

The struggle of today is to us Italians the rounding-out of a tremendous cycle of world history, in which, alone of all civilized nations, Italy was in at the beginning and is in at the finish. Since the time when Roman law laid the foundations for the international intercourse of the world, the struggle has gone on against Teutonic brutality. We are in it as a nation with all the traditions and survivals of centuries, with all the memories of the race, with all the influences of obscure ancestral heredities.

One verse of our national hymn reminds us that no Teuton stick ever curbed Italy, and that the children of Rome do not bow their necks to a yoke. That was the blunder of the enemy—he did not realize that to a liberty-loving people the spirit of freedom is like the breathing of pure air, an essential of life. Sometimes a man does not know how essential it is until some one tries to take it from him. Then he must die or revolt. Italy revolted. * * *

Whatever the enemy may have to say or may desire others to believe about it, Italy is not in this war for any base and selfish motives of conquest, imperial or unlawful territorial aggrandizement. While in fact fighting for the liberation of mankind threatened with oppression and slavery, Italy is aiming at the liberation of her oppressed sons within and beyond the boundary imposed upon her by an iniquitous treaty.

For the freedom of our country we need security on land and sea; a security which nature herself had assured us with well defined geographic boundaries and which the violence of oppressive and barbarous nations has too long stolen from us. Now we see our duty clear; and faithful to our duty, we will not lay down our arms until the freedom of mankind, which implies the freedom of our oppressed brothers, and the security of our land, is attained.

Secretary Lansing delivered the chief address at the commencement exercises of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., June 10. He said in part:

It is hardly open to debate, in the light of

subsequent events, that the philosophical and political ideas which have been taught for years from the university platforms, from the pulpits, and through the printed word to young and old in Germany, excited in them an insolent pride of blood and infused into their national being an all-absorbing ambition to prove themselves supermen chosen by natural superiority and by Divine mandate to be rulers of the earth. Not only in Germany, but among those of German descent in other lands, has this pernicious belief spread, linking Germans everywhere to the Fatherland in the hope that they would be considered worthy to share in the future glory of the masters of the world. * * *

A decade before the war Reiner, inspired with the imperialism of Prussia, announced: "It is precisely our craving for expansion which drives us into the paths of conquest, in view of which all chatter about peace and humanity can and must remain nothing but chatter."

Not less ominous to liberty are the words of Professor Meinecke: "We want to become a world people. Let us remind ourselves that the belief in our mission as a world people has arisen from our originally purely spiritual impulse to absorb the world into ourselves."

Observe that extraordinary phrase, "to absorb the world into ourselves." To conceive such a national destiny is to resurrect the dead ambitions of an Alexander or a Caesar; to teach it as a right to young men is to sow in their minds an egotism which breeds distorted conceptions of individual honor and justice, and gives to them an utterly false standard of national life.

Not alone from the lecturer and the essayist came this idea that the Germans are a superior race set apart to rule the world. It was preached in the pulpits as a Divine truth by those who even had the effrontery to support their assertions by references to the Holy Scriptures. Listen to some of the thoughts proclaimed by ordained ministers of Christ to their German congregations:

"It may sound proud, my friends, but we are conscious that it is also in all humbleness that we say it; the German soul is God's soul; it shall and will rule over mankind."

May we be spared the consequences of a German "humbleness" which fairly struts and swaggers, and which finds further expression in the words of another Doctor of Divinity when he declares: "Verily the Bible is our book. It was given and assigned to us, and in it we read the original text of our destiny, which proclaims to mankind salvation or disaster as we will it."

"As we will it!" There in four words is the whole story of the Prussian doctrine of the "superman," of a "place in the sun."

Paganism, tinctured with modern materialism and a degenerate type of Christianity, broods today over Germany. Christian ministers have proclaimed Jehovah to be the national deity of the empire, a monopolized German God, who relies on the physical might of His people to destroy those who oppose His will as that will is interpreted by His chosen race. Thus the Prussian leaders would harmonize modern thought with their ancient religion of physical strength through brutalizing Christianity.

In view of the spirit of hypocrisy and bad faith manifesting an entire lack of conscience, we ought not to be astonished that the Berlin Foreign Office never permitted a promise or a treaty engagement to stand in the way of a course of action which the German Government deemed expedient. I need not cite as proof of this fact the flagrant violations of the treaty neutralizing Belgium and the recent treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This discreditable characteristic of the German foreign policy was accepted by German diplomats as a matter of course and as a natural if not a praiseworthy method of dealing with other Governments.

Frederick the Great, with cynical frankness, once said: "If there is anything to be gained by it, we will be honest. If deception is necessary, let us be cheats." That is in brief the immoral principle which has controlled the foreign relations of Prussia for over 150 years.

It is a fact not generally known that within six weeks after the Imperial Government had, in the case of the Sussex, given to this Government its solemn promise that it would cease ruthless slaughter on the high seas, Count Bernstorff, appreciating the worthlessness of the promise, asked the Berlin Foreign Office to advise him in ample time before the campaign of submarine murder was renewed, in order that he might notify the German merchant ships in American ports to destroy their machinery because he anticipated that the renewal of that method of warfare would in all probability bring the United States into the war.

How well the Ambassador knew the character of his Government, and how perfectly frank he was! He asked for the information without apology or indirection. The very bluntness of his message shows that he was sure that his superiors would not take offense at the assumption that their word was valueless and had only been given to gain time, and that, when an increase of Germany's submarine fleet warranted, the promise

would be broken without hesitation or compunction. What a commentary on Bernstorff's estimate of the sense of honor and good faith of his own Government!

We must go on with the war. There is no other way. This task must not be left half done. We must not transmit to posterity a legacy of blood and misery. We may in this great conflict go down into the Valley of Shadows, because our foe is powerful and inured to war. We must be prepared to meet disappointment and temporary reverse, but we must, with American spirit, rise above them; with courageous hearts we must go forward until this war is won.

Premier Lloyd George Lauds Americans

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, the British Premier, speaking at the Printers' Pension Fund dinner in London, June 7, 1918, paid this tribute to the American soldiers in France:

I have only just returned from France, and met a French statesman who had been at the front shortly after a battle in which the Americans took part. He was full of admiration not merely of their superb valor but of the trained skill with which they attacked and defeated the foe.

His report of the conduct of the American troops, a division that had been in action for the first time, was one of the most encouraging things I have heard, because they are coming in steadily. There is a great flow, and we are depending upon them, and the fact that we know that when they appear in the battleline they will fight in a way which is worthy of the great traditions of their great country is in itself a source of support and sustenance and encouragement to all of those who with anxious hearts are watching the conflict which is going on in France.

The toast with which you have done me the honor to associate my name is "Success to the Allied Cause." If for any cause the Allies were not to succeed, it would be a sorry world to live in. Most times people are inclined to exaggerate events of the day, but there are occasions when generations of men underestimate the significance of events. You cannot exaggerate the importance or significance of the issues with which we are confronted today.

In the past you have had in the history of the world great struggles for domination of a certain civilization, a certain ideal or a certain religion, and the fate of the world and the destiny of man and the lives of untold millions for generations have been fashioned upon the triumph or failure of this cause. Take the time of Turkish military power in the past or the Saracens' attempt to trample down and overrun the civilization of the West. Nations were wiped out, great countries devastated. You had untold misery and wretchedness throughout vast tracts of territory for ages. At last that tide was stemmed. Supposing that had failed. What a difference it would have made for European civilization today!

At this hour there is a struggle with an ideal more material, more sordid, more brutal, than almost any other which has been sought to be imposed upon Europe—the Prussian military ideal, with its contempt for liberty, its contempt for human right, its contempt for humanity. If they were to succeed today, you would fling back human civilization into the dark dungeons of the past.

The crisis is not past, but with a stout heart we shall win through, and then woe to the plague. In the interests of civilization, in the interests of the human race, it must be stamped out. You cannot allow it to come again to darken the lives of millions, and to desolate millions of homes. That is what we are fighting for.

This is a country which has faced a great crisis in the past. We hear about Ludendorff's hammer blows. Hammer blows crack and crumble poor material. Hammer blows harden and consolidate good metal. There is good metal in British hearts. It has stood the test of centuries. It will stand this. So will that gallant little people, that gallant great people across the Channel who are fighting for their liberties, for the honor of their native land, fighting without flinching. I have seen them. I never saw signs of wavering in any French face. They are full of courage, full of determination to fight through to the end, and it is a united France more than ever. So it is a united Britain. Unity and resolution are two qualities we need. We have sunk our political differences. We have bigger things to think about. I am not despising the political controversies of the past. In some form or another they will come again. These controversies are the very essence of freedom, but for the moment we have one purpose.

Let us be one people, one in aim, one in courage, one in the resolve never to give in. Let Britain stand like a breakwater against the torrent, and, God willing, we will break it in two.

Clemenceau's Defiance of Obstructors

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU of France received a vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies on June 6, 1918, by a vote of 377 to 110. An attempt was made by the militant Socialists to embarrass the Government by demanding information of military matters which it was deemed inexpedient to reveal. In his victorious speech defying his critics he said:

The collapse of Russia enabled the enemy to set free an army of a million men to add to his forces on our front. Anybody can understand that under such enormous weight our line must give way at some points. Some of our men have fought one against five without sleeping for three or four days. The losses of our allies, the British, in the heroic struggle have been more than we could have believed possible.

The situation has become dangerous for our armies, but in all this I see nothing to diminish our confidence in our troops. As to the Government, it will continue to make war stubbornly and obstinately. We will never capitulate. If you are not satisfied with our work, turn us out. It is for you to decide.

The only thing that matters is final success. Our effectives are lessening in number, but so are those of Germany, while the Americans are coming in larger and larger numbers to take part in the final victory. * * *

Down there all that the heroes can do is to die, but you by your firm and resolute attitude can give them what they deserve—victory. You have before you a Government which told you the very first day that it did not enter into power to negotiate without victory. As long as we are here the fatherland will be defended at all costs, and no force will be spared to obtain success.

We have allies who represent the greatest nations in the world, that have decided to go on until success is certain, success which is near. The Americans are arriving for the final blow.

The Living Line

By HAROLD BEGBIE

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

As long as faith and freedom last,
And earth goes round the sun,
This stands—the British line held fast
And so the fight was won.

The greatest fight that ever yet
Brought all the world to dearth;
A fight of two great nations set
To battle for the earth.

* * *

That bleeding line, that falling fence,
That stubborn ebbing wave,
That string of suffering human sense,
Shuddered, but never gave.

A living line of human flesh,
It quivered like a brain;
Swarm after swarm came on afresh
And crashed, but crashed in vain.

* * *

The world shall tell how they stood fast,
And how the fight was won,
As long as faith and freedom last
And earth goes round the sun.

Brute Force Versus Humanity

By MAURICE MAETERLINCK

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE from Les Annales, Paris]

THE struggle of today is only a resumption of the conflict that has never ceased to redden the soil of Western Europe ever since its birth into history. The two chief episodes of this conflict, as everybody knows, are the invasion of Roman Gaul (including Northern Italy) by the Germans, and the conquest of Great Britain by the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans. Ignoring questions of race, which are complex, uncertain, and always debatable, one can, by viewing the subject from another point, see in the persistence and desperation of this war the conflict of two wills, either one of which succumbs for a moment only to rise again with more energy and determination.

On one side there is the will of earth, or of nature, which openly, in the human species, as in all others, favors physical and brutal force; on the other, the will of humanity, or at least of a part of humanity that is seeking to establish the reign of other energies more subtile and less animal. It is incontestable that brute force thus far has always triumphed. But it is equally certain that it has never triumphed save in appearance and for a brief moment. Gaul, invaded and overcome, quickly assimiliated the invaders, and England gradually transformed her conquerors. The instruments of the will of earth turned against it on the morrow of victory and armed the hand of the vanquished.

It is probable that, even today, if events followed the course prescribed by destiny, the same phenomenon would be reproduced. Germany, after having crushed and enslaved the greater part of Europe, throwing it back and overwhelming it with numberless evils, would herself end by turning against the will which she represents; and that will, which hitherto had found a docile instrument and a chosen accomplice in the German race, would be obliged to find these elsewhere, a task less easy than formerly.

But now, to the stupefaction of those who will some day examine this epoch dispassionately, behold, events are suddenly moving upward against the irresistible current, and, for the first time since man is in a position to observe it, brute force is meeting an unexpected and insurmountable resistance. If this resistance remains victorious to the end, there will, perhaps, never have been a change of course comparable to it in the history of man; it will mean a triumph over the will of earth, of nature, or of fate, a triumph infinitely more significant, more heavy with consequences, and perhaps more decisive, than all those which in other domains appear to have crowned our effort with more glory.

Let us be not at all astonished, then, that the resistance is enormous and prolonged beyond all that experience of war has taught us. Our prompt and easy defeat was written in the annals of destiny. We had against us all the force of aggression acquired since the origin of Europe. We have to reverse the wheel of history. We are on the point of succeeding; and if it is true that intelligent beings on the heights of other worlds are watching us, they are doubtless contemplating the most curious spectacle that our planet has offered them since they discovered it in the star dust scintillating around them in space. They must be saying to themselves, disconcerted, that age-long and fundamental laws are being unexpectedly transgressed.

Unexpectedly? That is too much to say. This transgression of an inferior law, no longer as high as man, has long been in process of preparation; but it came very near to being frightfully punished. Its success will be due only to the aid of a part of those who formerly swelled the great flood which today they are resisting with us, as if something in the history of the world or in the plans of destiny had been changed; or, rather, as if we had finally succeeded in chang-

ing something, and in bending laws to which we have hitherto been entirely subject.

But we need not think that after victory the struggle will be ended. The profound forces of earth (brute force) will not lay down their arms so soon, and the invisible war will go on for a long time under peace. If we do not take care, victory will be even more fatal than defeat. In fact, this defeat, like its predecessors, would have been only an adjourned victory. It would have worn out, scattered, absorbed, the adversary by dispersing his energies over the world, while our victory will bring us a double danger. It will leave our enemies in a fierce isolation, where, massed upon themselves, fenced in, purified by misfortune and misery, they will secretly strengthen their formidable virtues, while we, no longer held in check by their intolerable but salutary menace, may give free rein to defects and vices which, soon or late, will place us at their mercy. Before thinking of peace, therefore, it would be well to assure ourselves of the future and make it powerless to harm us. We cannot take too many precautions when going, as we are, against the manifest desire of the power that is carrying us.

This is why our effort is painful and meritorious. We are going, it cannot be too often repeated, against the law of force. Our adversaries are driven forward by a power that drives us back. They are advancing in the direction of nature, whereas we are swimming against the great current that flows around the globe. Earth has an idea that is no longer ours. She is convinced that man is an animal in all respects like other animals. She has not yet noticed that he has drawn away from the herd. She does not yet know that he has climbed her highest mountains. She has not yet heard of justice, of pity, of loyalty, of honor; she knows not what these are, or she confuses them with weakness, inefficiency, stupidity, and fear. She has held to the original certitudes that were indispensable in the beginnings of life. She is falling behind us, and the space between is growing rapidly. She thinks less swiftly and has not yet had the time to comprehend us. Besides, she does not count as we do, and the ages for her are less than our years. She is slow because she is almost eternal, while we are swift because we have not many hours before us. It is possible that her thought may some day rejoin ours; meanwhile, we have to defend our advance and prove to ourselves, as we are beginning to do, that it is permitted to be right against her will, that our advance is not fatal, and that it is possible to maintain it.

For it is beginning to be difficult to maintain that earth, or nature, or brute force, is always right, and that those who do not blindly follow its mandates are doomed to perish. We have learned to observe nature more attentively and have acquired the right to judge her. We have ascertained that, far from being infallible, she never ceases to deceive herself. She hesitates, she gropes. She does not know just what she wants. She begins with enormous blunders. She first peoples the world with fantastic and inchoate monsters, not one of which is stable, and they all disappear. Gradually, at the expense of the life which she creates, she acquires an experience which is the cruel fruit of innumerable sufferings inflicted with indifference. In the long run she grows wiser, learns moderation, corrects herself, retraces her steps, redresses her errors, and devotes to their reparation the best of her intelligence and of her forces. It is incontestable that she is perfecting her methods and that she is showing herself more able, more prudent, less given to excess, than in the beginning. It is none the less true that in all reigns, in all organisms, and even in our own bodies, the bad workmanship, the double uses, the inadvertencies, the things repented of, the absurdities, the useless complications, the sordid economies, and the senseless wastes continue.

There is no reason, therefore, to believe that our enemies have the truth on their side because nature's primal force is with them. Nature does not possess the truth any more than we do. She searches for it as we do, and does not find it any more easily. She does

not seem to know any more than we where she is going or whither she is being led by that which leads all things. We do not have to obey her without questioning, and there is no need to be disturbed or to despair if one is not of her opinion. We are not dealing with an infallible and immutable wisdom against which it would be madness to oppose one's thought. We are on the way to prove to her that she is in error, that the raison d'être of man is higher than that which she has provisionally assigned to him, that he has already surpassed her previsions, and that she is wrong to retard his march. Besides, she is full of good-will, knows how to recognize her faults on occasion, to avoid their disastrous consequences, and never stiffens herself in an inflexible and majestic self-esteem. We can convince her if we can persevere. It will take a great deal of time, for, I repeat, she is slow, but not at all obstinate. It will take a great deal of time, because it involves a very long future, a very great change of direction, and the most important victory for which man has ever hoped.

The Battle of Jutland

Debatable Phases of the Great Naval Conflict Reviewed by Eminent British Experts

By ADMIRAL SIR CYPRIAN BRIDGE, G. C. B.

In the May number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *appeared a general review of the battle of Jutland by Mr. Thomas G. Frothingham, with a footnote and diagrams by Professor Westcott of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. The article was brought to the attention of Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, one of the most noted naval experts of Great Britain, and was also sent to Mr. Arthur Pollen, an internationally recognized naval writer in England, both of whom contribute comments on the American writer's article. Since his review appeared Mr. Frothingham has joined the National Army of the United States as Captain.*—EDITOR.

THERE is only one thing certain in naval history, and that is that every great sea fight—as to the circumstances of which we have detailed information—has been criticised as indecisive and as not fought in the way which it should have been. Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, whose fairness and accuracy as a naval historian have been generally recognized, has said: "Every historian ought to feel "a sense of the most lively gratitude to-"ward Nelson; in his various encounters "he never left any possible room for dis-"pute as to which side had come out "first best." Unfortunately, this is going rather too far, for the merits of every one of Nelson's battles have been disputed, and his way of fighting each has been adversely criticised. This fate he shares with the great De Ruyter and with less important men. Rodney and Lord Howe, as commanders in general actions, were fiercely criticised. Lord Hawke did not receive the customary recognition of his services until seventeen years after the great battle of Quiberon Bay. Roosevelt tells us that: "In every one of De Ruyter's last six battles each side claimed the victory." If we had minute accounts of the talk that went on in the gardens and porches of ancient Athens we should, without doubt, learn that Salamis was far from being decisive and that, anyhow, it ought to have been fought in a different way. It is just as well to remember this whenever we are discussing a naval battle, whether of old date or recent. Land battles have not been treated in quite the same fashion. Their results have not been disputed so often, nor has the manner in which they were fought been so often adversely criticised.

Perhaps we may account for this difference in the treatment of conflicts on the two elements by noting the fact that naval historians and critics of naval operations have but rarely been men of naval experience, while the historians and critics of military operations have usually been soldiers. There has, of course, been some conflict of opinion as to the results of fighting on shore, as we can see on comparing the communiqués of the contending sides in the present war. Even after allowing for the unprecedented mendacity of the German authorities and the unprecedented gullibility of the German public there is still some sign of an honest difference of opinion. The difference is not due to lay or unprofessional ignorance.

As regards naval operations in war—indeed, as regards naval affairs in general—it has been shown times without number that it is impossible for any one without naval experience to take a comprehensive or accurate view of naval conditions. This is by no means to disparage what shoregoing writers have done in naval history or in the discussion of some subjects largely though not totally naval. As long as they record facts they do very valuable work. It is when they express opinions and draw inferences from very technical data that they are almost certain to go astray. As a searcher in authoritative records and a narrator of detailed occurrences James is distinctly superior to Mahan; but who would give a fig for James's opinions? Whereas Mahan's govern the naval thought of the world.

JUTLAND RECORDS INCOMPLETE

Thomas G. Frothingham's "Review of the Battle of Jutland" in THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE is a valuable account of the events of the engagement. It would not have been possible within the limits of his article to have related every incident, but he has made a judicious selection of those which he does bring forward. He had, of course, to depend on his sources; and on some important points these contained little or no information. Anything like a full account from the German side was virtually nonexistent. It would have been instructive to have put the German naval authorities into the witness box and to have subjected them to that species of cross-examination which consists in a comparison of some of their statements with others and with the statements of their opponents. It would be here that a writer with the true instinct of a historian, which Mr. Frothingham evidently does possess, could render valuable service had the necessary materials been at his disposal.

A writer who draws inferences from data by no means full and perhaps open to dispute can hardly expect to carry conviction to every reader. It might be sufficient to deal with Mr. Frothingham's general conclusion concerning the battle of Jutland; but it will be well before doing so to notice also one or two minor but still important inferences which he draws from the events of the battle.

GERMAN FLEET'S OBJECT

Mr. Frothingham maintains that the German fleet came out with the object, and no other, of engaging the British fleet, a force known to be greatly superior in number of ships and power of ordnance. He apparently, but not quite clearly, suggests that the Germans knew how the British fleet would be employed and how it would be disposed. It would be difficult to put any other construction on the words—"With the object of engaging a fleet usually so disposed and so employed, the Germans came out from their bases." Surely this is a pure assumption which can only be supported by other assumptions founded on improbability rather than on probability. There is another assumption which is more plausible and which is supported by evidence—indirect, it is true, but copious. The war had been going on for more than a year and a half, and yet the German High Sea Fleet, in spite of its name, had sedulously refrained from venturing on the high seas. This made it the object of perpetual taunts by the enemies of Germany. There was some not completely suppressed restlessness among the German people.

It has been an almost invariable rule in war that the fleet which keeps on lying in port is eventually forced to put to sea by public opinion. The tone and wording of many official German statements justify the conclusion that the German fleet put to sea with the object, not of meeting the British fleet, but of returning to port with the assertion that the British fleet had kept out of the way and that the North Sea had been "swept" for it in vain. Contrary to the probable expectation, Sir David Beatty's force was met with and there seemed a chance of being able to attack him with the whole strength of the German Navy. Unforeseen opportunities of the kind have frequently occurred in naval war, and may be expected frequently to occur again.

FRENCH EXPERT'S OPINION

Here may be quoted some observations, dated March 11, 1918, by the very distinguished French flag officer Vice Admiral E. F. Fournier, in a preface to a translation of an account of the general work of the British Navy:

> Je m'associe également aux regrets de l'auteur de cette notice qu'une ombre injustifiée ait été portée sur le tableau, si flatteur pour l'amour-propre de la Grande Bretagne, par certains critiques de la presse anglaise sur la bataille du Jutland. Je le fais d'autant plus volontiers que, dès la nouvelle de cette memorable rencontre navale, j'écrivis dans le Matin un article ou je vantais l'esprit de décision et la résolution si opportune de l'Amiral Beatty, n'hésitant pas à se jeter, malgré l'infériorité de ses forces, à la tête de la flotte allemande toute entière pour la contrecarrer dans ses desseins, en s'y accrochant énergiquement jusqu'a l'arrivée du renfort anglais, comme l'eût fait, sans aucuñ doute, Nelson lui-même, en pareil cas.

TRANSLATION:

> I regret as much as does the author of this article that an unjustified shadow has been cast upon the picture, so flattering for the self-esteem of Great Britain, by certain English press criticisms upon the battle of Jutland. I indorse his view the more willingly because, on first receiving the news of that memorable naval combat, I wrote for the Matin an article in which I extolled Admiral Beatty's spirit of decision and very opportune resolution, in not hesitating to throw himself, despite the inferiority of his forces, at the head of the whole German fleet to checkmate its designs, and in hanging on firmly until the arrival of English reinforcements, as Nelson himself undoubtedly would have done in such a case.

Mr. Frothingham holds that the German fleet had not been led into a trap. Here, perhaps, something turns on the meaning given to particular words. A trap may be reasonably defined as an unforeseen and unfavorable position. Was it a deliberately sought or an unforeseen result that at 9 P. M. the German fleet was so placed that it had between it and its bases a hostile fleet which, as Mr. Frothingham tells us, still had an "overwhelming superiority in ships and guns?" Was such a position favorable or unfavorable? Surely there can be but one answer to each of these questions.

LOSS OF BRITISH SHIPS

Those who prefer to do so may use long words like "psychology" and "mentality," but the plain English of the situation is that the public mind in the allied and neutral countries was greatly impressed by the news that the British fleet had lost several ships, and by the fact that these losses were announced in the earlier part of the official communiqué concerning the battle. In the few great sea fights of which anything was generally remembered, the British had not lost ships. This, however, was far from being the universal rule.

In the great naval actions of the seventeenth century we lost many ships. It was recognized that a fleet might be victorious and still lose ships. The great Lord Hawke at Quiberon Bay lost ships. The contending fleets of the present day are so very large that they recall those of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when ships were lost in action by both sides. This, especially in view of the power of the naval ordnance of today, is almost certain to occur again. There is a wide difference between the naval gun of the present day and that of Nelson's and earlier times. The primary object of the older gun was to cause casualties among the enemy's crews; the modern naval gun is meant to

destroy his ships. A fifteen-inch gun is not necessary to kill or wound a man. Naval weapons would be complete failures if, in sea fights, they were to prove incapable of destroying ships, and there is no probability that the destruction will fall on one side only.

Mr. Frothingham's final conclusion is that the "actual tactical result of the battle was indecisive." A very full definition of an indecisive tactical result would be instructive. One result of the battle of Jutland is beyond dispute and is in no way a matter of opinion. These lines are being written on the 12th of May, 1918, close upon two years after the battle of Jutland was fought. Not once during all that long time has the German High Sea Fleet ventured on the high seas or done more than just peep over the edge of its sheltering mine fields.

Comment by Mr. Arthur Pollen

Arthur Pollen, the English naval critic, offers the following observations on debatable phases of the battle:

I have read Mr. Frothingham's article, and it seems to me to be substantially accurate as a synopsis of the officially published events of the afternoon and evening. The writer's comments also seem to be judicious and fair. The battle raises, however, so many and such large problems, strategical, tactical, and technical, that it is impossible for any writer to exhaust the matter, or even to indicate the disputable points in so small a space as Mr. Frothingham has been able to devote to it.

In one or two not unimportant particulars I hold a different view of the facts and different opinions from the writer. For example, it seems to me that the Grand Fleet did not, as Mr. Frothingham states on Page 339, at 6:25 form in battle line astern of the battle cruisers. The plan published with the dispatches makes it seem more probable that the van of the Grand Fleet followed a course considerably to the north though parallel to that of the battle cruisers, and that it was not until about 7:05 that they turned from an easterly to a southerly course and formed astern of the Vice Admiral commanding the battle cruiser fleet. The story of the action might have been very different had circumstances permitted of the Grand Fleet going into action astern of the Vice Admiral at 6:15.

Again, Page 337, I cannot agree that it is evident that the German fleet was not forced into action with the Grand Fleet, but that Vice Admiral Scheer deliberately chose to engage that force. There is nothing to show that Scheer suspected Jellicoe was on the scene until he began to turn from north to southeast about a quarter of an hour before the Grand Fleet was sighted.

Again, Page 339, I cannot agree that it was the night disposition of the fleet that was the crucial decision. It is true it ended the battle for the night, but the decision which gave the battle its character was taken earlier in the day, when the enemy was allowed to open the range under the cover of destroyer attacks and smoke screens. In the existing atmospheric conditions and light it was impossible for gunnery to be effective, even at 12,000 and 9,000 yards and the only terms on which the German fleet could be defeated and sunk would have been those of close action. The refusal of close action was due to the menace of the German destroyer attacks, used on this occasion for purposes of defense and to afford an opportunity of evasion, with masterly skill and decisive effect. The dispositions and tactics of the night action are a different matter, but of these we are still completely ignorant.

Battle of Skagerrak as Germany Sees It

By CAPTAIN VON KUEHLWETTER
of the German Imperial Navy

[This article on the battle of Jutland was written during the week following the day on which it was fought, May 31, 1916]

ALTHOUGH Trafalgar, Tsushima, and Skagerrak will be treated and discussed together in future naval histories, it is not yet possible to draw the full historical consequences from the two last-named naval battles. We can estimate the effects of Trafalgar on the history of the world, for we know that it laid the foundations of British naval supremacy. With the exception of the immediate military advantage gained, the full results of the battle of Tsushima have not yet been developed. Still less can the battle of Skagerrak have left its impress upon world history.

For us Skagerrak [Jutland] has been a great, decisive victory, which our whole High Sea Fleet gained after a long, bitterly contested battle on the open sea, far from the home coast and its points of support, against the superior British Grand Fleet. Our naval forces inflicted upon the British fleet losses which, in terms of tons, even according to the British Admiralty, were double ours. But the tonnage does not fully represent the seriousness of the losses, since the British lost three dreadnoughts, as against one of ours, and three armored cruisers, as against one of our old armored cruisers.

If we add to this what our own observations, supported by statements of British prisoners, show, the enemy's losses were three and a half times ours; that is, in terms of fighting units, six dreadnoughts, including two older types, as against one dreadnought and one predreadnought, and four armored cruisers and one small cruiser, as against four small cruisers.

The purpose of a battle is destruction, the victor being the side which goes further in this direction. The figures just quoted can leave no doubt on this point.

The German fleet remained on the battle area. After the repeatedly successful attacks of our torpedo boat flotillas the British fleet was forced to sheer off, and we never saw it again. Although the British ships were superior in speed and were reinforced by the arrival of twelve additional battleships, they made no attempt to recover contact with us and continue the battle. Our numerous torpedo boats searched for the British fleet all night without finding it, and instead utilized the opportunity to rescue a large number of British sailors.

This justifies us in calling the battle an absolute victory for us. It has demonstrated that the German fleet had within it the power to beat the more numerous and more up-to-date British fleet, and it opens up great possibilities for the future.

The battle of Skagerrak did not decide the war. Neither did Trafalgar nor Tsushima, nor did Tannenburg or the battle of the Masurian Lakes. A single battle between great powers will never be ultimately decisive. How much it contributes to the final outcome of a war cannot be estimated. The greatest result so far is not in the fact that Great Britain lost ships, but in the victory.

TRAFALGAR AND JUTLAND

Trafalgar and the name of Nelson stand high in naval history. Let us draw a military comparison between Trafalgar and the battle of Skagerrak. At Trafalgar there were on the British side 27 ships of the line, (of which 8 had 80 guns, 16 had 74 guns, and 3 had 64 guns,) four frigates, and two smaller vessels. On the side of the allied French and Spanish fleet there were 33 ships of the line, (of which 10 had from 80 to 110 guns, 22 had 74 guns, and one had 64 guns,) three frigates, and two smaller vessels. The French and Spanish

fleet was not only numerically stronger, but its ships were better built and better armed.

In the battle of Skagerrak we had opposing each other: On the British side, thirty-one dreadnoughts, inclusive of six battle cruisers, and four armored cruisers; on the German side, twenty-one dreadnoughts, inclusive of five battle cruisers, and six older cruisers. Roughly speaking, we had twenty-seven big ships against thirty-five. Here also the better quality, judged by size, up-to-dateness, and armament, was on the side of the larger fleet. Apart from these big ships, there were on each side about fifty smaller vessels.

The total tonnage of the British fleet at Trafalgar was equal to about two modern dreadnoughts, as one of the ships of the line in Nelson's time was of about 2,000 tons. In numbers of guns and of crew there were more at Trafalgar, as at that time the ships were sailing vessels.

A GERMAN DIAGRAM OF THE BATTLE OF THE SKAGERRAK (JUTLAND)

The British had between 17,000 and 20,000 men engaged, against 21,000 to 24,000. At Skagerrak we had from 35,000 to 40,000, as against 45,000 to 50,000 men. In this way we can compare the battle in its general aspect with Trafalgar. But if we look into the matter more closely, the French and Spanish fleet had within it an element of weakness arising from the fact that it consisted of two allied forces, between which there is never complete co-ordination. The French were further weakened by effects of the Revolution and exhaustion from previous battles. The French Admiral himself said: "Never before was the French fleet at such a low standard. We had bad masts, bad sails, bad rigging, bad officers, and bad seamen." Of the Spanish, Nelson said: "They have neither seamen nor officers." At the head of the allied forces was a French Admiral who had no confidence in the fleet and who was acting under instructions issued by Napoleon, which he felt incapable of carrying out. Opposed to him was the seasoned and well-schooled fleet of Nelson, so that it was not a battle of equal opponents and the result was annihilation. None of the French or Spanish ships was again seen at sea; nineteen were captured or destroyed, ten were driven into harbor and blockaded; four escaped, only to fall into the hands of the victors a few days later.

COMPARED WITH TSUSHIMA

And now Tsushima, another parallel. A Russian fleet, made up of any old vessels the Russians could get together, and of what ships still remained in the East—supported by Port Arthur—made one last bid against the sea power of the enemy. Without training, without points of support, honeycombed with revolutionary ideas, the Russian fleet start-

ed on its trip to the Far East, where it arrived on May 27, after suffering terrible hardships and being more than six months on the way to meet the enemy. Meanwhile, Port Arthur, with its fleet, had fallen. The Russian Admiral knew that he had absolutely no chance, but he did not have enough courage to retreat. Blindly and without confidence he started the battle against an opponent who was superior in numbers, equipment, and training. Of the 38 Russian ships which arrived on the morning of May 27, 1905, in the Strait of Korea, 19 were sunk and 7 captured, including 2 hospital ships. The Russian Admiral, 273 officers, and 5,833 petty officers and men were taken prisoner; 201 officers and 4,344 men were killed. Against this the Japanese lost only three torpedo boats and about 700 men.

Trafalgar was not a battle between equal forces, and still less so was Tsushima; hence, as regards their military value, they cannot be compared with Skagerrak. In this battle for the first time there were two sides equally well trained, equally imbued with the same spirit, equally determined. Here also the smaller force won. The superior force had to quit the battle area, and only the power it retained within itself saved it from annihilation. This battle gave us, in the military sense, a victory such as naval history has never yet recorded. Its moral effect upon our fleet, especially after the long harassing wait, cannot be expressed in words. It did not end the war, but it gave us more confidence and startled England, who always thought she had an invincible fleet.

On the victory of Trafalgar England founded her colonial world power, because she thereby obtained the mastery of the seas, which remained unchallenged. Tsushima gave Japan the sea power in the East which she needed to carry out her military plans on land. It no more ended the Japanese-Russian war than Trafalgar had ended the struggle of that day, but it gave Japan a military success which was of great value to her in peace negotiations. We hope that Skagerrak is a blow against the victory of Trafalgar and the first step toward the smashing of British sea power, and that other mighty hammer blows will fall against the barriers which shut off other peoples from the freedom of the seas.

International Socialists' Peace Campaign

A Message Sent to the Socialists of the Central Powers by Those of the Entente Nations

EMILE VANDERVELDE and Camille Huysmans, the Chairman and Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, on March 1, 1918, signed and transmitted a message to the Socialists of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria, inviting them to consider the declaration on war aims adopted by the Interallied Labor and Socialist Conference in London, Feb. 23, and asking them to propose conditions of their own for comparison. The communication was printed April 17 without comment in the German Socialist organ, Vorwärts, being reproduced by it from the Paris Humanité. It is as follows:

The third Interallied Socialist Conference, which was held in London from Feb. 20 to Feb. 23, has commissioned the President and Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau to communicate to you the authentic text of the memorandum which has been adopted by the meeting of delegates of the Labor and Socialist organizations of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium. The main ideas of this document have received, or had received in advance, the approval of the parties of Serbia, Portugal, Greece, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

A special mission, consisting of Stuart, Bunning, (England,) Jouhaux and Cachin, (France,) a Belgian delegate, an Italian delegate, and the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, Camille Huysmans, has gone to the United States in order to obtain the adhesion of the American working class to this memorandum, which expresses the point of

view of the organized proletariat of the Entente countries with regard to the necessary foundations of a democratic peace and the principal conditions for a general international Labor and Socialist conference, which has been summoned to a neutral country by "a committee which provides all guarantees of impartiality toward the various elements which are called to take part."

In making this communication to you the signatories of this message consider it profitable to recall objectively the reasons which determined the acceptance of the procedure proposed by the London Conference.

The conference was of the opinion that it would be of no use to assemble a general congress unless its aim had been established in principle.

The conference was of the opinion that "the principal condition for the holding of a plenary assembly of the International consists in its organizers satisfying themselves that all the organizations to be represented formulate in precise terms and by a public declaration their peace conditions upon the basis of the principles of peace without annexations and without indemnities of a punitive character, and the right of the peoples to self-determination," and, further, that these organizations will "work with all their power to obtain from their Governments the necessary guarantee that these principles shall be applied honestly and without *arriere-pensées* in the settlement of all questions raised at the official peace conference."

In order itself to satisfy these conditions, the London Conference has considered it necessary to state precisely its views and its action in the memorandum which we are commissioned to communicate to you.

The conference expects that your party, following the same idea, will resolve to issue a public declaration of a similar kind, whether separately or jointly with the Labor and Socialist organizations of Central Europe.

In the opinion of those who took part in the London Conference the comparison of these documents will be of the greatest importance. It will be a principal means of establishing whether a sufficient agreement of views exists between the proletariats of the two belligerent groups to make possible a common action against imperialism and for a democratic peace. This preliminary examination is all the more necessary, because it is obvious that no important party, conscious of its responsibility, will run the risk of having the resolutions of an international congress imposed upon it by the will of a majority. Only resolutions which were the expression of a general and common will would possess moral authority and practical effect.

The sum of the matter is that the Socialists of the Entente countries request you in this grave hour, in which it is necessary to know whether the world is to be freed by democracy or to be handed over to imperialism, to ask your consciences whether a real, sincere, and effective agreement of the wills of the proletariats is possible in order to put an end to the law of violence, in order to lay the foundations not of a peace, but of the peace, and in order to help the peoples to liberate themselves from the endless chain of military war which leads to economic wars, and of economic wars which will again produce military wars.

We add to the messages only one observation. Since the London Conference momentous events have taken place which constitute the gravest menace for the workers of all countries. The principles to which they appeal have been shamefully violated. The right of the peoples to self-determination has been openly disregarded. In Austria and Germany themselves Socialists have expressed the fear that Russia, disarmed and for the moment impotent, might become a battleground in which the rival imperialisms and their claims would meet and ultimately satisfy themselves jointly at the cost of the defeated revolution.

The working classes have a common interest in protesting against such events and in preventing the realization of such projects.

That is the wish of the authors and the signatories of the memorandum. In the same spirit we beg you to subject this document to a conscientious and thorough examination.

In communicating this request to you we address to you, comrades, our Socialist greetings.

At a meeting of the Socialist Party Committee in Berlin on May 31, according to the Vorwärts, Friedrich Ebert, Vice President of the Social Democrats, announced that the party leaders had indirectly received a copy of the Entente Socialist memorandum on war aims. Philipp Scheidemann declared that the aims of the Entente Socialists were to a great extent in complete accord with the annexationist aims of the Entente Governments. The committee adopted a resolution pledging continued adherence to the Reichstag peace resolution of July, 1917, which declared for no annexations and no indemnities.

Trade After the War

THE State Department at Washington announced on June 5, 1918, that it had appointed an economic representative, who was to join the American Embassy at Rome. This was regarded as the first step in a general policy of more active participation by the United States in preparations of the nations at war with Germany for the after-the-war trade struggle.

The new treaty of alliance between Germany and Austria to control all Central European sources of raw materials, and to exclude other nations from equal trade privileges, with similar restrictions imposed by the new treaties forced on Finland, Ukrainia, and Rumania, changed the attitude of the American Government, which at first had not assented to the proposals of the Paris Economic Conference to interpose artificial obstructions to free commerce with the Central Powers after the war.

The Italian Government recently named a commission to study after-the-war problems, and with this commission the American economic delegate will have close relations. Italian importing and exporting interests in the United States also have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by the decision of the Italian Government to consider this important subject, and have joined in the dispatch of a committee to Italy to cooperate. Italian industries, though of great potential strength and capable of returning large profits on their capitalization, are said to require substantial assistance from America if they are to go on after the war without relapsing into the control of German financiers.

It is reported that economic representatives will be sent to the American Embassies in all the allied capitals.

On May 14 Mr. Bonar Law, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced in the House of Commons that, in order to leave its country's hands free for the time when peace arrived, the French Government had denounced all commercial conventions containing a general clause regarding "most-favored nations"; and that, in view of the probable scarcity of raw material after the war and the necessity for providing for the needs of the British Empire and the Allies, the British Government intended to adopt a similar course.

In answer to other questions, Mr. Bonar Law said that the British Government had not changed its policy expressed in the Paris resolutions since the entrance of the United States into the war; he had every reason to believe that America was very anxious for unity of economic control, and agreed that any useful action would be much more effective if taken in conjunction with our allies.

Lord Balfour of Burleigh's committee considered the question of the denunciation of commercial treaties and reported against it. The report contains a summary of the various commercial treaties which are in existence between Great Britain and other countries. Those with enemy countries have been terminated by the war. In the case of allied countries commercial treaties on the basis of reciprocal most-favored-nation treatment are in force between the United Kingdom and Italy, Portugal, Russia, the United States, Japan, Serbia, and Montenegro. There is a similar treaty with Rumania. United Kingdom goods have most-favored-nation treatment in France, owing to a legislative enactment and not by treaty right, for customs duties were excepted from the scope of the Anglo-French commercial convention of 1882.

Great Britain has commercial treaties on the most-favored-nation basis with Switzerland and Greece. In the case of the Netherlands and Denmark, the general principle of most-favored-nation treatment is subject to minor limitations. The position with regard to Sweden and Norway is doubtful; but the old treaty of 1826 with Sweden and Norway on a reciprocal most-favored-nation basis has continued in operation in practice, in spite of the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway in 1905.

Outside Europe, Great Britain has commercial treaties providing for reciprocal and unconditional most-favored-nation treatment with Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and Venezuela. Those with Costa Rica and Liberia are conditional.

Nearly all these commercial treaties are subject to a fixed period of notice on either side as a condition of denunciation. The treaty with Japan cannot be terminated before 1923. The treaty with Portugal has only recently been completed, after years of negotiation. Twelve months' notice of termination is required in the case of the treaty with Switzerland and of most of those with neutral countries outside Europe. The Spanish agreement—it is based on an exchange of notes in 1894—is subject to six months' notice.

Before the war there was no commercial treaty between the United Kingdom and Germany. The United Kingdom enjoyed most-favored-nation treatment in Germany in customs matters by virtue of a biennial law.

Exchange of Naval Greetings With England

The following exchange of greetings between the heads of the navies of the United States and Great Britain was made public:

Washington, April 5, 1918.

MY DEAR SIR: Your references to the splendid spirit of co-operation between the navies of our two countries, and your warm praise of the officers and men of the navy who have gone abroad, have been most grateful to me and to the men in the navy and to all Americans. The brightest spot in the tragedy of this war is this mutual appreciation of the men in the naval service. Our officers who have returned confirm the statements of Vice Admiral Sims of the courtesies and kindness shown in every way by the Admiralty and officers of the British fleet, and we have reciprocated by receiving cordially the able and efficient officers who have come from your country to confer and work elbow to elbow with our officers in the difficult work which this war imposes upon the naval service of all the countries allied in the war against the submarine menace.

I had hoped to have the pleasure of visiting Great Britain and personally expressing this feeling of mutual working together and of exchanging views, but the task here of making ready more and more units for the fleet is a very serious one, and my duty chains me here. The order in all the navy is "full speed ahead" in the construction of destroyers and other craft, and the whole service is keyed up to press this programme forward as rapidly as possible. Therefore I shall not have the pleasure until this program shall materialize better and better of personal acquaintance and conference, which would be of such interest and value. Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the Admiralty, London.

April 23.

DEAR MR. DANIELS: I am exceedingly grateful to you for your letter of April 5, in which you thank me for the public reference which I have made to the very cordial relations which exist between the navies of our two countries. As you know, we all of us here have a great admiration for your officers and men and for the splendid help which they are giving in European waters; and, further, we find Vice Admiral Sims invaluable in counsel and co-operation.

I fully appreciate how onerous your office must be at the present time; and much though I regret that you do not see your way to visiting this country in the near future, I hope that we may some day have the pleasure of welcoming you here. Yours sincerely,

(Signed) E. C. GEDDES.

Commander in Chief's Office, Queenstown, May 4.

On the anniversary of the arrival of the first United States men-of-war at Queenstown, I wish to express my deep gratitude to the United States officers and ratings for the skill, energy, and unfailing good nature which they have all consistently shown, and which qualities have so materially assisted the war by enabling the ships of the allied powers to cross the ocean in comparative freedom.

To command you is an honor, to work with you is a pleasure, and to know you is to know the best traits of the Anglo-Saxon race.

(Signed) LEWIS BAYLY,
Admiral, Commander in Chief.

England and the War's Causes

Prince Lichnowsky's Memorandum a Document of Vital Importance to History

By VISCOUNT BRYCE

Former British Ambassador to the United States

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THE secret memorandum which Prince Lichnowsky wrote as a record and vindication of his conduct while German Ambassador in England is the most important single document which has come before the world since the first days of the war. It was not meant to become known during the war, perhaps not within his own lifetime. It was written not to justify England but to criticise the policy which tied Germany to Austria, and was published without, and indeed against, its author's will. It may have been composed partly to relieve the writer's own feelings, from an impulse which those will understand who are prevented by considerations of public duty from vindicating their conduct to the world. It may also be due to the sense, natural to men who have borne a part in great events, that they owe it to posterity to contribute what they can to the truth of history. Anyhow, it has exposed him to the anger and persecution of the German Government; and this persecution is evidence of the importance it attaches to it as a condemnation of its conduct. The truth of its contents has been confirmed, if indeed it needed confirmation, by the statements of Herr von Jagow, late German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of Herr Mühlon, one of the Krupp directors.

Prince Lichnowsky appears in this document as a man of clear vision and cool judgment, an acute observer of social as well as political phenomena, a good witness both to what he noted during his residence here and to what he knew of the action of his own Government. And now let us see what he records.

When the war began in August, 1914, the German Government entered on two campaigns, which it has ever since prosecuted with equal energy and an equal disregard of honor and humanity.

One of these was the campaign by arms. It suddenly invaded Belgium, a peaceful neutral country, whose neutrality it was pledged to respect, and which it has treated with the utmost cruelty, murdering, or reducing to the slavery of forced labor, its civilian and noncombatant inhabitants. It has similarly enslaved the inhabitants of Poland, and has encouraged its Turkish allies to massacre their innocent Armenian subjects.

A CAMPAIGN OF FALSEHOOD

The other campaign was one of falsehood, conducted by speeches and through the press, and intended to mislead public opinion. It was an effort to deceive both its own people and neutral nations by mendacious misrepresentations of German aims, purposes, and conduct, and by equally false descriptions of the aims, purposes, and conduct of Germany's antagonists, and especially of the British Government and the British people. It tried to represent the war as having been forced upon Germany by Britain. Germany, it said, was merely defending herself against an unprovoked attack. She desired to live at peace with her neighbors, developing her own resources, cherishing no aggressive designs. Her enormous army and navy had been created only to protect her against the jealous and malicious enemies by whom she was surrounded, and especially against Great Britain. Britain, it seems, was envious of Germany. Being herself "a decadent nation"—this was the prevailing Ger-

man view—she feared the commercial competition of Germany, and tried to keep the latter out of all foreign markets. British policy—so they said—under the direction of King Edward VII., had formed alliances with France and Russia in order to hem in Germany, and after trying to block Germany's outlets in Africa and Asia, contrived this war to destroy by arms the rival whom she could not face up to in trade and manufacturing industry.

While these accusations were brought against Britain, attempts were made to excuse the invasion of Belgium by the false stories, dropped as soon as they had served their temporary purpose, that French officers had been sent into Belgium to help to organize the Belgian troops against Germany and that French aviators had been flying over German territory.

Grotesque as all these inventions were, they were repeated with such audacity as to produce some effect in neutral countries. But their chief and more lasting influence was on the German people. A large part of the German press, inspired and controlled by the German Government, had for some time past been holding up England as the persistent foe of Germany. It now redoubled its falsehoods, representing Sir Edward Grey as having plotted to bring about a war, and urged Russia to refuse a peaceful solution; and it added equally groundless charges that England had secretly planned with Belgium to attack Germany through Belgian territory. These fables, repeated incessantly by German politicians, as well as by the newspapers, found ready credence with the German people, easily led by their press, always docile to the orders of their Government, and now swept off their feet by a wave of patriotism and by the belief that they were about to achieve a victory as rapid and complete as that of 1870. It was this conviction of the malevolence and the grasping ambition of England that created that ferocious hatred of the English which has continued to display itself in the treatment of English prisoners and in the exultation over such crimes as the sinking of the Lusitania.

ORGANIZED HATE

This sudden outburst of hatred in a nation so intelligent startled and amazed us. It can be understood only when we remember that the German Government did everything in its power not only to create hatred, but also to stifle every voice that was raised to let the people know the truth. They never have been permitted to know the truth, and the disappointment that fell upon them when their march on Paris was arrested with the help of a British Army and their coasts strictly blockaded by a British fleet added fuel to their anger and has made it ever since an easier matter to keep the truth from them.

Now, what was the truth?

The British people bore no hatred whatever toward the German people. King Edward VII. meant no harm to Germany when he showed his liking for the French. Neither did his Ministers when they took steps to remove the differences that had been causing trouble between ourselves and France, and again when they came to a friendly understanding with Russia. These arrangements were made in the interests of European peace and good-will, not in order to damage Germany. British merchants and manufacturers never dreamed of fighting Germany to get rid of her commercial competition. Had such an idea occurred to them, they would have reflected that Germany was England's best foreign customer, not to add that two years of even a successful war would have inflicted far more loss upon them than the extension of German trade competition could have repaired in twenty years. British men of science and learning admired the immense contributions Germany had been making to the progress of knowledge, and they had many personal friends in Germany. British statesmen did not desire to add to British possessions abroad, feeling that we had already all we needed, and that the greatest interest of the British Empire was a universal peace.

No section of our people, neither traders, nor thinkers and writers, nor statesmen, had any idea of the dangers to

peace which lay (as we now know) in the mind and the purpose of those who ruled Germany. We did not realize what the feudal aristocracy and military caste of Germany were pondering and planning, nor how little weight they attached to considerations either of good faith or of humanity. Hence, beyond maintaining a strong fleet, the indispensable protection of a country open to sea attack which did not maintain a large army, we had made no preparations for war, and had scarcely bethought ourselves of what action we should have to take on land if we became involved in war. In this belief and attitude there may have been less prudence than was needed. But our absence of suspicion is the best proof of how little we expected aggression. It is an absolute refutation of the calumny that Britain, with her tiny army, was planning an attack on the greatest military power in the world.

All this every Englishman knows. I repeat it only because it has now received not only a confirmation but also a valuable further proof in the Lichnowsky memorandum, a proof unsolicited and uncontemplated, and, moreover, unimpeachable, because it comes from one who bore a leading part in what it records, and who never meant to let it become known.

ENGLAND'S PACIFIC SPIRIT

First—The memorandum bears witness to the pacific spirit of the British people. Here are some of its words:

"The commercial jealousy about which "we [in Germany] hear so much is based "on a wrong conception of the circum-"stances. Certainly Germany's rise as "a commercial power after 1870 and dur-"ing the following decades was a men-"ace to British commercial circles which "with their industries and export houses "had held a virtual monopoly. The in-"creasing commerce with Germany, "which was the leading country in Eu-"rope as regards British exports, had, "however, given rise to the wish to "maintain friendly relations with their "best customer and business friend, and "had driven all other considerations into "the background. Notably, in commer-"cial circles I encountered the most "friendly spirit and the effort to fur-"ther our common commercial interests.

"At the English cities to which I was "invited (by the Chambers of Commerce "and municipalities) I was well received "everywhere. * * * In all other cir-"cles I also met with the most friendly "reception and co-operation—at Court, "in society, and from the Government.

"On account of our fleet alone Eng-"land would not have drawn the sword "any more than on account of our trade, "which has been alleged to have pro-"duced jealousy and finally war. * * * "It was possible to arrive at an under-"standing in spite of the fleet, and "without a 'naval holiday,' [intermis-"sion of naval shipbuilding.]"

Second—The memorandum shows that the attitude of the British Government, and in particular of Sir Edward Grey, then Foreign Minister, was entirely pacific. The admirable characterization of Sir Edward it contains is too long to quote, but it testifies to his perfect straightforwardness and constant wish to maintain good relations with Germany, and after describing how "the simplicity and honesty of his ways secured him the respect even of his opponents," it adds: "This is a true picture of the man who "is decried [in Germany] as 'Liar Grey' "and instigator of the world war."

The memorandum goes on to show how sincerely Sir Edward had worked for peace, first in 1913, during the Balkan troubles, when he went hand-in-hand with Germany, "hardly ever supporting the "French or Russian claims. He con-"ducted the negotiations with circum-"spection, calm, and tact." Frequently, when appealed to by Lichnowsky to use his influence with the Russian Government to arrange difficulties between it and Germany, "Sir Edward gladly did "this, and his intervention contributed in "no small degree to smooth the matter "over."

Third—A still weightier evidence of the good-will of the British Government is supplied by the account given of the concessions made to German wishes in Asia and Africa. "Sir Edward Grey," says the memorandum, "after having

" settled all outstanding points of differ-
" ence with France and Russia, wished to
" make similar agreements with us. It
" was not his object to isolate us, but to
" the best of his power to make us part-
" ners in the existing association. As he
" had succeeded in overcoming Anglo-
" French and Anglo-Russian differences,
" so he also wished to do his best to elim-
" inate the Anglo-German, and, by a net-
" work of treaties, which would no doubt
" have led in the end to an agreement on
" the troublesome question of naval ar-
" maments, to insure the peace of the
" world.

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

" His plan was, in his own words,
" without interfering with England's
" existing friendship, which had no ag-
" gressive aims and does not entail any
" binding obligations, to arrive at a
" friendly rapprochement and under-
" standing with Germany to bring the two
" groups [of powers] nearer." In pursuance of this policy, the British Government went a very long way to meet German wishes in respect to the Bagdad Railway. They agreed to let it be prolonged to El Basra; they included the whole of Mesopotamia as far as that town in the German sphere of influence, and also the whole district of the Bagdad and Anatolian railway, i. e., all the centre of Asia Minor.

Not less large were the concessions made in South Central Africa. " The
" new agreement [regarding the interests
" of Germany and England in the Afri-
" can possessions of Portugal] was fully
" in accord with German wishes and in-
" terests. For these the British Govern-
" ment showed the greatest consideration.
" Sir E. Grey intended to demonstrate
" his good-will toward us, but he also
" wished to assist our colonial develop-
" ment as a whole." These arrangements were embodied in two treaties highly advantageous to Germany, which, however, the German Government, for some reasons of its own, had postponed signing, so that they remained unpublished up till the outbreak of the war. Had we in England known the inner spirit of the German Government, and the use it would make of our concessions, British Ministers might well have hesitated to go so far as they did. But that they conceded so much is the completest proof of their good-will and the most convincing refutation of the charges which the German Ministers and press have brought against them.

It would take too long to follow out in this article the constant efforts of the British Government during the fateful days before the outbreak of the war to avoid a conflict by means of Sir E. Grey's repeated plans of mediation and adjustment. The memorandum shows how earnestly he labored for peace at Berlin, at Petersburg, at Vienna, and how all his attempts were baffled by the settled purpose of the German Government to force on war.

THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE

Britain may, like other nations, have in the past sometimes indulged her ambition, sometimes abused her strength, sometimes embarked in wars that might well have been avoided. But on this occasion at least she is blameless. Never in her long history has she had so perfectly clear a conscience as in the case of this war. Her people neither contemplated it nor desired it. They were driven into it by the action of the German Government, which persisted in pushing it on even when Austria seemed willing to draw back. All had evidently been settled at that famous Potsdam conference, when (as the German Ambassador at Constantinople, before Italy had declared war against Austria, told his Italian colleague) the Emperor had inquired of his military and naval chiefs whether they were ready for the conflict for which, during some months preceding, preparations had been in progress. Neither when the war began did Britain wish to do more than prevent Germany from destroying Belgium and mortally wounding France. Sir E. Grey spoke truly for the nation when, as the memorandum records, he said: " We don't want to crush Germany."

Germany and Great Britain in 1912

Lord Haldane's Official Report of His Conciliatory Mission Prior to the War

Lord Haldane, the British Minister for War in 1912, was sent on a mission to Berlin in that year to confer with the German Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, in the hope of reaching some agreement with Germany for a mutual reduction of armament, and for the establishment of conditions that would preserve European peace. The hope regarding armaments was not fulfilled, and the conversations that had taken place were not made public by either Government; but late in May, 1918, in view of the revelations of Prince Lichnowsky regarding Germany's responsibility for the war, the British Government at length published Lord Haldane's report. It is in the form of a daily record, beginning Feb. 8, 1912, and is here reproduced in full, with the exception of parts relating solely to British defensive measures:

AT the interview with the Chancellor, which took place at 2 o'clock and lasted for more than an hour and a half, I began by giving him the message of good wishes for the conversations and for the future of Anglo-German relations with which the King had intrusted me at the audience I had before leaving. He was pleased with this message, and intimated that he would write through the German Ambassador to thank the King. I then said that perhaps it would be convenient if I defined the capacity in which I was in Berlin, and there to talk to him; and I defined it as above intimated. I proceeded to ask whether he wished to make any observations or desired that I should begin. He wished me to begin, and I went on at once to speak to him as arranged in a conversation I had had with Sir Edward Grey before leaving London.

"I told him that I felt there had been a great deal of drifting away between Germany and England, and that it was important to ask what was the cause. To ascertain this, events of recent history had to be taken into account. Germany had built up, and was building up, magnificent armaments, and with the aid of the Triple Alliance she had become the centre of a tremendous group. The natural consequence was that other powers had tended to approximate. I was not questioning for a moment Germany's policy, but this was the natural and inevitable consequence in the interests of security. We used to have much the same situation with France when she was very powerful on the sea that we had with Germany now. While the fact to which I referred created a difficulty, the difficulty was not insuperable; for two groups of powers might be on very friendly relations if there was only an increasing sense of mutual understanding and confidence. The present seemed to me to be a favorable moment for a new departure. The Morocco question was now out of the way, and we had no agreements with France or Russia except those that were in writing and published to the world.

"The Chancellor interrupted me, and asked me whether this was really so. I replied that I could give him the assurance that it was so without reserve, and that in the situation, which now existed I saw no reason why it should not be possible for us to enter into a new and cordial friendship, carrying the two old ones into it, perhaps, to the profit of Russia and France as well as Germany herself. He replied that he had no reason to differ from this view.

"In connection with my remarks as to the events of last Summer, he interposed that we had military preparations. I replied that no preparations had been made which were other than those required to bring the capacity of the British Army in point of mobilization to something approaching the standard which Germany had long ago reached, and which was with her a matter of routine. For this purpose we had studied our deficiencies and modes of opera-

tion. * * * We could not be caught unprepared."

NO AGGRESSIVE ALLIANCES

The Chancellor seemed much pleased with Lord Haldane's explanation, and said: "There had been much talk of our fleet and our army, and the steps we had taken, but that he understood the position I had indicated." "I said, in reply, that it was a pleasure to me to hear this, and that I hoped I should carry him with me still further in my belief that if Germany had really, which I did not at all suppose, intended to crush France and destroy her capacity to defend herself, we in England would have had such a direct interest in the result that we could not have sat by and seen this done.

"He said he did not dissent from this view, nor did he wish to hamper our freedom in such a case. But he wished to propose a formula; the balance of power was a phrase he did not like, though he admitted that the historical considerations I had referred to made it natural that some grouping should take place, and that England should lean toward the weaker side. He had, however, proposed, in his communication to us, a formula of neutrality which might go a long way to help.

"I said I cordially agreed with the good intention of his formula, the working of which was that neither was to enter into any combinations against the other. If this meant combinations for attack or aggression, I was entirely of his mind. But I must put on spectacles in looking at his words, and, first of all, I would put on German spectacles. How would Germany find herself if, when bound by such a formula, we were so wicked as to attack her ally Austria or to try to grab Denmark, which was of deep strategical interest to her? Again, suppose Germany joined in an attack on Japan or Portugal or Belgium—he then interposed 'or Holland'—but I said I really hadn't all our treaties sufficiently in my head to be as sure about Holland as I was about the others. Or if, I added, Germany were to pounce upon France and proceed to dismember her, what would happen? He answered that these cases were not at all likely, but he admitted that they were fatal to his formula. I asked him whether he would be satisfied with mutual undertakings against aggressive or unprovoked attacks and against all combinations, military and naval agreements, and plans directed to the purpose of aggression and unprovoked attack. He said it was very difficult to define what was meant by aggression or unprovoked attack. I replied that you could not define the number of grains which it took to make a heap, but one knew a heap when one saw one. * * *

QUESTION OF GERMAN FLEET

"We then passed on to the question of the German fleet, as to which he asked me whether I would like to make any observations. I said I must. He and I had been talking with the most absolute candor and friendliness to each other, and I felt he would regard me as wanting in character were I not very frank with him about the new navy law. What was the use of entering into a solemn agreement for concord and against attack if Germany at the same moment was going to increase her battle fleet as a precaution against us, and we had consequently to increase our battle fleet as a precaution against her? This was vital from our point of view, because we were an island power dependent for our food supplies on the power of protecting our commerce, and for this we needed the two-power standard and a substantial preponderance in battle fleets. He said that it was absolutely essential to Germany to have a third squadron in full readiness for war. At present, owing to her system of recruiting, for three months in the year she had virtually, owing to the necessity for training recruits, no fleet ready at all. I said I did not contest this; she was quite entitled to have it if she thought it necessary, but the result would be that we should not be able to rely on the two battle squadrons and reserve squadrons which had sufficed hitherto, but that we should be compelled to have five, or even six, squadrons ready in home waters, perhaps bringing ships from the Mediterranean to strengthen them.

"He asked me was that necessary if we had a friendly agreement? I said it would be a less convincing proof of friendliness if Germany prepared her third squadron, and we should have no option. Still, I said, this was not so serious as the proposal to add a third ship every second year to the German construction program. This would put us in great difficulties so far as securing the good opinion of the public in England about the value of an aggreement. We should certainly have to proceed at once to lay down two keels to each one of the new German additions, and that would cost money and cause feeling. It was true that each country could bear the additional cost without difficulty. They were rich and so were we. If it was for the purpose of the navy our people would not complain, in my opinion, of the addition of another shilling to the income tax, but it would be a great pity. He asked was that really likely to be our program, the laying down of two additional keels for each German one. I said that I had no doubt that it would be the result, and the Government would be turned out if they failed to accomplish it; and therefore some modification seemed to be of the utmost importance, if the agreement was to be a real success.

"After a pause he said he would consider this and 'die Sache überlegen.' The conversation up to this point had been largely in German, I taking to English whenever there was a delicate topic, and the Chancellor occasionally speaking English, but nearly always German. In order to avoid misunderstand-

ing we sometimes repeated sentences in the other language. I was impressed by his evident desire to meet us wherever he could, and I derived considerable hope from the manner and emphasis with which he said that he would reconsider the question of the ships. But I must add that he went on to say that the question of the new squadron was vital, and that some new ships would be necessary in it. Could I suggest any way out, for they must keep to the plan of a new law. I observed that it was not for me to venture to make any suggestion to his Excellency, but that a spreading out in size of the new program might make a difference. He said, 'Perhaps, eight or nine years'; I added, 'or twelve, if he could not do better.' He again said that he would take this matter into serious consideration and consult his experts. 'My Admirals,' he said, 'are very difficult.' 'That was an experience,' I observed, 'which we sometimes found in England also.'"

THE KAISER AND VON TIRPITZ

On the following day, Feb. 9, Lord Haldane had an interview with the Emperor, the Chancellor, and Admiral Tirpitz on the navy, at which Tirpitz held out for the new German naval program, which was discussed at great length. Lord Haldane wrote:

"I insisted that fundamental modification was essential. The tone was thoroughly friendly, but I felt that I had come to the most difficult part of my task of getting material fit to bring back for the consideration of my colleagues. The utmost I was able to get was this: The Emperor was so disturbed at the idea that the world would not believe in the reality of the agreement unless the shipbuilding program was modified that he asked me what I would suggest. I said that it was a too technical matter for me to discuss here, but that if he would not drop the new law—which I saw he felt he could not—he might at least drop out a ship. This idea was never abandoned, but Admiral Tirpitz combated it so hard that I said: 'Well, can we not spread the tempo?' After much talking we got to this, that, as I insisted that they must not inaugurate the agreement by building an additional ship at once, they should put off building the first ship till 1913, and then should not lay down another till three years after, (1916,) and not lay down the third till 1919.

"Admiral Tirpitz wanted us to give some understanding about our own shipbuilding. He thought the two-power standard a hard one for Germany, and, indeed, Germany could not make any admission about it. I said it was not a matter of admission. Germany must be free and we must be free, and we should probably lay down two keels to their one. In this case the initiative was not with us, but with them. An idea occurred to all of us on this observation that we should try to avoid defining a standard proportion in the agreement, and that, indeed, we should say nothing at all about shipbuilding in the agreement, but if the political agreement was concluded the Emperor should at once announce to the German public that this entirely new fact modified his desire for the fleet law as originally conceived, and that it should be delayed and spread out to the extent we had discussed. For the rest, each of us would remain masters in our own houses as far as naval matters were concerned.

"The Emperor thought the agreement would affect profoundly the tendency in shipbuilding, and he certainly should not desire to go beyond the three ships. The fact of the agreement was the key to everything. The Chancellor, he said, would propose to me this afternoon a formula which he had drafted. I said that I would see the Chancellor and discuss any further territorial questions with him, and would then return as speedily as I could and report the good disposition which I had found to my colleagues, and leave the difficulties of not being able to stop shipbuilding more completely, and, indeed, all other matters to their judgment. I could only assure the Emperor that I had been much struck with the friendly disposition in Berlin, and that he would find a not less friendly disposition in London."

NO AGREEMENT REACHED

Lord Haldane mentions that he was in communication with M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador in Berlin, and recounted his conversations to him. The Ambassador quite appreciated that the purpose of the mission was to create a detente, as distinguished from an entente. M. Jules Cambon reported his conversation with Lord Haldane to M. Poincaré.

Lord Haldane had another conversation with the Chancellor in the hope of arriving at a formula with regard to the navy. The Chancellor said that the "forces he had to contend with were almost insuperable. Public opinion in Germany expected a new law and the third squadron, and he must have these. I said we could not contest Germany's right to do in these matters, and indeed in other matters, as she pleased. But why not postpone the shipbuilding for longer and adapt the law accordingly? * * *"

"The Chancellor said he would try. He asked me to consult the experts in London and make a suggestion. I had said, he remarked, that everything was good only on balance, and Germany must for a greater end give up a minor advantage. The new squadron and the new fleet law she must have, but it was a question for the experts, on which he did not pronounce, whether a retardation of greater magnitude than Tirpitz proposed might not be possible. I promised to let him know privately the state of feeling here about the Tirpitz proposals on my return."

The Ministers then endeavored to arrive at a formula, the whole purpose of which was to bring about conditions which would pre-

vent war; to endeavor to get a definition of the duty of neutrality; and, in the event of war, to combine in order to localize the conflict.

After Lord Haldane's return to London, negotiations in search of a formula were continued. Prince Lichnowsky preserved a friendly atmosphere, but the German Government never agreed to conditions which would have safeguarded the neutrality of Belgium or maintained her honorable obligations to our allies. The nearest they got at the eleventh hour was, as Lord Grey said, "far too narrow an engagement for us."

British Official Statement Issued in 1915

The German press in 1915 made certain incorrect allegations regarding the Haldane Mission, whereupon on Aug. 31, 1915, the British Government issued the following official statement:

THE FOREIGN OFFICE ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT RESPECTING THE ANGLO-GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS OF 1912:

An account of the 1912 Anglo-German negotiations was published in the semi-official Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung last month. This account was misleading, and was no doubt intended to mislead, and made it appear that the British Government had at that time rejected what would be regarded in many quarters as a reasonable offer of friendship from Germany.

In these circumstances it may be as well to publish a statement of the facts compiled from official records here. Early in 1912 the German Chancellor sketched to Lord Haldane the following formula as one which would meet the views of the Imperial Government:

1. The high contracting parties assure each other mutually of their desire of peace and friendship.

2. They will not either of them make or prepare to make any (unprovoked) attack upon the other, or join in any combination or design against the other for purposes of aggression, or become party to any plan or naval or military enterprise alone or in combination with any other power directed to such an end, and declare not to be bound by any such engagement.

3. If either of the high contracting parties become entangled in a war with one or more powers in which it cannot be said to be the aggressor, the other party will at least observe toward the power so entangled a benevolent neutrality, and will use its utmost endeavor for the localization of the conflict. If either of the high contracting parties is forced to go to war by obvious provocation from a third party, they bind themselves to enter into an exchange of views concerning their attitude in such a conflict.

4. The duty of neutrality which arises out of the preceding article has no application in so far as it may not be reconcilable with existing agreements which the high contracting parties have already made.

5. The making of new agreements which render it impossible for either of the parties to observe neutrality toward the other beyond what is provided by the preceding limitation is excluded in conformity with the provisions in Article 2.

6. The high contracting parties declare that they will do all in their power to prevent differences and misunderstandings arising between either of them and other powers.

GERMAN PLAN ONE-SIDED

These conditions, although in appearance fair as between the parties, would have been grossly unfair and one-sided in their operation. Owing to the general position of the European powers and the treaty engagements by which they were bound, the result of Articles 4 and 5 would have been that, while Germany in the case of a European conflict would have remained free to support her friends, this country would have been forbidden to raise a finger in defense of hers.

Germany could arrange without difficulty that the formal inception of hostilities should rest with Austria. If Austria and Russia were at war, Germany would support Austria, as is evident from what occurred at the end of July, 1914; while as soon as Russia was attacked by two powers France was bound to come to her assistance. In other words, the pledge of neutrality offered by Germany would have been absolutely valueless, because she could always plead the necessity of fulfilling her existing obligations under the Triple Alliance as an excuse for departing from neutrality. On the other hand, no such departure, however serious the provocation, would have been possible for this country, which was bound by no alliances with the exception of those with Japan and Portugal, while the making of fresh alliances was prohibited by Article 5. In a word, as appeared still more evident later, there was to be a guarantee of absolute neutrality on one side but not on the other.

It was impossible for us to enter into a contract so obviously inequitable, and the formula was accordingly rejected by Sir Edward Grey.

Count Metternich upon this pressed for counterproposals, which he stated would be without prejudice and not binding unless we were satisfied that our wishes were met on the naval question. On this understanding Sir Edward Grey on the 14th of March, 1912, gave Count Metternich the following draft

formula, which had been approved by the Cabinet:

"England will make no unprovoked attack upon Germany, and pursue no aggressive policy toward her.

"Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object.

Count Metternich thought this formula inadequate, and suggested two alternative additional clauses:

England will therefore observe at least a benevolent neutrality should war be forced upon Germany; or

England will therefore, as a matter of course, remain neutral if a war is forced upon Germany.

This, he added, would not be binding unless our wishes were met with regard to the naval program.

SIR EDWARD GREY'S VIEW

Sir Edward Grey considered that the British proposals were sufficient. He explained that, if Germany desired to crush France, England might not be able to sit still, though, if France were aggressive or attacked Germany, no support would be given by his Majesty's Government or approved by England. It is obvious that the real object of the German proposal was to obtain the neutrality of England in all eventualities, since, should a war break out, Germany would certainly contend that it had been forced upon her, and would claim that England should remain neutral. An admirable example of this is the present war, in which, in spite of the facts, Germany contends that war has been forced upon her. Even the third member of the Triple Alliance, who had sources of information not open to us, did not share this view, but regarded it as an aggressive war.

Sir Edward Grey eventually proposed the following formula:

The two powers being mutually desirous of securing peace and friendship between them, England declares that she will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack upon Germany. Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of, any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object.

Sir Edward Grey when he handed this formula to Count Metternich said that the use of the word "neutrality" would convey the impression that more was meant than was warranted by the text; he suggested that the substance of what was required would be obtained and more accurately expressed by the words "will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack."

Count Metternich thereupon received instructions to make it quite clear that the Chancellor could recommend the Emperor to give up the essential parts of the Novelle (the bill then pending for the increase of the German Navy) only if we could conclude an agreement guaranteeing neutrality of a far-reaching character and leaving no doubt as to any interpretation. He admitted that the Chancellor's wish amounted to a guarantee of absolute neutrality, failing which the Novelle must proceed.

Count Metternich stated that there was no chance of the withdrawal of the Novelle, but said that it might be modified; it would be disappointing to the Chancellor if we did not go beyond the formula we had suggested.

Sir Edward Grey said that he could understand that there would be disappointment if his Majesty's Government were to state that the carrying out of the Novelle would put an end to the negotiations and form an insurmountable obstacle to better relations. His Majesty's Government did not say this, and it hoped that the formula which it had suggested might be considered in connection with the discussion of territorial arrangements, even if it did not prove effective in preventing the increase of naval expenditure.

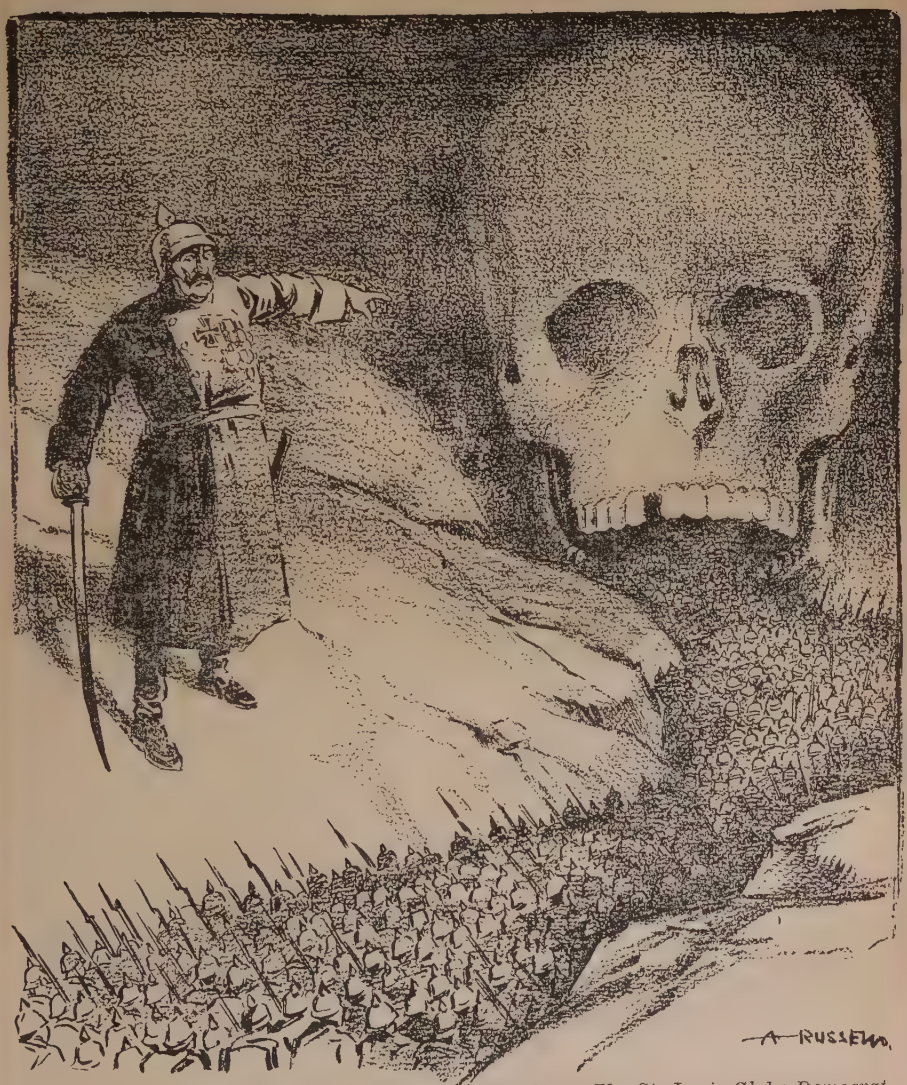
Sir Edward Grey added that if some arrangement could be made between the two Governments it would have a favorable though indirect effect upon naval expenditure as time went on; it would have, moreover, a favorable and direct effect upon public opinion in both countries.

A few days afterward Count Metternich communicated to Sir Edward Grey the substance of a letter from the Chancellor, in which the latter said that, as the formula suggested by his Majesty's Government was from the German point of view insufficient, and as his Majesty's Government could not agree to the larger formula for which he had asked, the Novelle must proceed on the lines on which it had been presented to the Federal Council. The negotiations then came to an end, and with them the hope of a mutual reduction in the expenditure on armaments of the two countries.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[American Cartoon]

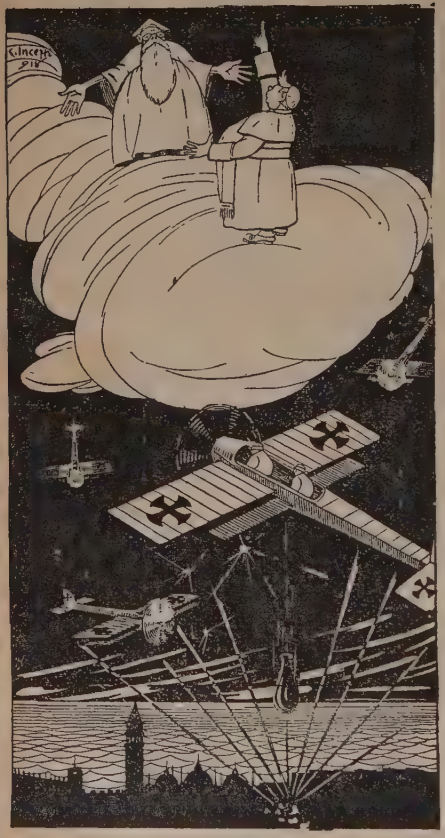
"Advance!"



—From The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

[Italian Cartoon]

There Is a Reason



—From Il 420, Florence.

ST. PETER: "Why do you not protest against these German barbarities?"

POPE BENEDICT: "Because I don't want to be a protestant pope!"

[German Cartoon]

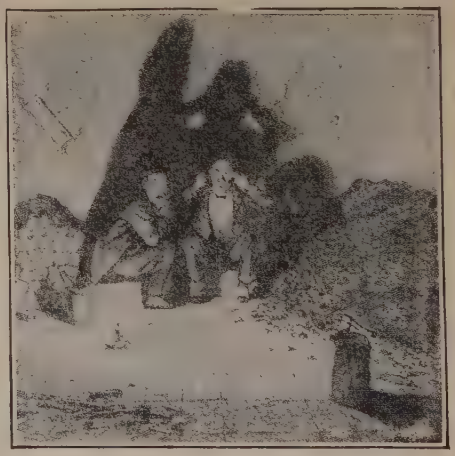
The Modern Miracle

The Statue of Liberty suddenly changed into a Fury!

[Referring to President Wilson's "force to the uttermost" speech.]

[German Cartoon]

Paris Under Bombardment



Poincaré and Clemenceau when the big gun roars.

[German Cartoon]

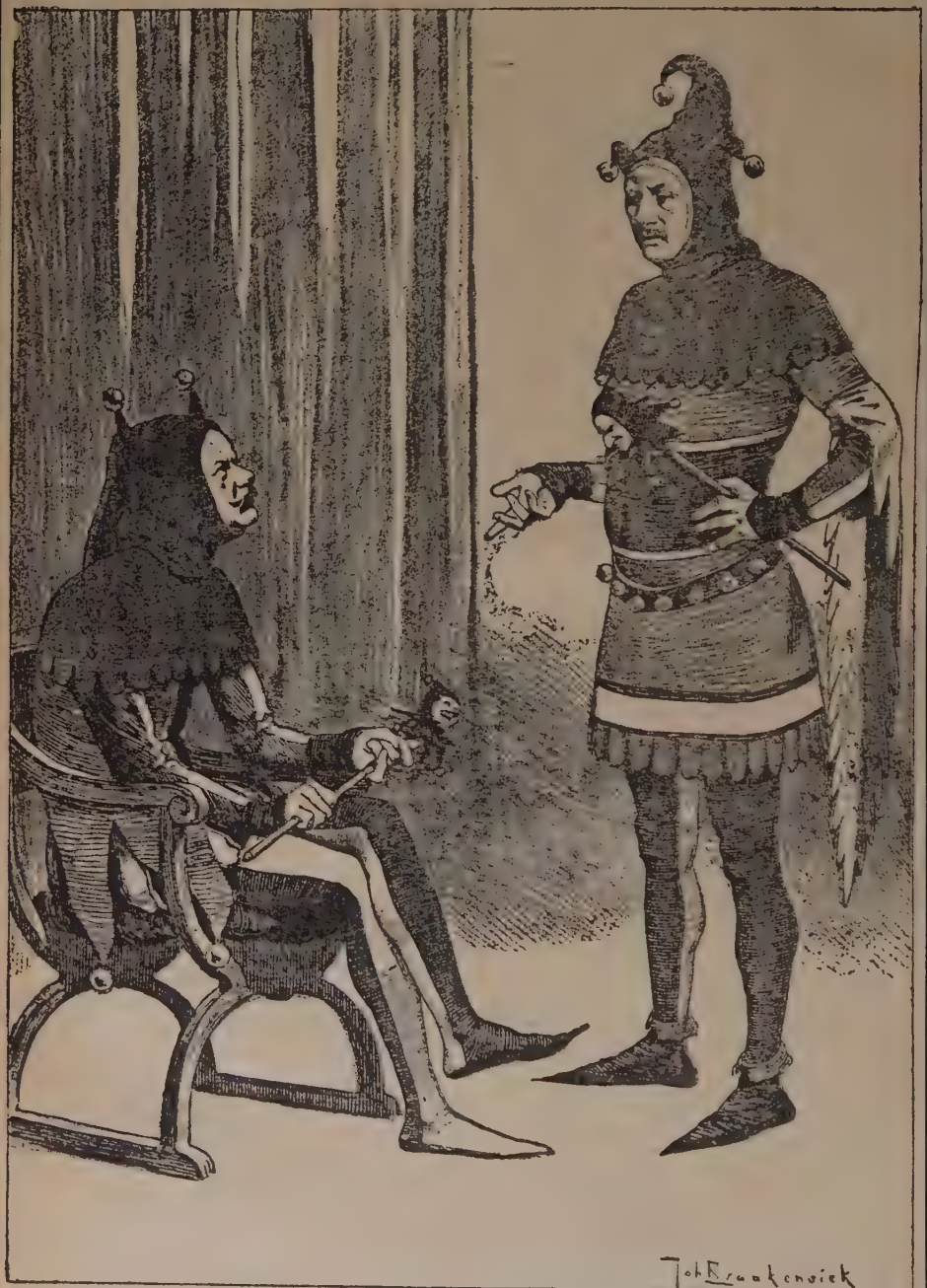
German Hatred of England

—*From Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

A Berlin version of what would happen if the peoples under British rule could do as they pleased.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Emperor Charles' "Dear Sixtus" Letter



—*From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

JESTER VON BUELOW: "I was discharged because my master talked too much."
JESTER CZERNIN: "And I because my master wrote too much."

[English Cartoon]

The "Dear Sixtus" Episode

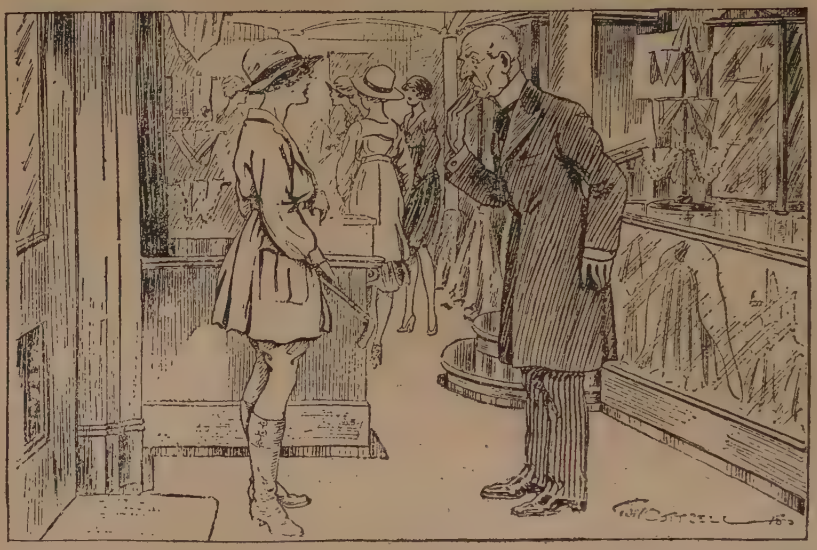
Drawn by George Whitelaw

—*From Passing Show, London.*

"And a smile on the face of the tiger!"

[English Cartoon]

Another War Problem



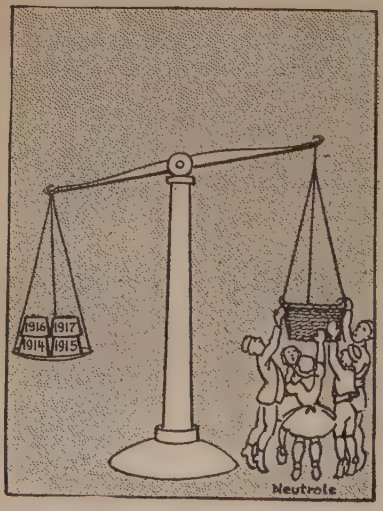
—From London Opinion.

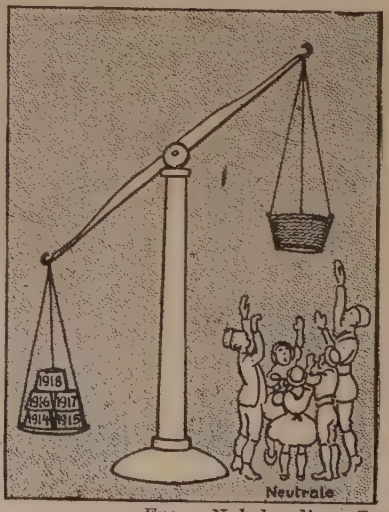
THE LAND LADY: "Will you show me to the underclothing department, please?"

THE SHOPWALKER: "Certainly—er—men's or women's?"

[Swiss Cartoon]

The War and the Bread Basket





—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

[Italian Cartoon]

The German Drive

—From L'Asino, Rome

Still more blood—by the wish of the Kaiser and his people.

[American Cartoon]

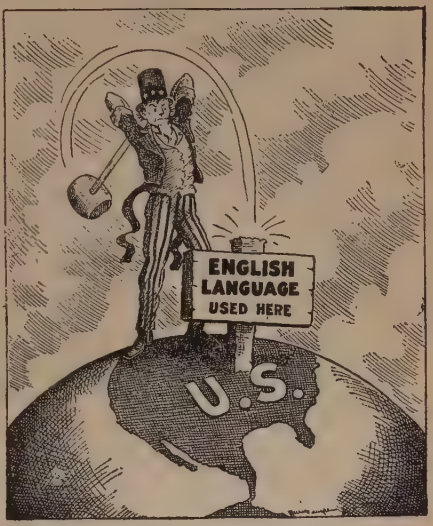
"Men! Bah!"

—*From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

Change, Son, It's One or the Other

—*St. Louis Republic.*

No Compromise



—*St. Louis Republic.*

"We Must Tighten the Bonds"

—*Baltimore American.*

The Harder the Blow the Brighter the Sparks

—*Cincinnati Post.*

[German Cartoon]

The German Obsession of Militarism

TROTZKY TO DIPLOMATS: "Nothing doing, gentlemen. I'm deaf in both ears."

—*From Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

TROTZKY TO ARMY OFFICERS: "Why—yes!— With pleasure—and haste! Any peace looks good to me!"

[American Cartoon]

Good Fishing in Troubled Waters

—From The New York Times.

[French Cartoon]

Bombs and Shells

—From La Victoire, Paris.

"Who said peace?"

[American Cartoon]

"The Bear That Walks Like a"—Lamb!

—*From The New York Herald.*

[American Cartoon]

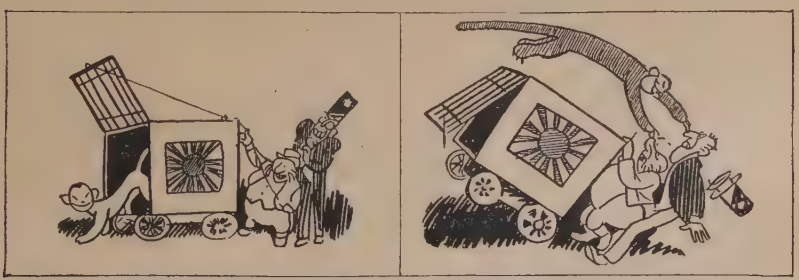
Shearing the Victim

—*From The New York Times.*

THE ALLIES: "Perhaps we should save the Bear, even though he doesn't yelp."

[German Cartoon]

German Anti-Japanese Propaganda



How "Wily Wilson" and "Juggling John" tried to use the Japanese puma—

—and the result, somewhat different from what they expected.

[Italian Cartoon]

Italy's Fighters in France

—From Il 420, Florence.

ITALY: "Here I am, to lend a hand!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Russian Peace

—From Iberia, Barcelona.

TROTZKY AND LENINE: "We have done more than Kerensky!"

[German Cartoon]

The Effect in New York

When the long-distance shells fall in Paris.

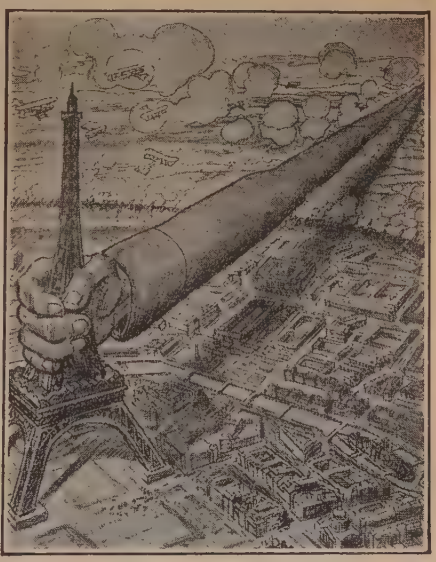
[German Cartoon]

The American Brother

"Damn! I believe I'm too late for the entry into Berlin!"

[German Cartoon]

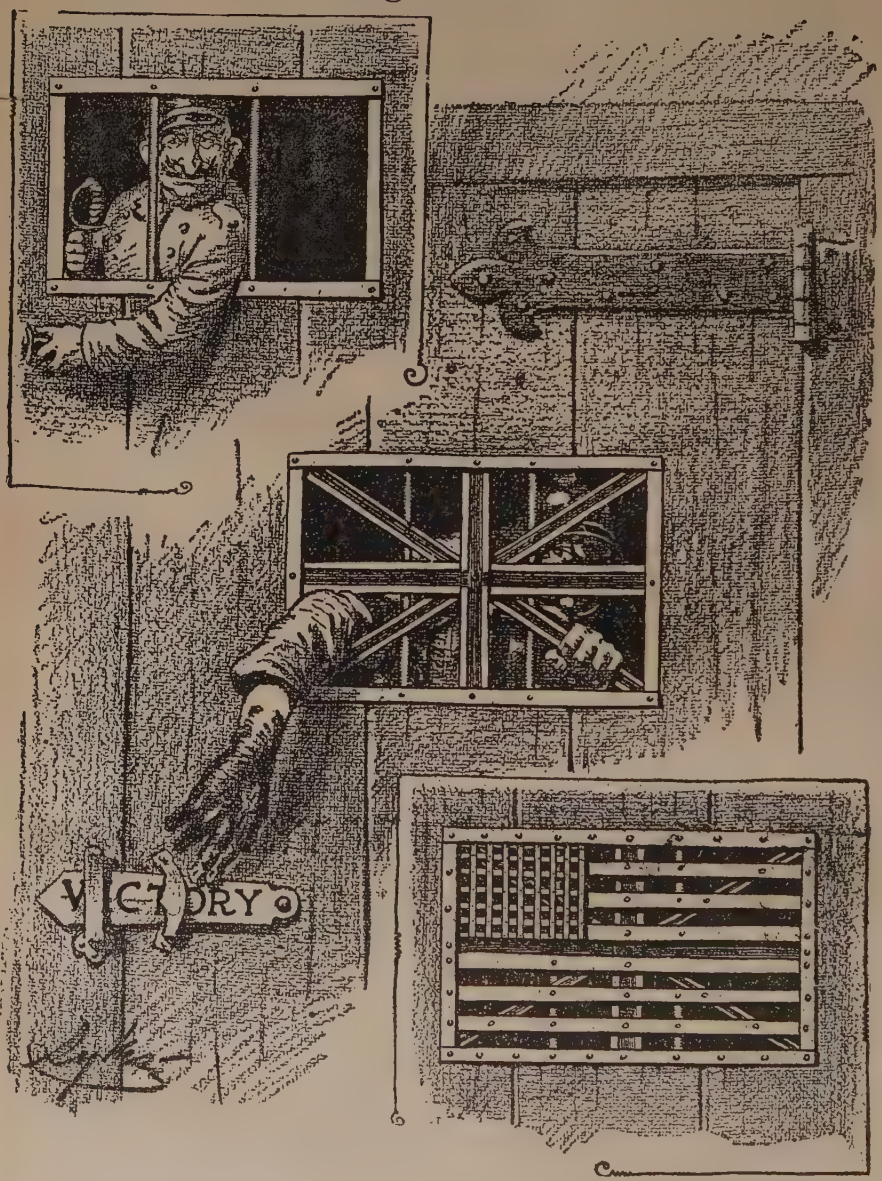
Seventy-five Miles



A Berlin boast of what the long-range gun will do.

[American Cartoon]

Picking the Lock



—*From The Galveston News.*

He expected inconvenience; he found difficulty, and is coming up against impossibility.

[German Cartoon]

The Wish Is Father to the Thought

—From Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

To the Adventurer: Stay at home and remain all write, (right.)

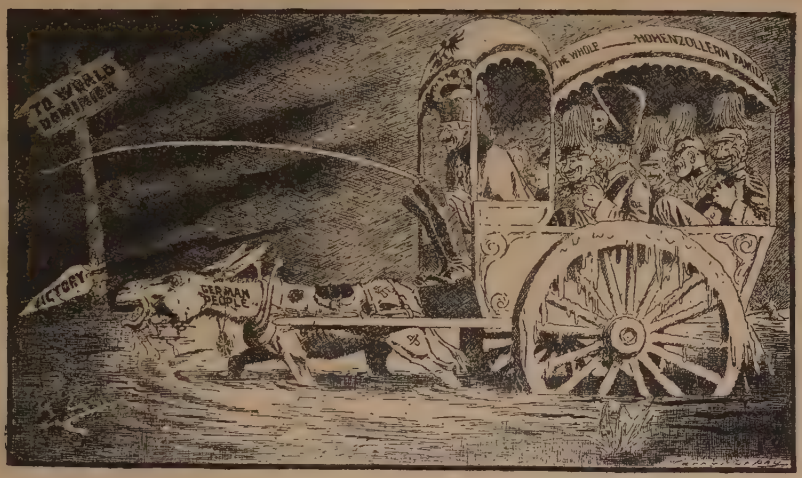
Holland Begging From Warring Powers

SHADE OF ADRIAAN VAN DER WERFF: "Has my story taught you nothing? Look out for yourself. Suffer anything rather than budge."

Paris Bombarded by the Kaiser

—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

How Long Can They Keep It Up?



—Chicago Herald and Examiner.

A Bumper Hun Harvest Is Predicted

—Central Press Association.

The New Austro-German Treatry

NEW TWENTY FIVE YEAR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ALLIANCE REDUCING AUSTRIA HUNGARY TO POSITION OF GERMAN COLONY
AUSTRIA HUNGARY

—Dayton Daily News.

[American Cartoons]

Family Troubles

Ukrainian Independence

The Winning Hand

The Watch on the Rhine

—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

MAJOR GEN. HUNTER LIGGETT

Commander of the first American army corps in France
(© *Harris & Ewing*)

AMERICAN DIVISIONAL COMMANDERS IN FRANCE

Maj. Gen. Omar Bundy

Maj. Gen. R. L. Bullard

(© Harris & Ewing)

Maj. Gen. J. G. Harbord

Maj. Gen. J. T. Dickman

PERIOD XLVII.

President Wilson's Mount Vernon Address—Baron Burian Replies—Allied Successes on Three Fronts—Austria's Disastrous Offensive—Americans on the Battlefront—America's War Effort—Thorough American Work at Vaux—The Advance at Hamel—German Official View of the Americans—Bastile Day in the United States—Sinking of the Llandovery Castle—Enemy Aliens in the United States—New Forces at Work to Save Russia—Russia's Constituent Assembly—War Finances: Debts of the Nations—Casualties of Belligerents—Reconstructing the Life of France—Appalling Cruelty to Allied Prisoners—Switzerland an Oasis in Wartime—British Statesmen on War Problems—Premier Clemenceau's Speech of Defiance—Germany's Attitude on Peace—Von Kuehlmann's Reichstag Address—Rumanian Peace Ratified—Bombing Hospitals—Worldwide Celebration of July 4—A League of Nations—After-the-War Problems.

THE MOUNT VERNON ADDRESS

A Statement of Our War Aims and a Message From America to the Nations of the World

By PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

[Delivered at the Grave of Washington, July 4, 1918]

I AM happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little of the meaning of this day of our nation's independence. The place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and untouched by the hurry of the world as it was in those great days long ago when General Washington was here and held leisurely conference with the men who were to be associated with him in the creation of a nation. From these gentle slopes they looked out upon the world and saw it whole, saw it with the light of the future upon it, saw it with modern eyes that turned away from a past which men of liberated spirits could no longer endure. It is for that reason that we cannot feel, even here, in the immediate presence of this sacred tomb, that this is a place of death. It was a place of achievement. A great promise that was meant for all mankind was here given plan and reality. The associations by which we are here surrounded are the inspiriting associations of that noble death which is only a glorious consummation. From this green hillside we also ought to be able to see with comprehending eyes the world that lies around us and conceive anew the purpose that must set men free.

It is significant—significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they were setting afoot—that Washington and his associates, like the Barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted, not for a class, but for a people. It has been left for us to see to it that it shall be understood that they spoke and acted, not for a single people only, but for all mankind. They were thinking not of themselves and of the material interests which centred in the little groups of landholders and merchants and men of affairs with whom they were accustomed to act, in Virginia and the colonies to the north and south of her, but of a people which wished to be done with classes and special interests and the authority of men whom they had not themselves chosen to rule over them. They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with them the rights and privileges of free men. And we take our cue from them—do we not? We intend what they intended. We here in America believe our participation in this present war

to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this, that it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation who shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our place. There must now be settled, once for all, what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration we draw today. This is surely a fitting place from which calmly to look out upon our task, that we may fortify our spirits for its accomplishment. And this is the appropriate place from which to avow, alike to the friends who look on and to the friends with whom we have the happiness to be associated in action, the faith and purpose with which we act.

This, then, is our conception of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The plot is written plain upon every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy. On the one hand stand the peoples of the world—not only the peoples actually engaged, but many others, also, who suffer under mastery but cannot act; peoples of many races and in every part of the world—the people of stricken Russia still, among the rest, though they are for the moment unorganized and helpless. Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stand an isolated, friendless group of Governments, who speak no common purpose, but only selfish ambitions of their own, by which none can profit but themselves, and whose peoples are fuel in their hands; Governments which fear their people, and yet are for the time being sovereign lords, making every choice for them and disposing of their lives and fortunes as they will, as well as of the lives and fortunes of every people who fall under their power—Governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple, and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them.

There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

I. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other

nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

III. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern States in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

IV. The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

These great ends cannot be achieved by debating and seeking to reconcile and accommodate what statesmen may wish with their projects for balances of power and of national opportunity. They can be realized only by the determination of what the thinking peoples of the world desire, with their longing hope for justice and for social freedom and opportunity.

I can fancy that the air of this place carries the accents of such principles with a peculiar kindness. Here were started forces which the great nation against which they were primarily directed at first regarded as a revolt against its rightful authority, but which it has long since seen to have been a step in the liberation of its own people as well as of the people of the United States; and I stand here now to speak—speak proudly and with confident hope—of the spread of this revolt, this liberation, to the great stage of the world itself! The blinded rulers of Prussia have roused forces they know little of—forces which, once roused, can never be crushed to earth again; for they have at their heart an inspiration and a purpose which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph!

Baron Burian Replies

The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Discusses the President's Mount Vernon Address

Baron Burian addressed to the Austrian and Hungarian Premiers July 16, on the eve of the Reichsrat meeting, a statement in answer to President Wilson's Mount Vernon address in these words:

IT is not easy to draw a picture of the present world situation in view of the swiftly moving nature of events. Everything is in full swing, and a repetition of what has so often been said regarding the causes and responsibilities for the past can no longer influence our judgment, because on that subject everybody already has formed his own view.

The consequences of the war already have grown infinitely and have gone far beyond the original causes of the war. The present phase of events and developments, too, throws a glaring light on the conflicting interests of the different belligerent groups which clashed at the beginning of this murderous struggle; but it is not, perhaps, without slight signs of an internal change in the relations of the groups.

In the midst of the terrible struggle, and in every phase of this war of successful defense, the Central Powers have had no other aim in view but to secure the enemy's will to peace.

If we sum up all that has been said on the enemy's side in regard to their war aims, we recognize three groups of aspirations which are being set forth to justify the continuation of bloodshed so that the ideals of mankind may be realized:

The freedom of all nations, which are to form a league of nations and which in future shall settle their differences by arbitration and not by arms, is to reign.

The domination of one nation by another nation is to be excluded.

Various territorial changes are to be carried out at the expense of the Central Powers. These annexationist aims, though variously shaped, are generally known.

The intention, however, also exists, especially in regard to Austria-Hungary, to carry out her internal disintegration for the purpose of the formation of new States. Finally, our opponents demand our atonement because we dared to defend ourselves, and successfully, against their attacks. Our ability to defend ourselves is termed militarism and must, therefore, be destroyed.

Territorial aims are, in fact, the only things now separating the different belligerent groups.

For the great interests of humanity and for the justice, freedom, honor, and peace of the world, as set forth in the laws of modern political conception, regarding which we need not accept any advice, we also are ready to fight.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S POINTS

There is hardly any difference between the general principles enunciated by the statesmen of both belligerents. President Wilson's four new points of July 4 shall not, apart from certain exaggerations, arouse our opposition. On the contrary, we are able to approve them heartily to a great extent.

Nobody would refuse homage to his genius and nobody would refuse his cooperation. This, however, is not the main point, but it is what can also be understood in the interests of mankind. Both groups should certainly honestly attempt to clear this up and settle it by mutual agreement, but not in the same manner as, for instance, our peace treaties in the East were judged.

The fact is that all our opponents were invited to join in those peace negotiations and they could have contributed their share in bringing them to a different issue. But now, when it is too late, their criticism stands on weak grounds, for there is no legal right which would have entitled them to condemn the peace conditions which were acceptable to the contracting parties or which could not be avoided.

From the confident utterances of our opponents it appears they have no fear of being defeated. If they, nevertheless, represent the peace treaties as a warning of our treatment of a defeated enemy, we do not consider the reproach justified. None of the belligerent States need ever come into the position of Russia and Rumania, as we are ever ready to enter into peace negotiations with all our opponents.

If our enemies continuously demand atonement for wrong done and restitution, then this is a claim which we could urge with more justification against them, because we have been attacked and the wrong done to us must be redressed.

"OBSTINACY" OF ALLIES

The enemy's obstinacy regarding his territorial demands concerning Alsace-Lorraine, Trieste, the Trentino, and the German colonies appears to be insurmountable. There lies the limit of our readiness for peace. We are prepared to discuss everything except our own territory.

The enemy not only wants to cut from Austria-Hungary what he would like for himself, but the inner structure, that of the monarchy itself, too, is to be attacked, and the monarchy dissolved, if possible, into component parts.

Now that it is recognized that ordinary war methods have not sufficed to defeat us, interest in our internal affairs suddenly has become supreme. The Entente, however, discovered its sympathy in our internal affairs so late that many an enemy statesman who now prates about the monarchy's national questions as a war aim had probably no idea of their existence at the beginning of the war.

This fact can be recognized from the amateurish and superficial manner in which our opponents discuss an attempt to solve these complicated problems. This method, however, appears to them to be useful. They therefore organized it as they have organized the blockade, and in England they now have a Propaganda Minister.

We wish to place this attack on record without useless indignation or whining. The choice of this new means of fighting us does not show too great a confidence in the success of the enemy's previous efforts. We are certain it will be unsuccessful.

Our opponents start from a completely mechanical misjudgment of the character of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and prefer in their satisfaction to overlook, in the present difficult international problems, the fact that these States with their various nationalities are no accidental structure, but a product of historical and ethnographical necessities, which carry in themselves the fundamental principle of life and race.

They, therefore, possess, and this applies fully to Austria and Hungary, the necessary elasticity and adaptability to the changing events of the times, the ability to reform themselves according to the necessity of their standard of development and to solve all internal crises without uncalled-for foreign interference.

"THIS SENSELESS WAR"

Our enemies want to paralyze us by an offensive of irritation and to render us helpless. They want to crush our very powerful organism in order to make weak parts one after the other serviceable to their own purposes.

According to their uninvited prescriptions, one-half of Austria-Hungary's population may perish in order to make the other half happy. For that purpose this senseless war must be continued.

As has always been the case for centuries past, the States and races of the monarchy will settle their internal problems in agreement with their ruler. The monarchy resolutely declines foreign interference in any form just as it does not meddle with the affairs of foreigners.

We have never prescribed a program for our enemies as to how they shall deal with their domestic questions, and when we have had occasion frequently to recall that it is not all happiness and harmony with our enemies in their domestic affairs, and that they have their own problems in Ireland, India, &c., we have done so only by way of exhortion to reciprocity, giving the advice, "Sweep before your own door."

Our enemies' inflammatory activity is not content with trying to stir up our races against one another; it does not even scruple, by means of circulating monstrous and base calumnies, to sow distrust between the races of the monarchy and the hereditary dynasty.

This armed defense which has been forced on us should not come, however, to be conceived as conflicting with the necessity for untiring political activity for the purpose of promoting the aims of our self-defense where possible and without detriment to the most energetic conduct of the war. Let us avoid the term "peace offensive," into which reproach frequently is read, in that it means to some extent the employment of dishonest methods in order to supply a substitute for successes in war.

DIPLOMACY IN WAR

It is, however, not very intelligible that in public discussion diplomatic action and warlike action should be regarded frequently as two mutually alien and repugnant factors and influences which follow and qualify each other, but do not overlap and can only be employed alternately. Warfare and diplomacy serve in war to the same end. They cannot exclude each other. In every step it takes diplomatic activity will pay due regard to the conduct of the war. The results of the conduct of the war will have a determining influence on the division of labor. On the other hand, diplomacy has a duty, being continually on the watch and paying heed to the possibilities of effective activity.

Thus and not otherwise should the willingness of the Central Powers for peace be conceived. It will not for the moment hamper the invincible defense, but after victorious battles, just as during pauses in a battle, it will, even without new peace offers, always be intent in recalling that we regard this war as senseless and purposeless bloodshed which might at any moment be ended by the re-emergence of feelings of humanity in our enemies.

In so far as they are not aiming at the acquisition of territory, they are fighting against a windmill. They are exhausting their strength and ours in order to build on the ruins of civilization a new arrangement of the world, whereas the ideas underlying such an arrangement, which are capable of realization and which also are warmly approved by us, might be realized much more easily and much more completely by the peaceful co-operation of all peoples.

In spite of all, we look ever more hopefully toward the peoples now at war with us to see whether at last they have been delivered from the blindness which, after fearful afflictions in four years of war, is driving the world ever further into that destruction which they can avert if they only will.

AUSTRIA'S ALLIANCE

[The Foreign Minister said that his confidence was based on the war alliances, particularly the old alliance with Germany. He asserted that Austria and Germany would seek means of extending the alliance, so that it would be adequate for all the requirements of new times. He continued]:

In these endeavors the Governments know they are in agreement with the desires of the preponderating mass of their people. The alliance will henceforth, as hitherto, preserve its exclusively defensive character. * * *

Economic, military, and other relations in the future are to be drawn closer. The agreement must comprise a solution, with due regard to the desires of the populations, of the questions connected with the rebirth of Poland.

Henceforth the alliance will not mean a threat or unfriendliness toward any one. Nothing will be included in it calculated to offer a stimulus to the formation of countergroups. Everything which in the future can be realized of the sublime idea of a universal league of nations shall find in our alliance no obstacle, but a favorable nucleus and a prepared group which can easily and naturally unite with every general combination of States resting on concrete principles.

[The German Chancellor's reply to President Wilson's Mount Vernon speech is printed on Page 311.]

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[Period Ended July 18, 1918]

Survey of the Month's Events

THE forty-eighth month of the war will be conspicuous in history for the peace offensive vigorously pursued, as well as for the war offensive desperately launched, both by the Central Powers. The record of the preceding month ended while the Austro-Hungarian drive across the Piave was encountering the determined resistance of the Italians. As then foreshadowed, the drive ended in defeat for the Austro-Hungarians, a defeat bordering on disaster; they were expelled from the western bank of the river and forced back along the entire front from the Alps to the sea, suffering enormous losses in men and material, as well as in prestige; they were expelled from the Piave Delta, which they had held since November, 1917, and the pressure on Venice was entirely relieved. Following closely on the heels of this success, the Italians early in July—in co-operation with the allied troops along the Macedonian front—launched an offensive in Albania, which resulted in further Austrian defeats and greatly improved the situation for the Allies throughout the Balkans.

During the three weeks from June 19, when the preceding record closed, the Allies were the aggressors along the entire western front, with frequent raids, some of major importance, notably the brilliant advance by the Americans northwest of Château-Thierry, which resulted in the capture of Vaux and of Belleau Wood in the face of crack Prussian divisions; also the capture of Hamel by the Australians, with the co-operation of Americans, and an important success by the French in the Rheims sector.

On July 15 a great offensive was launched by the Germans along a sixty-mile front in the Rheims sector, with more than 600,000 troops. This drive lacked the element of surprise and encountered an invincible opposition from the Americans and the French. The Germans crossed the Marne at several points, but in the American sectors they were driven back the same day, with ghastly losses, and our troops stood like a stone wall, blocking the way to Paris. Defeated here, the Germans tried to encircle Rheims and drive to the southeast toward Châlons, but here also the heroic defense of the French was irresistible.

General Foch, who had patiently bided his time, seized the opportunity to deliver a crushing blow, and by a skillful manoeuvre took the Germans by surprise, winning one of the most brilliant victories of the war. On July 18 he ordered an advance along a twenty-eight-mile front between the Marne, near Château-Thierry, and the Aisne, west of Soissons. It was a complete success. The entire line advanced from four to six miles; thousands of prisoners were taken, besides fifty large guns, and a blow of far-reaching effect upon German morale and prestige was delivered. The Americans held several sectors in this battleline and took more than 5,000 prisoners. The whole was a masterly stroke at the German flank, and many experts believed it endangered the German position along the Aisne and might force a general retreat. It was regarded as the beginning of new aggressive tactics by the Allies and as heralding the determined purpose to hold the initiative until final victory was achieved.

The chief political event of the month was the deposition of Foreign Secretary von Kühlmann because he had publicly acknowledged that a German peace won on the field of battle was impossible. His successor was named by the military party, which again demonstrated its dominance in Germany. A new peace offensive was inaugurated by Chancellor von Hertling, and Foreign Secretary Burian, the only effect of which was to deepen the conviction of the Allies that peace could come only through victory.

The outstanding feature of the month was the amazing number of American troops transported to France: during the four weeks over 300,000 men were sent

overseas, making the total number on July 15 in excess of 1,100,000. The speed with which our soldiers were conveyed in safety across the Atlantic produced a profound impression in Europe and was pronounced an achievement unequaled in history. The accession of these hundreds of thousands of fresh, vigorous, young men heartened the allies everywhere, and was a certain augury of ultimate success.

July 4 was celebrated throughout Great Britain and in all the allied countries—also all over South America—as fervently as in the United States. July 14—Bastile Day in France—was celebrated throughout the United States with equal ardor in notable functions.

The situation in Russia, which is dealt with fully elsewhere, took a more cheering turn for the Allies. The landing of British and American troops in the Murman district, the successes of the Czechoslovaks in Siberia, and a general concentration of the more stable elements for the overthrow of the Bolsheviki gave some hope that Russia might again become an active force on the side of the Allies.

* * *

Execution of Duval

EMILE DUVAL, former manager of the newspaper *Bonnet Rouge* of Paris, was executed by a firing squad July 17 at Vincennes; he was convicted of treason in the trial which followed Bolo Pacha's conviction. It was proved that Duval had received large sums of money from a German banker named Marx. Duval acknowledged this, but asserted that the money was in payment of business transactions prior to the war. It was proved that in 1916 and 1917 Duval had made frequent visits to Switzerland to meet Marx, and that on May 15, 1917, when he returned from a visit to Marx, he had on his person a check for 150,000 francs. Almereyda, who was the editor of Duval's newspaper, was arrested about this time and died in prison under mysterious circumstances.

When Emile Duval was arrested six others were involved. Duval, Marion, Goldsky, and Landau were accused both of treasonable relations and of trading with the enemy, or of complicity in those crimes. Joucla was accused of treasonable relations with the enemy, and Leymarie and Vercasson of complicity in trading with the enemy. Duval was the chief proprietor of the *Bonnet Rouge*, Marion was the manager of that paper, Goldsky and Landau had been on its staff, but at the time of their arrest were running a weekly called the *Tranchée Rêpublicaine*. Joucla was a reporter on the *Bonnet Rouge*. Leymarie was chief secretary to M. Malvy, Minister of the Interior, and Vercasson was a friend of Duval, who carried some money for him from Switzerland. All six were sentenced to terms of imprisonment and to the payment of heavy fines.

The trial of Louis J. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, on the charge of treason was begun by the French Senate, sitting as a High Court, July 16, 1918.

* * *

Ingenious Devices for Sending Propaganda to the Enemy

THE statement is made by James Kerney, Director of the Franco-American Committee of Public Information, that thousands of especially devised rifles for sending propaganda over the enemy lines were in use in the allied armies in July. From these rifles grenades are discharged, by means of which tracts and pamphlets may be scattered along enemy trenches with considerable exactitude at a range of more than 200 yards.

For greater distances small balloons made of cloth are used. Each of these lifts twenty pounds of propaganda literature, and by means of a mechanical device drops a quarter of a pound of these documents at fifteen-minute intervals. The radius of action of the balloons in a twenty-five-mile wind would be Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, and Trieste. They travel at a height of from 6,000 to 8,000 feet.

Paper balloons capable of lifting four pounds are also used by the American Army for the purpose of distributing literature in trenches and enemy billets for distances up to 100 miles from the starting point. These balloons drop a

half pound of material at five-minute intervals. They use a fuse release, consisting of a slow-burning match, which is consumed at the rate of one inch every five minutes. The first release is effected five minutes after starting, to make sure of compensating the balloon for the loss of gas.

The latest devices are planned to employ clockwork for their releasing mechanism. The use of trench mortars, with a cardboard projectile containing literature, is being considered for the future. Airplanes are used occasionally for this purpose, but there are many objections to their employment.

* * *

General Horvath and East Siberia

THE sensational dispatch from Harbin, announcing that General Horvath, for some time at the head of the Russian railroad which runs south through Manchuria, had declared himself dictator of Eastern Siberia, was immediately followed by a cablegram from Peking, dated July 13, saying that the British, French, and Japanese Ministers to China had sent a strong protest to General Horvath, asking him to withdraw his proclamation of dictatorship, on the ground that it was both unwise and untimely. The proclamation, in the view of the allied Ministers, was calculated to cause a situation which might impede the movement of the Czechoslovaks, which was held to be all-important. General Horvath was asked to reply to this protest.

The situation in East Siberia appears to be that there are several centres of force, all more or less favorable to the Entente cause, but acting independently, and very much at cross-purposes: First, the large army of Czechoslovaks, whose real purpose is to get out of Siberia at the earliest possible moment, in order to sail to France and Italy, and to take their places on the firing line against the Central Empires; next, the comparatively small force under General Semenoff, largely composed of officers of the old Russian Army, and numbering about 3,000 or 4,000; third, Admiral Kolchak, who has only a small force, and, fourth, the would-be dictator, General Horvath, who has asserted over the other three elements an authority which none of them appears willing to recognize, and which he is, apparently, powerless to put in effect, as he has few or no disciplined troops, though Chinese and Japanese volunteers are said to have joined him. His move tends to the weakening and confusion of the allied cause in Asiatic Russia, hence the protest of the allied Ministers at Peking. On July 16 it was announced that General Horvath would facilitate the movement of the Czechoslovak troops eastward out of Russia.

* * *

Anglo-American Occupation of Kem

THE new railroad from the ice-free Kola coast to Petrograd touches, at a point half way between Kola and Petrograd, the White Sea port of Kem, which has recently been occupied, according to cabled reports, by a combined force of British and American marines, an occupation which at once drew a vigorous protest from Tchicherin, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister at Moscow. It would appear that the mixed British and American force came from the great port of Archangelsk, on the White Sea, where are lying immense quantities of war supplies and munitions, ordered, but not paid for, by the Russian Government, and therefore still British or American property. There is another large depot of munitions, in the same legal situation, at the Kola terminus of the new line; and it was to save these valuable munitions of war from falling into the hands of Germany, or of Finnish forces at present controlled by Germany, that the British and American forces acted.

This coast, and indeed the whole White Sea region, was first opened up to navigation by English explorers, who set sail from the Thames during the coronation of the boy King Edward VI., in 1547. Willoughby and other English commanders opened up the route from Archangelsk to Moscow, and over this route there was considerable trade during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Milton brought together the journals of these early voyages and from them compiled a history of Moscovia, one of his least known prose works, which includes a very interesting description of Russia and a narrative of

the coronation of the Czar Theodore, the last sovereign of the ancient House of Rurik, which became extinct at his death. The present British occupation is, therefore, the revival of adventures which belong to the days of Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher.

* * *

The "Marseillaise"

THERE are curious popular misconceptions regarding the two central features of France's national festival, the "Marseillaise" and the Bastile. The song has been taken as the expression of revolution, and the Socialist Party has sought to appropriate it. But its author, Rouget de Lisle, was, when he wrote it and to the end of his long life, a convinced royalist, true to his oath of loyalty to Louis XVI.; some months after his great hymn was written he was arrested as a counter-revolutionary, and was saved from the guillotine only because Robespierre, the master terrorist, was executed. Rouget de Lisle was so hostile to the radicals that, rather than take part in the wars of revolutionary France, he retired from the army, becoming prominent again only after the July revolution, when King Louis Philippe made him a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and gave him a pension.

Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle was born in 1760 at Lons-le-Saunier, between Châlons and Geneva; as a youth he was noted for his love of verse and music; and, when he entered the army as a Second Lieutenant, in 1784, he continued to write both songs and music. By 1792 he had reached the rank of Captain in the Engineers and was in garrison at Strassburg when France declared war against Austria on April 20, 1792. The news of the declaration of war reached Strassburg on April 25; Dietrich, Mayor of Strassburg, gave a dinner to the officers of the garrison at which he lamented France's lack of a national hymn and urged the young officer, already known for his songs and compositions, to write one. Rouget de Lisle, returning to his quarters, set to work, and finished the great hymn, both words and music, that evening, and on the following day Dietrich sang it for the first time to his guests of the preceding day. Then called "The War Song of the Army of the Rhine," it was printed in Strassburg; copies found their way to Marseilles, where it was published as the supplement to the Journal of the Southern Departments, sung by Mireur at a banquet to the volunteers, distributed among the volunteers from Marseilles, and enthusiastically sung by them on their way to Paris; hence its present name.

A seventh verse, the "Strophe of the Children," was later added by another hand, but with this exception the "Marseillaise" remains as Rouget de Lisle wrote it. He lived in obscurity until 1836, and published several books, one of them being a set of French songs by various authors, which he set to music. In French art he is celebrated by a statue at his birthplace, by a monument and medallion at Choisy-le-Roi, near Paris, where he died, and by the picture by Pils in the Louvre, where he is represented as singing his great hymn before the Mayor of Strassburg.

* * *

The Taking of the Bastile

THE Bastile, which has become the symbol of a tyrant dungeon and of the oppression of the people by autocracy, was never, in fact, either the one or the other. With its eight towers in two parallel rows, linked by curtain walls and surrounding a courtyard, it was at first the military citadel of Paris, the first stone having been laid on April 22, 1370, by Hugues Aubriot, Provost of the Paris merchants. After the battle of St. Quentin, it was strengthened by Henry II. It remained a citadel until Richelieu turned it into a prison, but a prison only for high aristocrats or for distinguished heretics, like the Jansenists. During the eighteenth century it was more regularly used as a prison. There were rooms for only forty-two captives, and these were supplied with many luxuries, so that Necker, as a measure of economy, advised that it should be pulled down, and plans were even drawn for a "Place Louis XVI." to occupy the site after its removal. The destruction of the Bastile was, therefore, a royalist plan.

During the reign of Louis XVI. the

Bastile received only 240 prisoners, an average of sixteen a year. From Jan. 1 to July 14, 1789, only one prisoner was admitted—Reveillon, brought to the Bastile at his own request, after his house had been wrecked by the mob. At the time of its fall the Bastile contained only seven prisoners; four of these were aristocrats convicted of forgery; two were lunatics; the seventh was a high-born degenerate, the Count de Solages, who was kept in luxury by his family.

In July, 1789, the Bastile had a garrison of ninety-five old soldiers and thirty Swiss Guards, who made almost no resistance beyond firing a few volleys from the windows. But so dense was the crowd of sightseers who had gathered to watch the attack on the Bastile that 98 were killed and 60 wounded. In revenge, the mob massacred the garrison, and the former citadel was razed to the ground. Within a few months, had there been no French Revolution, it would have been destroyed by the King's command, mainly to save the cost of maintenance, which, in our money, equaled about $60,000 a year.

* * *

Albanian and Slav

AFTER the first Balkan war of 1912, Austria, in order to shut the Serbians off from the Adriatic, where they had counted on gaining an outlet to the sea, supported the erection of Albania into a separate and independent State, under Prince William of Wied. This exclusion from the sea, which was a definite part of Austria's anti-Serbian policy, greatly hurt the Serbian cause, and led Serbia to seek an outlet toward Saloniki, thus involving the Serbian occupation of Macedonia, where Serbia sought compensation for what she had lost in Albania and the Adriatic. Serbia's occupation of Macedonia was one of the causes which induced Ferdinand of Bulgaria, at the instigation of Austria, to attack Serbia and Greece in the second Balkan war of 1913. But Rumania invaded Northern Bulgaria, and the Turks moved on Adrianople, this added pressure compelling Bulgaria to make peace at Bucharest, on terms very unfavorable to her ambitions, thus laying the foundation for her adhesion to Austria and Germany in the world war. Rival claims to dominate Albania were, therefore, one of the mainsprings of the present war, Austria espousing the cause of Albania merely in order to thwart Serbia.

* * *

A Giant Airplane

THE Germans have a new giant airplane, one of which was brought down in June near Soissons. It carried nine passengers, including the pilot officer commanding, two observer officers and machine gunners, two special engineers, a second pilot in charge of the engines, and two other specialist engineers. Its principal characteristics are as follows: Four motor engines, each of 300 horse power; spread of wings, 43 meters, (about 141 feet;) total length, 28 meters, (about 92 feet;) crew, nine men; weight, when empty, 9,200 kilograms, (over nine tons;) weight in flight, when fully loaded, 14,600 kilograms, (14½ tons;) weight of bombs that can be carried, about 2,000 kilograms, (about two tons;) maximum speed, 120 to 130 kilometers (75 to 80 miles) per hour; armament, four machine guns.

* * *

French Aid in the American Revolution

WHEN the Marquis de la Fayette landed in South Carolina, in April, 1777, he was only 19. He left behind him a young wife, and, equipping a ship of his own, he came with a handful of companions, including Berthier, later famous among Napoleon's Marshals, who, like him, had been inspired by the Declaration of Independence. Though he brought almost no troops, La Fayette contributed the inspiration of his personality, and also considerable sums of money and supplies, with which he paid and equipped the men whom Washington intrusted to his command. The young French volunteer saw his first fighting at the battle of the Brandywine, in September, 1777, where Washington was trying to block Howe's march to Philadelphia. La Fayette received a wound in the leg at the Brandywine. Six weeks later, Burgoyne sur-

rendered with his army of 6,000. The immediate result was a treaty between France and the United States, France undertaking to send a fleet, with an army of 4,000. England declared war against France. But the French forces played an important part only in the last act of the war.

Before Cornwallis went to Virginia, Rochambeau, with 6,000 fresh French troops, had joined Washington on the Hudson. With these and the greater part of his own army, Washington made a rapid and secret movement to the south, against Cornwallis, after arranging that the French fleet should attack Cornwallis from the sea. La Fayette, who was in command of the American forces in Virginia, was reinforced by a body of troops from the French fleet; and the converging American and French forces hemmed Cornwallis in at Yorktown. Cornwallis, who had 8,000 men, was besieged by the French and American forces, which numbered 16,000, for three weeks, when he surrendered on Oct. 19, 1781, thus practically bringing the war to an end, although it was not formally closed until 1783, when the Treaty of Paris was signed.

La Fayette had gone to France. In 1784, at Washington's invitation, he visited the United States, returning again in 1824, when he laid the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument. La Fayette was a Constitutionalist rather than a Radical, and he played a prominent part in the July revolution of 1830, in deciding France to accept the rule of Louis Philippe as a constitutional King.

* * *

The Vicissitudes of Luxemburg

A REPORTED movement in Luxemburg against the pro-German Grand Duchess Marie-Adelaide may serve to recall the many tribulations and changes through which that small State of 999 square miles has passed since the days when the Romans organized it as a part of Belgica Prima. It was a constituent of the Frankish Kingdom of Austrasia and the Empire of Charlemagne. In 1060, Conrad, Count of Luxemburg, made it semi-independent, and it remained in the possession of his descendants until 1437, when it passed to the House of Hapsburg. It was seized by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, in 1443, and regained by the Hapsburgs in 1477. Philip II. of Spain, the husband of Queen Mary of England, took possession of Luxemburg in 1555. It passed by treaty to the Emperor Charles VI. in 1713. Then, in 1795, Luxemburg was conquered by the victorious armies of revolutionary France, and remained a part of France until the downfall of Napoleon, when the Congress of Vienna made it a grand duchy, and assigned it to William I., King of the Netherlands, of the ancient House of Orange, which, for a brief period, ruled over England and its American colonies.

In 1830, the movement to detach Belgium from Holland and to make Belgium a separate kingdom sought also to add Luxemburg to Belgium, but in 1831 the great powers, which were in the main supporting Belgium's aspirations for independence, decided that Luxemburg should go to Holland. Holland, however, refused to agree to this arrangement, and Luxemburg was attached to Belgium until 1838, when the great powers overruled the wishes of Holland and attached Luxemburg to that kingdom, a part of which it remained until 1890, when King William III. of Holland died, leaving as his heir the 10-year-old Princess Wilhelmina, who came of age and was crowned Queen of the Netherlands in 1898.

The claim was made that, under the Salic law, the sovereignty of Luxemburg must remain in the male line; therefore in 1890 Luxemburg was separated from Holland and passed to a relative of the late King of Holland, Adolphus, Duke of Nassau. On his death, in 1905, his son William became Grand Duke of Luxemburg, who in turn was succeeded by his daughter Marie-Adelaide on Feb. 26, 1912. The Grand Duchess Marie-Adelaide, the present nominal ruler of Luxemburg, is now 24 and unmarried. Her grand duchy has a population of 250,000, almost all of whom are Catholics, speaking a tongue oddly blended of French and German. The

great treasure of Luxemburg is the rich iron region, an extension of the mines of Lorraine.

* * *

British War Pensions

THE British Pension Minister, Mr. Hodge, announced in Parliament June 6, 1918, that up to May 1, 1918, the number of disabled men who had received pensions was 341,025. He had worked out the percentages of different forms of disablement, and these were as follows:

Eyesight cases	2.8	per cent.
Wounds and injuries to legs necessitating amputation	2.6	per cent.
Wounds and injuries to arms necessitating amputation	1.4	per cent.
Wounds, &c., to legs not necessitating amputation	11.9	per cent.
Wounds, &c., to arms not necessitating amputation	8.45	per cent.
Wounds, &c., to hands not necessitating amputation	4.45	per cent.
Wounds, &c., to head	4.0	per cent.
Hernia	.8	per cent.
Miscellaneous wounds and injuries	5.55	per cent.
Chest complaints and tuberculosis	11.60	per cent.
Rheumatism	6.5	per cent.
Heart disease	10.3	per cent.
Epilepsy	1.0	per cent.
Nervous diseases, shell-shock, &c.	6.0	per cent.
Insanity	.75	per cent.
Deafness	2.0	per cent.
Frostbite, including cases of amputation of feet or legs	.9	per cent.
Miscellaneous diseases	18.36	per cent.

* * *

IN the six months ended July 1, 1918, the United States produced more than 1,112,897 new shipping tonnage. By the time the shipping objectives are reached in 1920, the nation will have spent $5,000,000,000 on new bottoms and 1,000,000 men will be at work in the various yards. There are 158 of these yards in operation in the United States now. They are distributed along the ocean coasts and the Great Lakes, and employ about 300,000 men. The Emergency Fleet Corporation has 819 ways in use, and has contracted for about 1,700 ships. Not only has there been a great increase in volume, but records have been broken in the time taken to build many of the ships. Before the United States entered seriously upon its task, a year was considered necessary to build a 6,000-ton ship. But the Tuckahoe, 5,500 tons, was built in thirty-seven days, and production has been accelerated generally in about the same proportion.

* * *

College Alumni in War

EDWARD G. RIGGS has made a study of the number of college graduates who had entered the service of the United States up to July 1, 1918. Out of the living alumni, aggregating 396,619, those in service numbered 64,890, or 16.36 per cent. The figures for the larger universities were as follows:

Name of College.	Number of Living Alumni.	No. of Alumni in Service.	Percentage.
Amherst	3,000	675	*
Brown	4,000	700	17.5
City Col. of N. Y.	4,400	200	4.5
Columbia	20,200	4,051	20.1
Cornell	25,000	5,000	20.0
Dartmouth	5,912	789	13.3
Harvard	..	5,348	..
Mass. Tech.	12,700	2,110	16.7
Northwest'n Univ.	14,500	1,070	7.4
Ohio State Univ.	12,000	4,000	33.3
Princeton	11,000	3,100	28.2
U. of Alabama	6,000	600	10.0
U. of California	12,670	1,794	14.2
U. of Chicago	1,200	*	..
U. of Georgia	4,000	1,000	25.0
U. of Minnesota	13,000	2,500	19.2
U. of Missouri	7,000	1,150	*
U. of Nebraska	6,500	1,300	*
U. of N. Carolina	8,000	800	10.0
U. of Penn.	2,200	4,000	18.2
U. of the South	5,274	513	9.7
U. of Tennessee	4,100	700	17.0
U. of Virginia	9,000	2,000	22.2
U. of Washington	3,298	390	11.8
Vanderbilt	8,000	1,075	13.4
Wash. and Lee	4,500	800	17.7
Williams	3,622	1,013	27.9
Yale	1,900	5,788	27.3

*Includes former students, nongraduates; therefore percentage is omitted.

* * *

THE total tonnage of American vessels lost prior to the entry of the United States into the war was 67,815. The total American tonnage sunk from the entry of the United States into the war up to July 1, 1918, was 284,408—a total of 352,223 tons sunk during the first forty-seven months of the war. Against those lost, the gross tonnage of emergency ships built in the United States since the commencement of the

war was 2,722,563 tons, 1,736,664 tons of which were built since April 6, 1917. In addition to this tonnage, 650,000 tons of German shipping have been taken over, besides tonnage acquired from Dutch, Japanese, and other vessels.

* * *

GENERAL PALLIS, the ex-Greek King's Aide de Camp, was tried June 15 by ordinary court-martial under charges of disloyalty to the present régime and failing to report to the authorities the arrival of spy officers, of which he was aware. General Pallis denied that he had knowledge of the spy officers' mission, but reiterated what he declared at the officers' trial to be his "principles," that is to say, his attachment to Constantine. He was sentenced to four years and one month's imprisonment.

* * *

THE Paris Temps of July 9, 1918, in a summary of the aerial and long-range bombardments carried out by the Germans on Paris and suburbs, says the first successful raid of importance took place on the night of Jan. 30-31 last, when 55 persons were killed and 203 were wounded. Up to June 30, 1918, there were twenty raids by Gothas, and the bombardment by the long-range guns comprised thirty-nine days. In the period from Jan. 1 to June 30 the killed numbered 141 and the wounded 432, according to the official statements. These totals, however, did not include persons who subsequently died from wounds nor the sixty-six persons who were crushed to death in a panic during a raid on March 11.

* * *

EDWIN SAMUEL MONTAGUE, Secretary for India, and Baron Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor General of India, presented a report to Parliament on constitutional reforms in India as the outcome of a six months' visit to India by the Secretary. Its main recommendations as agreed upon by the Viceroy and the Commissioner at Simla on April 22, 1918, are as follows:

Completion of the edifice of local self-government, giving a considerable measure of responsibility in various fields to provincial legislatures, which are to be composed of directly elected representatives, and which will act under the broadest franchise possible under Indian conditions.

A viceregal legislature, which will be composed of two chambers, the second chamber being called "The Council of State."

The creation of an Indian privy council and a council of Princes, with a provision for the establishment of machinery for the conducting of periodic inquiries to consider whether other subjects may be transferred to popular control.

* * *

THE Municipal Council at Paris has named some of the principal streets in honor of the allied countries. What was formerly the Avenue du Trocadero, one of the finest streets of the city, was changed to Avenue Président Wilson. Hereafter the Quai de la Conference will be known as Cours Albert I., the Avenue d'Antin as Avenue Victor Emmanuel, the Avenue de L'Alma as Avenue George V., part of the Rue Pierre Charron as Rue Peter I., the Quai de Billy as Avenue Tokio, and Avenue Sofia as the Avenue Portugal.

* * *

ON June 20, 1918, there were under arms in the American Army 186,000 negroes; there are available for service a total of 900,000 negro soldiers in the United States between 21 and 50 years of age. Among the first 2,500,000 men of all colors between the ages of 21 and 31 examined for the selective draft, 25 out of every 100 whites were passed as physically perfect, 32 out of every 100 negroes. Of the 186,000 negro troops, 650 were commissioned officers, 225 were serving as doctors and dentists. Of the total negroes under arms, 29,000 volunteered, 7,000 joined the National Guard, and 7,000 were in the regular army before the war.

* * *

DURING the period between May 15 and June 1, 1918, seven British hospitals were bombed by the Germans on the north coast of France, with the following casualty results:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	11	18
Other ranks	218	534
Sisters	5	11
Queen Mary Army Aid Corps	8	7
Civilians	6	23
Totals	248	593

LEADING AMERICAN MAJOR GENERALS

Maj. Gen. W. P. Burnham
(Paul Thompson)

Maj. Gen. C. T. Martin
(Press Illus. Service)

Maj. Gen. E. F. Glenn
(Inter. Film Service)

Maj. Gen. G. B. Duncan

Rear Admiral Hugh Rodman
U. S. battleships in foreign waters

Rear Admiral H. B. Wilson
U. S. warships in French warers

Rear Admiral Albert T. Niblack
in the Mediterranean

Rear Admiral Austin M. Knight
Asiatic Fleet

Allied Successes On Three Fronts

Opening of Ludendorff's "Friedensturm" and the Operations That Made It Necessary

[Period from June 18 to July 18, 1918]

WHEN Germany, on July 15, began her fifth and evidently, in her opinion, her most stupendous offensive, she attempted to apply a mighty counterpoise to the scales which for four weeks had been fatefully changing her military equilibrium. The movement was promptly met with counterattacks, which amazingly reduced its momentum, diverted its path, and possibly fatally harmed the morale of its reserve. The aim of the present review is to set down at close range the principal events from July 15 to 17, inclusive, with some attempt to indicate their relative importance.

What preceded this fifth offensive is already upon record. In the first place, save for the costly attempt to carry Rheims by a prodigious assault on June 18, the Teutonic armies had been on the defensive on three fronts—in France, Italy, and the Balkans. Not only this, but the Allies had been conducting local offensives, the cumulative results of which may easily be overlooked in the absorption of the greater events that followed. In the four weeks which preceded the drive, the Teutonic powers had lost in these offensives of the Allies, conducted on each front in an entirely different manner in accordance with the local military and, sometimes, the political exigencies of the case, no fewer than forty divisions, or nearly half a million men, of whom 47,000 had been taken prisoner; in France they had suffered upward of 210,000 casualties, including 25,000 prisoners; in Italy, upward of 250,000, including 20,000 prisoners; in Albania, 14,000, including 2,000 prisoners.

Against this it is believed that the casualties of the Allies hardly passed the 150,000 mark for the same period. It had been a tremendous drain upon the Teutonic man power. But that was not all. In France the British, French, Italian, and American troops, by their periodic assaults, both on the ground and from the air, on the Lys, the Somme, on the flanks of Montdidier and Soissons, on the Château-Thierry sector, and southwest of Rheims, had captured many important strategic positions, had broken up the enemy's moving detachments, ruptured his lines of communication, and injured both the material and the moral strength at his bases. In Italy the Austrian offensive had become abortive, with the loss of military approaches in the mountains and territory on the Piave Delta. In Albania the Italo-French forces had taken some 500 square miles of territory from the Austrians, threatening all Southern Albania, and with the corollary of an advance north by the Allies in Macedonia should the drive west proceed far enough.

LUDENDORFF STRIKES

It was a situation which demanded instant action on the part of Ludendorff. And on July 15 he took it—just where Foch expected he would take it—fascinated by the lure of Rheims and Paris and yearning to smash the Americans. On a sixty-mile line he took it—from Château-Thierry on the Marne, up the river beyond Dormans, then northeast across the Vesle and around Rheims, and then due east to a few miles west of the Argonne Forest. For this he had available seventy divisions, forty-two of which were employed up to July 18. Up to that date the official estimate of his casualties was 100,000. His attempt to isolate Rheims then consisted in a penetration of one mile on a three-mile base southeast of the city; on the west from the base line, Jaulgonne-Vrigny—thirty miles—he had made a penetration of five, up the

THE MARNE FRONT: SOLID LINE, ORIGINAL FRONT; BROKEN LINE, JULY 15; DOTTED LINE, JULY 17

Marne and toward the Montagne Forest, thus shortening the breadth of the Rheims salient to thirteen miles—from Pourcy on the west to Beaumont on the east—on a horizontal seven miles south of the city. West of this sector, as far as Château-Thierry, the Americans had thrown his troops back across the Marne. These results were brought about in the following manner:

On the 15th, at 6 A. M., the Germans, on the east of the line, attacked the Americans northwest of Château-Thierry, at Vaux, and southeast on the Marne between Fossoy and Mezy. At Vaux it was probably a feint attack—delivered too soon. On the Marne 25,000 crossed, the Americans retiring on Condé-en-Brie. Then the Americans counterattacked and drove 15,000 back to the north bank. The rest remained as casualties—1,500 of them prisoners. Meanwhile, to the east the Germans gained and held the south bank before Dormans and penetrated the Italian lines at Bligny, southwest of Rheims, and the French lines at Prunay. East of Prunay terrific assaults were delivered; there the French lines under Gouraud held, and demolished wave after wave of assailants.

Before night closed Foch said: "I am satisfied—Je suis content."

On the 16th the Germans renewed the fruitless attack against the Americans on the left and attempted two new crossings by bridges—at Gland, just east of Château-Thierry, and at Mareuil-le-Port, near Dormans—each with appalling losses. On the south bank further to the east the Americans recaptured St. Agnan and La Chapelle-Monthodon. On the southwestern approach to Rheims the enemy widened the penetration made the day before at Bligny, in the vicinity of Marfaux and Cuchery. Southeast of the Cathedral City the pocket at Prunay was made deeper.

During the 17th the enemy attempted to reach Festigny on both banks of the river, but was thrown back; on the line southeast of Rheims he managed to reach the outskirts of the Montagne Forest, thus bringing Prunay, on the other side of the allied approach to the city, to within ten or a dozen miles—a narrow defense for an important allied position. Elsewhere the enemy was held or counterattacked back. On July 18 the French and Americans launched a counteroffensive from Château-Thierry along a twenty-five mile front between the

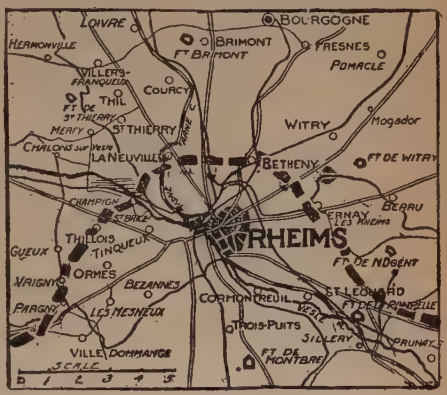
Marne and the Aisne; it was irresistible; within twelve hours the entire line was advanced from three to six miles, and thousands of prisoners and many guns captured; the Germans everywhere were retreating, and the Allies, flushed with success, were vigorously driving forward.

PRECEDING OPERATIONS

The operations of the month which preceded the first three days of this, the German-advertised "Friedensturm"—tempest for peace—will now receive attention.

The enemy's operations in an attempt to extend the front of the Marne salient, obtained in the last week in May, had caused the front on the left to assume the character of a semicircle partially enveloping Rheims, having radii averaging three and a half miles. It was similar to that which enveloped Ypres from January, 1915, to April, 1917, but with this difference: The Ypres sector was defended entirely by intrenched positions which, with the town itself, were constantly under fire from the enemy on the ridges on the right-rear; but the half circle of Rheims was made a circle by the French positions on the heights of the Vesle, Forts de la Pompelle and de Montbre, and the triangle of Tinqueux, Ormes, and Bezannes, whose artillery commanded the entire semicircle north of the Cathedral City.

It was to gain possession of this circle, with a circumference of thirty miles, and establish themselves on its southern perimeter, that the Germans, on a fourteen-mile front and with from three to five closely packed divisions, started a bombardment at 6 in the evening of June 18, followed up by infantry attacks at 9. Three divisions of the enemy were literally decimated. On the west and north of the city they were torn to pieces by the French counterbarrage; on the east an attempt to rush Fort de la Pompelle was hurled back. What was described in Berlin as a "surprise fire attack" ended in the early morning of June 19 as one of the most crushing repulses ever administered to Germany within similar limits of terrain and time. It demonstrated that the Rheims salient, in the light of all local conditions, was invulnerable. That being an established fact, it gave Foch the long-desired opportunity to demonstrate in concrete form the unique strategy which was destined to



SEMICIRCLE OF DEATH AT RHEIMS, WHERE 40,000 GERMANS WERE UTTERLY DEFEATED JUNE 18

cause a postponement from day to day, from week to week, of the prepared fifth German offensive on the western front, with acute demoralization in the field, but with definite, although partially covered, political demoralization in the capitals of the German States.

There was a tense waiting period between June 19 and June 26, broken only by an aftermath of the Rheims assault, when, on the night of June 23, the enemy launched an attack southwest of the city, near Bligny. But this sector, held by the newly arrived Italian troops, closed in on the first line of advance, so that few escaped.

INTENSE LOCAL OFFENSIVES

Then, on the 26th, began the series of local shock offenses carried out by the Allies over the entire front, which has rendered the operations of the month so remarkable. On that day the British opened an assault against a strong enemy position on the Lys salient, east of Hazebrouck, taking prisoners and machine guns. On the 28th they surprised the enemy on a four-and-a-half-mile front east of Nieppe Forest, going to a depth of a mile, and taking 300 prisoners, twenty-two machine guns, and occupying the hamlets of L'Eponette, Verte Rue, and La Becque. Simultaneously, the

Australians captured minor positions and took prisoners west of Merris, while the French advanced their lines one and a half miles west of St. Pierre Aigle, taking over 1,000 prisoners. The day closed with heavy enemy gunfire at all points of attack and with a fierce enemy assault on the Ambleny-Cutry sector, southwest of Soissons, which was dispersed by the French. On the following day, while the German bombardment of the foregoing points continued, the French won half a mile and captured 265 prisoners seven miles southeast of the town of Villers-Cotterets, and took 100 prisoners by improving their position near St. Pierre Aigle.

Then came on July 1 the spectacular taking of Vaux and the Bois de la Roche, west of Château-Thierry, by the American troops. This operation, although comparatively limited, revealed consummate command of scientific artillery and infantry work, both separate and in combination, and the result was to improve the French positions near St. Pierre Aigle and Villers-Cotterets Forest. For three days the German gunners fought a duel with the American artillery for Vaux. Meanwhile, the Americans pushed their line east of the town by annihilating a counterattack. On July 3 the French carried German positions on a two-mile front, with a half-mile penetration, between the Oise and the Aisne, seven miles northwest of Soissons. The booty consisted of 457 prisoners and thirty machine guns. Here, later in the day, the French extended their lines and increased their number of prisoners to 1,066.

CAPTURE OF HAMEL

Early on the morning of Independence Day the scene of the offensive shifted in emphasis to the region south of the Somme, where on a four-mile front and a penetration of one and a half miles the Australians took a stretch of German trenches, the village of Hamel, and 1,500 prisoners with astonishingly light losses. On the 8th the front southwest of Soissons, a corollary to the operations northwest on the 3d, became active and the German lines were penetrated for

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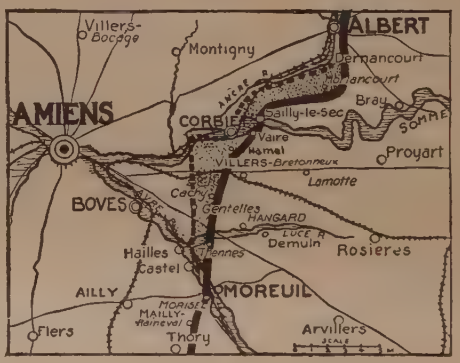

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WHERE MOST GROUND WAS GAINED BY THREE OF THE PRINCIPAL MINOR OFFENSIVES OF THE ALLIES: (1) AGAINST THE LYS SALIENT BY THE BRITISH; (2) BEFORE AMIENS BY THE FRENCH AND BRITISH; (3) NORTHWEST OF CHATEAU-THIERRY BY THE AMERICANS

three-fourths of a mile, leaving in the hands of the French 247 prisoners. Simultaneously, there was demonstrated on the Somme, north of Hamel, the corollary of the 4th—the Australians on the river gained further positions, both north and south of it, and took prisoners.

On the 9th, between Montdidier and the River Oise, the French carried a two-and-a-half-mile front to a depth of more than a mile and held it. Here and in minor raids further south they captured during the day 530 prisoners. In the two days following the French here and the British on the Lys salient developed their fronts, capturing more positions and prisoners.

Again on the 11th the terrain southwest of Soissons became active where the French entered the Forest of Villers-Cotterets and regained the historic château and village of Corcy. On the day following the positions here secured rendered up the important strategic village of Longpont on the Savières River, east of Villers-Cotterets, while eight miles northwest of Montdidier, on a three-mile front, the enemy's positions were smashed to a depth of a mile and a quarter, rendering up the village of Casel, on the Avre, and 500 prisoners. On the 13th further gains by the French in this region enabled them to consolidate a strong line from Casel to the Savières.

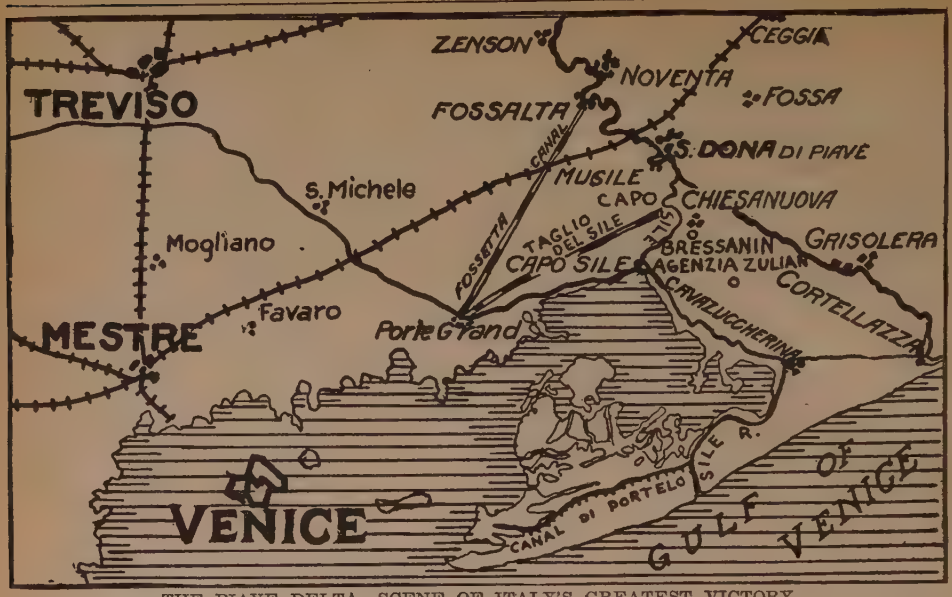
Even the fifth German offensive did not apparently interfere with Foch's scheme of minor offensives. For while the Germans on July 15 were trying to cross the Marne we find the British taking 328 prisoners and improving their positions in Ridge Wood, in the Ypres sector, and advancing their line in the Somme sector at Villers-Bretonneux.

ITALY'S VICTORY

The Austrian offensive begun June 15 had proceeded three days when it became necessary to postpone further consideration of it until this month. The signs then visible—that it was not only a stupendous failure but abortive from the very start—have, meanwhile, been fully realized. Today the Austrians hold some fifty square miles of territory less than they did when they began operations, having lost several strategic positions in the mountains and been entirely driven from the Piave Delta, where they had been intrenched since last November. The Italian General Staff places enemy casualties at between 270,000 and 300,000, (the Hungarian Premier on June 29 admitted the loss to eighteen Hungarian divisions alone to have been 100,000,) of whom between 50,000 and 60,000 have been killed and 20,000 taken prisoner. The early Austrian claims to having captured 35,000 prisoners have been discounted by Italian official reports and an intelligent analysis of the situation.

"We expect you to put Italy hors de combat," the German Emperor is reported to have said to Emperor Charles after the latter had meekly accepted a reprimand in regard to his "Dear Sixtus" letter. It was an order, a warning, possibly a threat—hardly the expression of trust in an ally.

The circumstances which made imperative a renewal of the Caporetto campaign of last year rather than an attempt to break new ground west of the Lago di Garda were set forth last month. The decision was early known in Italy and adequate steps taken to meet the situation. This situation demanded a counter-attack from the first. General Boroevic's plan was twofold: Field Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf, in the north, should reduce the Italian positions on the Asiago Plateau and the Grappa-Tomba sector and then between them press down the Brenta Valley and the Val di Stagna and so break into the plain of Vicenza by way of Bassano. Meanwhile, Boroevic himself would cross the Piave along a twenty-five-mile line extending down from Il Montello to the vertex of the Delta and develop his position there in the direction of the Fossetta Canal, so as to force the evacuation of Venice by threatening its destruction. Once in possession of Il Montello, a plateau of sixteen square miles with an average altitude of 900 feet, and the railway centres on the plain, Montebelluna, Castelfranco, and Treviso, would be dominated and the retreat of the Italian 3d Army under the Duke of Aosta cut off just as the 2d Army under Capello had been at Caporetto.



THE PIAVE DELTA—SCENE OF ITALY'S GREATEST VICTORY

ALONG THE PIAVE

We already know what first happened to Conrad in the mountains, but the operations on the Piave, between the launching of the attack across the river up to June 19, require further particularization than was possible to give last month, especially as there was then much confusion in designating the old Piave and the present bed of the river, between which the Delta is situated, and the forgotten fact that the Austrians all along had been in possession of part of this terrain on the right bank of the new river. Consequently they did not "cross" this, but the Piave Vecchia, in order to gain possession of Capo Sile, and all operations south of San Dona in which the Piave was mentioned referred to the old stream, cut off two centuries ago in order to reclaim the Delta and regulate the water of the lagoons, and opened again by the Italian engineers last November for the purpose of flooding that territory.

Aside from the capture of Capo Sile, the crossings further up the river gave the Austrians on June 15-16 San Andrea, near the railway bridge on the line Oderzo-Treviso, Candelu on the Oderzo-Treviso highway, and Nervesa on the eastern approaches to Il Montello. The next day they extended their line across the head of the Delta—the junction of the old and new Piave—as far as Fossalta, three miles from the junction, and threatened the Fossetta Canal at its centre. They made no progress at the San Andrea crossing, but from Nervesa their line ran over the eastern end of Il Montello to Casa Serena. On the following day they almost reached the centre of the Fossetta Canal, but elsewhere on the right bank their penetrations were being countered or firmly held.

A week after the Austrian offensive began, the Italians with the allied British, French, and American aviators, had gained complete dominance of the air. On June 19 the French on the Asiago Plateau successfully stormed and captured the Austrian positions at Bertigo and Pennar, and the Italians took Costalunga in the same sector. Italian pressure was beginning to tell on the Austrian positions on the western bank of the Piave—at Montello, Zenson, from Fossalta to Musile, and thence over the Delta to the sea. On this date, on the Fossalta-Musile sector Czechoslovak detachments were first used on the Italian side, thus giving official and practical expression to the Pact of Rome of April 9-11.

By June 21 torrential rains in the

mountains had so swollen the Piave that the only two bridges which had survived the intensive air and artillery fire of the Italians were swept away, and many positions held by the Austrians within the Delta were submerged, thus opening new channels for the Italian naval floats, each armed with a 6, 9, or 12 inch gun.

On Sunday night, June 22-23, a definite counteroffensive was launched against the now isolated Austrians from Il Montello to the sea, and by the following Monday the Italians had taken between 4,000 and 5,000 prisoners. Without food, almost without ammunition, the Austrians, bombed from the air and furrowed by machine guns and field pieces, gathered in dismal groups on the west bank seeking a ferry—like the souls described by Dante on the banks of the Acheron appealing to Charon for passage.

In the first week of July remnants of the Austrian detachments at Il Montello and Zenson managed to reach the east bank; the rest remained for record on the casualty lists. On July 6 the Italians drove the last of the enemy from the Delta across the new Piave—from the terrain which he had occupied since November. This is how the Austrian General Staff described this important manoeuvre:

> As the Delta of the Piave could not have been held without heavy sacrifices, we have withdrawn our troops which were stationed there to the dike positions on the eastern bank of the main branch. This operation was carried out during the night of July 5-6. The enemy felt his way at midday yesterday (July 6) as far as the river.

Meanwhile, the Italians and their allies in the mountain regions had been conducting a series of successful operations against some of the most formidable strategic positions of the enemy. On June 29, on the Asiago Plateau the Italians stormed and took Monte di Valbella with 800 prisoners and an observation peak on Sasso Rosso with thirty-three prisoners. The next day they took Col del Rosso, an important height just southeast of Valbella, with prisoners which brought the total taken in this region since June 15 up to 2,000. On June 30 they occupied after a fierce assault one of the spurs of the Col del Rosso, called Col di Chelo, or Peak of Echele.

Then the Monte Grappa region received attention. Here on July 1 a number of raids at isolated positions netted the Italians 569 prisoners and several machine guns. In this region on the 2d the Italians withstood a heavy Austrian counterattack at the head of San Lorenzo Valley. Here the number of prisoners to date since June 15 reached 621, besides several machine guns and a large quantity of material. Northeast of Monte Grappa on July 4 after an artillery preparation the Italians penetrated the Austrian positions at the head of Calcino Valley and gained the Porte di Salton heights. Intense but unavailing enemy counterattacks followed.

Throughout the month numerous minor operations have characterized both the region of Asiago and that of Grappa with the advantage invariably on the side of the Allies. Such an operation was that on July 14, when the Frènch in the former region, in celebration, probably, of Bastile Day, made a couple of surprise attacks into the enemy's lines at Bertigo and Zocchi and captured prisoners and material.

IN THE BALKANS

The military operations begun by the Italian and French forces in Albania, between the Devoli River and the Adriatic Sea, on July 6, at once invited an interesting line of speculation as to their motive and possible effect. Were they a distraction for the Austrians or the beginning of a serious movement to drive the enemy from the Albanian littoral? Would they end at the Via Egnatia and the Valley of the Skumbi, or, this position being attained, would the long-expected advance of the allied army to the east in Macedonia take place?

After twelve days these questions still remain unanswered. In August, 1916, when Rumania entered the war on Bulgaria's flank, the public looked for an advance of the Macedonian Army, which, under the French General Sarrail, then numbered half a million men. But even if Sarrail did not suspect the be-

ITALO-FRENCH ADVANCE IN ALBANIA. DOTTED LINE SHOWS OLD FRONT; SOLID LINE NEW FRONT, JULY 18, 1918

trayal of Rumania by the pro-Germans in the Government of the Czar of Russia, which had as one of its supplementary intrigues the luring of his army north, he was perfectly well aware of the military situation in his own terrain: His army was exposed in the rear to a possible attack from the army of King Constantine, who might at any time decide to obey his brother-in-law, the German Emperor. Moreover, the Italian Army in Albania, with its base at Avlona, had not yet established communication with Sarrail's left wing before Monastir. So the allied army in Macedonia remained in its trenches and saw the crushing of Rumania without being able to lift a hand.

Since then Greece, under the direction of Venizelos, has thrown in her lot with the Allies, and, in addition to the 70,000 Greek volunteers already there, their front has been strengthened by 150,000 men of the new Greek Army. Strong communications have been established between Avlona and Monastir, and the Italian force on the left has been increased from 300,000 to half a million.

Thus, when the present drive began there were over 1,000,000 troops of the Allies along the 300-mile front stretching from the Adriatic through Southern Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, across the Vardar, and down to the Aegean Sea, just east of the mouth of the Struma. Facing them, from west to east, were three or four divisions of Austrians, several German artillery batteries, the Bulgarian field army of about 250,000, and some Turkish detachments—in all less than half the total million at the service of the Allies. Besides, both Bulgaria and Turkey were war weary.

On the first day of the drive the Italians advanced their line north beyond the lower and middle Voyusa, British monitors acting as a movable bridgehead, and took 1,000 prisoners. On their right the French began their advance down the Devoli, and further east, before Monastir, the French artillery began a bombardment, under cover of which the Serbians there advanced their positions. This last movement, with others of the same nature which have occurred on the Macedonian front to date, can in no sense, so far, be designated as the military complement of what has been going on in

MAP SHOWING RELATION OF ALBANIA TO OTHER BALKAN STATES

Albania. So far there have been no real signs of a general movement on the Macedonian front.

By July 10 it became obvious that the immediate objective was Berat, with Elbasan, thirty miles to the north, as the remote objective. Elbasan is situated upon the old Roman road known as the Via Egnatia, which runs from Durazzo, on the Adriatic, east via Monastir to Constantinople, and over which the armies of Rome and those of the Crusaders used to pass. North of this road dwell those Albanian communities which, unconquered by the Turks in the old days, have since, under Essad Pasha, defied the Austrians. Only bridle paths lead to their hamlets. By the 10th also the Italians, on the coast, had reached the Levani-Fieri path to Berat, and cleared the Malacastra heights of the enemy southwest of the town. They had also made a measurable advance astride of the Osum, on which Berat is situated, and had partially cleared the Tomorica Ridge to the east of the town. The French, who were also assisting in clearing the ridge, had descended the Devoli to a point northeast of Berat. It was announced from Vienna on the same day that the Austrians were to be withdrawn to the Skumbi River.

Berat was occupied by the Italians on July 11, and the angle formed by the Tomorica and the Devoli was completely cleared of the enemy save at the vertex. By the 13th this had been achieved by the French, who pushed on down the Devoli toward the Berat-Elbasan highway. On the 15th the French column formed a junction with the Italian right on the heights of Cafa Darza. By the 17th the movement toward Elbason and the Via Egnatia had become a race between the Italians and French, with the latter five miles from the goal.

Defeating the German Offensive

American Troops, by Holding the Left Flank of the Invaders, Checked Their Whole Advance

All the special correspondents during the first four days of the German drive—begun July 15, 1918—united in giving the Americans credit for deflecting the main thrust of the Germans toward Paris, which resulted in the failure of the operation. The following was written on the morning of July 17 by Edwin L. James, one of THE NEW YORK TIMES *correspondents with the American Army on the Marne:*

TO comprehend what the Americans accomplished it should be understood that on Sunday, July 14, we held a line along the Marne from Château-Thierry to just west of Jaulgonne. Since then we have thrown more troops into the battle, so that from a point due south of Jaulgonne to a point just west of Nesle-le-Repons we are fighting with the French. When the Germans launched their drive on Monday morning, July 15, it was with the objective of a line sweeping from Château-Thierry through Courboin, through Montigny, and thence south to Epernay and Châlons, the grand objective. Montigny was to have been reached on the first day through the Americans.

It was after extraordinarily vicious artillery preparation that the Germans got troops across the Marne at ten points between Château-Thierry and Dormans. Against the Americans who were then holding the south bank of the Marne up through Mezy the crack German [deleted] Guard Division got across about 15,000 men by the use of canvas boats. The greater number crossed at two places near Fossoy and Mezy. Between 3 o'clock and 10 o'clock the Germans advanced against the Americans to a line running through Fossoy and Crezancy. When the Americans counter-attacked about noon the Germans were thrown back, and at midnight no Germans were on this side of the Marne up to Jaulgonne. Reliable reports say that the Americans practically destroyed the guard division that was sent against them. Hundreds were killed while trying to get back across the

Marne. It is estimated that the Americans killed or wounded 7,000 and our prisoners numbered 1,100, most of whom were taken by three companies of our troops—750 men.

Meanwhile the German line to our right had swept down from Courtemont around south of the Bois de Condé and south of St. Agnan around to Comblizy. The French retook St. Agnan and La Chapelle Monday afternoon with our troops in the second line. A counterattack by the Germans, launched at the same time of another smaller French attack, gave him these two places again. This was the situation yesterday afternoon when the French, reinforced by Americans, launched another attack at 1 o'clock.

In addition to going ahead with the French, our troops moved east on the west of the German flank. By 2 o'clock our combined forces had retaken La Chapelle and St. Agnan, as well as the important Hill 241 and Hill 223. The Americans drove the Germans back from the south edge of the Bois de Condé over the hill commanding the woods to the north side. A little later we took Chezy and Montlevon, and then continued our advance. The total gain of terrain was about two kilometers in depth on a front of eight kilometers. But the possession of the hills was more important. A considerable number of prisoners were taken. Those resting in the hands of the American units attacking west of the German flank number 345. The entire counterattack was a success.

The American troops fighting in the attack of Tuesday, the 16th, never before had been in battle. Their splendid performance came after a day and a half of heavy shelling with high explosives and gas, which they stood well. Their spirit was never broken.

A HEROIC COMPANY

The stuff that American soldiers are made of was shown in the case of a company led by Captain Mackey. In the fighting in the Bois le Condé this company of 250 men was surrounded by the enemy and reported captured. Three hours later Captain Mackey showed up with thirty-eight men. They had refused to be captured, although surrounded, and had fought their way back against great odds.

Another story of heroism is that of a platoon of Americans who were in Mezy when the Germans got across the river. When their comrades withdrew they stayed in the cellars in Mezy, where they placed machine guns in such positions that the Germans could not dislodge them. When the Americans got back into Mezy late on Monday night this platoon, without food, but with plenty of "pep," was still on the job. They had played havoc with the ranks of retreating Germans.

The only trouble the commanders had with the American troops was that they did not know when to retreat. One platoon did not get or did not heed orders to withdraw, and, holding on, became surrounded. Then they cut their way out. Half of them got back.

German failures against the Americans mean that the enemy has been greatly handicapped in his efforts to get to Epernay and Châlons. With the Americans holding as they are, the Germans will have to drive a much sharper and more dangerous salient than if our men had not held so well. Besides, the American successes give the Allies possession of the series of hills south of the Marne and just east of Château-Thierry, possession of which by the Germans would mean a serious menace to the allied line in this section. This same sort of service was performed by the 2d Division in holding Bois de Belleau and Vaux and Bouresches.

The Germans are now getting a taste of their own medicine in the artillery fire from our side. Prisoners say it is exceedingly difficult to maintain communication across the Marne because of the accuracy of our fire on their pontoon bridges. It was believed that the Germans had a mask manoeuvre of forty-four divisions—660,000 men—with which to make the drive, but it now appears that they are using between sixty and seventy divisions. I understand that most of these have been put into the effort of the last two days. Certainly the German effort of yesterday was not so strong as on Monday.

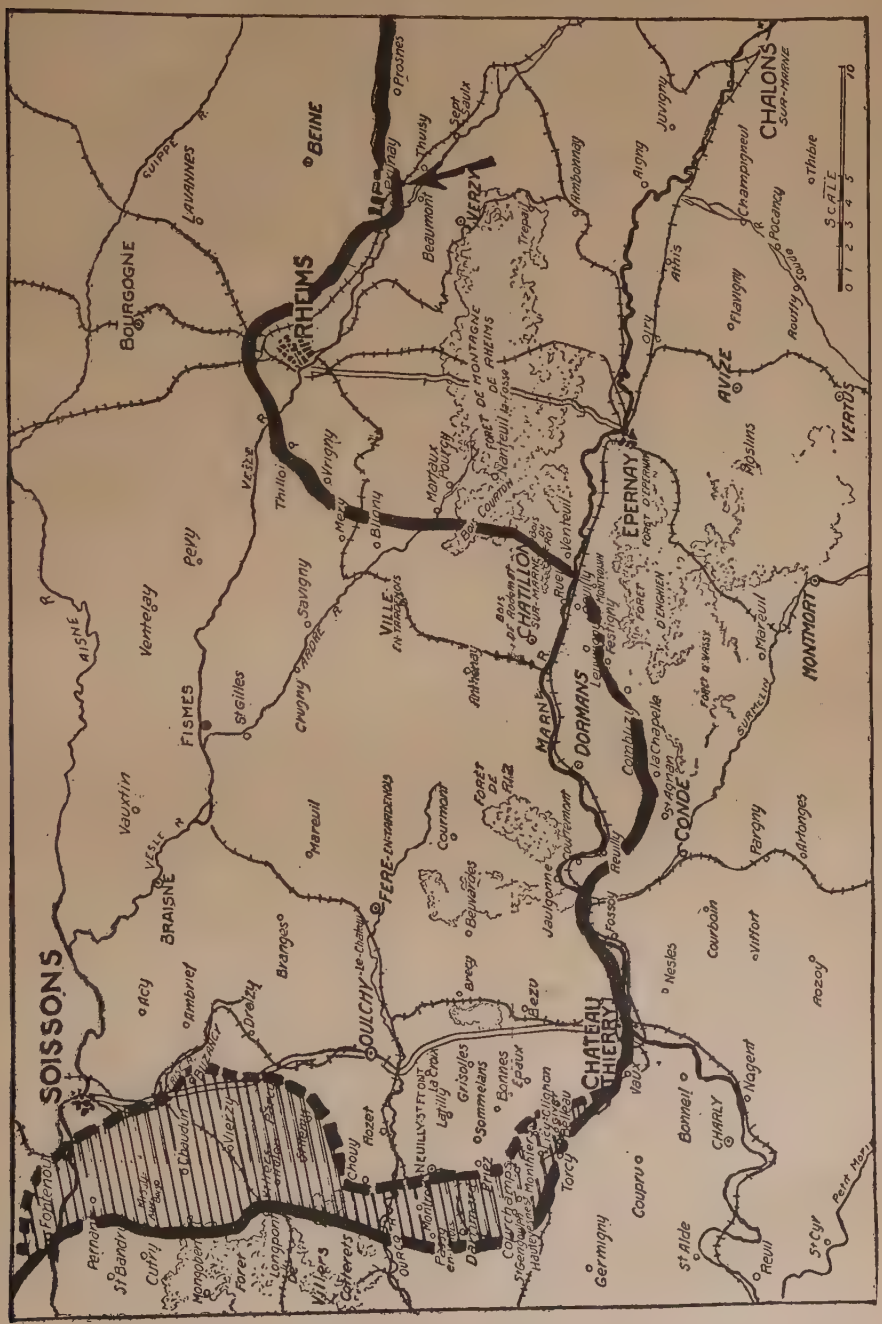
EAST OF RHEIMS

Reports that have just come in show that the Americans fighting east of Rheims held their own yesterday. They retired about two kilometers against the first shock of the drive, but since then they have stood firm. Just after starting the drive the allied artillery raked the German lines and back areas with sweeping barrages. The effect may be calculated by the fact that with the exception of small rushes the Germans have been unable to renew their drive for Châlons from the north. The country there is flat and sandy, almost entirely lacking of woods and valleys to shelter the German concentrations for attack. Prisoners say the allied artillery played havoc with their lines. Our artillery activity there evidently was more than the Germans expected and messed up their plans.

One of the prisoners captured today — he used to live in Philadelphia—said the barrage had caught his regiment when it was about to attack and made chop suey of it. Another youthful prisoner said that the division to which he belonged had been so chewed up by artillery fire that its remnants had been sent back to be used as replacements in other divisions. This was a crack guard division.

At one spot east of Rheims a German detachment with a machine gun had been

pestering our men, and a young Lieutenant with forty men was sent out to stop it. There was nothing to do but rush the position. Half an hour later a runner brought back this note: "Attack a success. We killed them all."



SCENE OF THE VICTORIOUS BLOW OF THE ALLIES, JULY 18, 1918, BETWEEN THE AISNE AND THE MARNE

The Enemy Outflanked and Beaten

Beginning of the Allied Offensive

[See map on preceding page]

The French and Americans on the morning of July 18 advanced along a twenty-eight-mile front from the Marne at Belleau Wood to Fontenoy, west of Soissons, on the Aisne. They took the Germans by surprise, and delivered a crushing defeat, changing the whole complexion of affairs in a few hours. Their advance along the entire line was from four to six miles; thousands of prisoners were taken and many large guns. The Germans were badly beaten and at places demoralized. The German losses were harrowing. The effect of the blow endangered all the positions gained by the Germans since March, 1918, and a general retirement was believed to be inevitable. It was the first major initiative of the Allies in a year and proved a brilliant success. The Americans were in the thick of it, and in one sector alone took over 4,000 prisoners. The news was received as this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *was going to press. We print below a brief extract from the description of the battle cabled by Edwin L. James of* THE NEW YORK TIMES:

WHEN the German high command started its drive Monday morning, it started more than the Kaiser planned for. The French and Americans were entirely successful in guarding their secret, and the attack at 4:45 o'clock this morning, (July 18,) without one gun of artillery preparation, took the Germans completely by surprise. The Americans and French had an early breakfast and started out. Then with rolling barrages ahead of them they went on.

A big piece of military work, very recent in conception, but of Foch planning, was shown when, at the precise minute, 4:45 o'clock, the French and Americans along nearly thirty miles of front went over the top and against the invaders. As in halting the German drive the Americans were at two vital points of the allied drive—Soissons and Château-Thierry—and elsewhere as well. On what was done to the ends of the line depended the success of the whole movement.

I was present at the fighting this morning in the Château-Thierry region, where our boys had done so much to aid the allied cause already. Just as the whistle was blown for the doughboys to start, our gunners started barrages with their seventy-fives. Our troops swept down the hill north of the Bois de Belleau toward Torcy. Shouting as they went, the American soldiers advanced on Torcy, and at precisely 5:30 the commander reported that they had captured the town. A little to the south other Americans swept around Belleau and closed up. Belleau was captured at 8:20 o'clock, and by that time German prisoners began coming back.

Captured officers admitted that the coming of the Americans had been a complete surprise. Sweeping north, the Americans charged into the Bois de Givry, and after a short fight with Germans went on down Hill 193 and into the village of Givry. Two hours later these troops had taken the town of Montairs.

In the meanwhile other American detachments with the French had charged the German positions in front of Courchamps and, while held up temporarily, brought up reinforcements, chased the Germans out of the woods, captured eighteen guns and took possession of Courchamps.

I want to quote the report a young Captain made on this fight. It read:

"We met the boche on his line of resistance. A sharp fight took place, after which the boche turned tail and ran like hell up the hill, pursued by our troops."

It was in this fight that a platoon of Americans pursued the fleeing boche clean out of our own sector and had to be brought back by an airplane message.

PUSHING TOWARD SOISSONS

In the meanwhile, on the other end of the sector, in the Soissons region, the Americans, aided by a fleet of tanks, moved east from near Fontenoy, pushing toward Soissons. Our troops fought like demons. Encouraged by the good start the surprise attack had given them, they pitched into the German reinforcements with a will and defied the German artillery hurriedly turned in their direction.

While these two star performances were going on, the French and Americans, advancing, took possession of a number of villages. Reports just in say that there has

been heavy fighting around Soissons and to the south, where Germans have brought up reserves.

Prisoners are being brought back in large numbers. They mostly belong to holding divisions, showing that the Germans were not expecting an attack on this line and had no shock troops ready.

The captures south of Soissons in the way of stores were immense, and included some airplanes which the enemy was unable to remove, so swiftly did the storming troops sweep through. Many prisoners and many guns still remain to be counted.

After passing the third objective set for the operations of the morning, the Americans, in co-operation with the French south of Soissons, launched a second powerful attack at noon. Showing the effect of splendid training, the American troops went forward swiftly and fought with fury. Nothing seemed to stop them, especially in the region of Soissons and to the south of that city.

Light and heavy pieces were moved up as the troops advanced, and, soon after each barrage ended, shells from the American guns were deluging the enemy's rear areas, playing havoc with his forces, whether those in retreat or reserves endeavoring to come up.

TERRIFIC LOSSES INFLICTED

It was open warfare, with all the attending excitement, and through the gaps made by heavy guns and infantry the French cavalry dashed, beating down those in their path. Terrific losses were inflicted at all points on the enemy.

On the line south of Soissons the American troops carried all their objectives in the second attack with the same dash as the first, even proceeding further than had been expected.

The enemy was routed, and for the most part fled before the American advance, abandoning even light guns and ammunition. Only here and there along the line was strong resistance offered, and at these points the Germans were attacked with rifle and bayonet, before which they retreated steadily.

The tanks did all that was expected of them. The great lumbering engines rolled along in front of the infantry, driving the Germans before them with streams of bullets and clearing away many obstructions that had escaped the artillery.

The enemy early began to bring up strong reinforcements. Fresh troops have appeared at various points, and a heavy counterattack will probably have to be withstood.

Soissons is now well within the range of the American guns. In this region, where the attack was especially successful, the Americans overcame all resistance by storm.

Early in the afternoon they had passed their final known objectives, including the Paris-Soissons road. From the second to the third objectives they swept behind a third barrage. The second objectives were usually taken by the troops of the first units, who had dug in at the first objectives.

The resistance to the south was especially vicious. At some places the American advancing troops were held up, but only temporarily.

The towns of Torcy and Givry and the Givry Wood were taken by the Americans in their advance. The final objectives in the Torcy and Givry sector were reached in about two hours of hard fighting. In one town alone on the southern part of the front under attack the Franco-American forces captured eighteen guns.

As the whole German flank is menaced, the enemy must draw in his troops from the Marne front or risk their being caught where they are. This means that the finishing blow possibly has been administered to the dying offensive.

Cabling American Weather Conditions to the War Front

Officials of the United States Weather Bureau have been assigned to the army and hold officers' rank in keeping with their duties, which are deemed important. Every day the weather conditions in America are cabled fully to these meteorological officers, and by them the data are transmitted to such points as may find it useful. Of course there are other reasons for sending the weather to the army besides the interest of the soldiers in home affairs. The main reason is that marked conditions of the weather in this hemisphere are likely to be reflected in the other, and the reason for that is the trend of the atmosphere toward the east. As the world revolves from west to east the atmosphere in mid-latitudes tends to move constantly toward the rising sun. A great storm in this country may have its counterpart in greater or less degree in Europe some days later. Fair weather on this side may mean fair weather over there within the week. Supplied with this, in addition to local information, the "officers of the weather over there" are aided in forecasting conditions favorable for airplane activity, artillery work, or other military operations.

Austria's Disastrous Offensive

By AUSTIN WEST

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The offensive launched on June 15, 1918, by the Austro-Hungarians against the Italians along a front of ninety-seven miles, from the Asiago Plateau to the sea, proved a disastrous failure. The Italians stated officially that they had taken 18,000 prisoners in their counterattacks, with a vast amount of booty, besides inflicting casualties in killed and wounded to the enormous total of 270,000. In the July CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *Austin West's description of the first four days' fighting was given, and herewith follow his subsequent descriptions:*

JUNE 20, 1918, (the sixth day of the battle.)—Austria's best divisions were played out toward the close of the third day of battle, and all the enemy reserves within a few miles of the front lines were under orders to advance, while the same evening entire divisions, stationed at Codroipo, forty-three miles away, had to be hurried up by forced marches.

The good news from the battlefront has wrought a very visible effect in relieving the anxiety and brightening the spirits of the Italian people. The heroic resistance of the whole army is rightly felt to have blotted out the episode of Caporetto, even as the brilliant naval exploits of Commanders Pellegrini and Rizzo have canceled the smarting sense of defeat that has lingered ever since the ill-fated sea fight at Lissa.

It is confidently believed that the worst phase of the Austrian onslaught is now over. Each succeeding dispatch from headquarters tends to show that the Austrian situation is becoming more critical.

Neither at San Dona nor Musile, where the struggle has assumed a tremendous intensity, nor anywhere else along the Piave, has the enemy been able to enlarge his bridgeheads. The deepest point of penetration from the right bank of the river is restricted to two and a half miles.

The enemy advantages, gained in the vicinity of Montello, have not only been arrested, but also reduced, for the Italian line between Giano and Sant Andrea has been pushed forward past Casa Serena, five miles eastward.

On the Alpine tableland Rafea Peak and Costa Lunga Ridge, east of Asiago, have been wrested from Conrad von Hoetzendorf's grasp. The allied contingents are sweeping the heights to the right and left of Val Bela, so as to consolidate the positions that bar the outlet to the plain across the Frenzela Valley and the Brenta Canal.

Many Austrians have lost their lives in the Piave through the carrying away by the raging current of improvised bridges, boats, and rafts. Large numbers have also been killed either in the act of crossing or soon after reaching the Italian side by the pitiless fire from the interallied aircraft, to which their exposed or cooped-up positions render them frightfully vulnerable.

Two Hungarian battalions landed just as two Italian battalions were ready for a counterattack. A clash of forces ensued, finishing in a series of hand-to-hand duels to the death. Major Gen. Henry Volzano von Kronstatt, commander of a division and member of the Austrian Supreme Command, was killed while reconnoitring near Montello. Prince von Schoenburg, a cavalry General and a member of the imperial house, was mortally wounded by a shell explosion in the same sector.

FLOODS AID ITALIANS

June 21.—Torrential rains have converted the Piave into a vast rushing cataract which is sweeping away everything in its course to the lagoons. British aviators had wrecked all seven of the permanent bridges, hailing down about ten tons of bombs. Those which Field Marshal Boroevic was constructing for moving across his heavy artillery were destroyed in the flood with the lighter pontoons, so that feeding the famished enemy troops herded on the right bank

is possible only by resort to hydroplanes between Zenson and Musile.

The outlet into the Gulf of Venice at Cortelazzo is obstructed by an enormous accumulation of floating timber, the débris of smashed boats and rafts, carcasses of animals and corpses of men.

Last night the battle was waxing most furiously from Candelu to Capo Sile. With fresh divisions at his command, General Wurm was renewing his assault on the intrenched camp of Treviso and reattempting the passage of the Piave between Ponte di Priula and Candelu. Simultaneously strong masses of infantry were trying to push through on the Treviso road near San Biagio di Callatto and along the Mestre road near Meolo.

"Da qui non si passa!" (they shall not pass) has become the grim battlecry of Italy's brave warriors. The Potenza Brigade with the Bersaglieri Cyclist Corps routed the 26th Austrian Army Corps during its wild dash toward Monastir.

June 23.—Fragmentary details only have reached here at present about the Austrian defeat. Preparations for retreat beyond the Piave were discovered by Italian raiders in the enemy lines in the early hours of Sunday morning. Instantly the Italian artillery began a furious bombardment against the passages across the river.

At dawn General Diaz ordered a series of infantry attacks along the whole line, and they were pressed with irresistible energy. By 11 o'clock Italian regiments had smashed the enemy front at Montello, reoccupied the entire ridge, and driven the now bewildered foe down the slopes.

By the water's edge there and at other spots where the fleeing troops were massed in waiting to get across hastily improvised bridges, allied aviation squadrons, including the pioneer American corps, raked and pelted their dense formations incessantly and mercilessly with a fiery hail, till the passageways were blocked with dead and wounded and the crimson waters of the Piave were covered thickly with wreckage of war, interspersed with thousands of bodies.

After a short but violent bombardment had destroyed the town of Nervesa, it was recaptured during the afternoon in a brilliant bayonet charge. Besides recovering all the guns lost last week, the Italians seized there a large number of Austrian cannon intact with their munition stores.

Great public rejoicings greeted tonight's announcement of the disorderly, disastrous retreat of the Austrian Army across the Piave from the Montello heights to the Venetian Gulf.

ENORMOUS ENEMY LOSSES

June 25.—From the Montello upland to San Dona the whole countryside is one vast cemetery, and in many places thousands of unburied bodies render the air unbreathable. Throughout this district there are no longer any Austrians other than dead, wounded, or prisoners; but from San Dona seaward strenuous fighting, according to the latest reports, is still going on because the width of the river and the insidious nature of the currents thereabout add to the difficulties of the Austrian retreat.

Taking advantage of this situation, Italian cavalry regiments have been brought into play, and in furious charges are punishing the fugitives with their swords. At Campolungo, south of Zenson, their mighty onrush, overwhelming all resistance, brought them to the very pontoons crowded with Austrians about to cross. Italian infantry and cyclist Bersaglieri, following, destroyed the passageway, taking many prisoners.

It is estimated that the Austrian losses now approach a quarter of a million men. The Austrian Isonzo army, which on the eve of the battle was augmented by from three to four army corps—about fifteen divisions—had lost 60,000 combatants by Saturday evening. Its 10th, 12th, and 77th Divisions each counted 5,000 in dead, wounded, and missing. One regiment was reduced to five officers and 362 men. Ten among them, the best fighting regiments, and divisions of Schützen, Honved, and Feldjäger, were cut utterly to pieces at the same time.

Austrian officers themselves reckoned about 40,000 men and horses lost in com-

bat in their 6th Army fronting Montello, while the losses incurred in the subsequent catastrophe of the retreat are not known with any sort of precision. Hundreds of bodies have been carried out to sea. The General commanding the 91st Schützen Brigade was found near Meolo with his brains blown out, having killed himself amid the corpses of his forces annihilated after a valiant resistance.

Many Italian prisoners and wounded have been recovered, lying famished and untended in caves and abandoned houses and despoiled of all personal belongings, even to their boots and clothing. The body of the gallant Italian aviator, Major Baracca, was found beside his burned machine at the foot of Montello.

Allied airmen have detected the Austrians busy on the left bank of the river moving some miles inland the prodigious array of artillery, amounting to some 3,000 pieces, with which they began the battle of the Piave.

PIAVE DELTA CLEARED

The pressure against the Austrian lines continued with unabated vigor from June 25 to July 6, when the crowning triumph of the Italian resistance was achieved. The Austrians were driven from the delta of the Piave, where they had stubbornly withstood all the enemy's attacks for nearly eight months. Every day from June 25 to the final expulsion, one strategic point after another was gained by the Italians, with the French and British actively co-operating at the extreme left wing, until the west bank of the Piave was entirely cleared and the Austrians forced back beyond their original lines. The final act of the drama is thus described by Mr. West in a cablegram dated July 7:

Now that the splendid but hard-won Italian victory has scraped the whole Venetian plain thoroughly clean of the enemy up to the opposite bank of the great Piave stream, I am permitted to give some thrilling details of the terrible guerrilla warfare, rich in unrecorded deeds of heroism, which has been going on unceasingly day and night amid the mud and insidious marshlands of the lower Piave.

The second extraordinary bulletin, which General Diaz issued last night, contains the first clear intimations to reach the public of the important fact that the entire triangular sector having its head at San Dona and its base along the Adriatic Gulf from Cortellazzo to the extreme outlet of the old Piave River bed by the Venetian lagoons, has been held in the tenacious grip of the Austrian invader ever since November last.

Unable to dig trenches or to operate in large masses on this sodden soil, the Austrians had split up into innumerable small groups. Every factory, farmhouse, and cottage they converted into a fortress. They fixed machine guns in every treefork available, and sowed thick with them the banks of the countless canals. About 1,300 of these mitrailleuses have been already listed in the enormous booty captured, but hundreds more are left buried in the swamps or beneath the wreckage of demolished buildings.

Some of the severest fighting was sustained by the Italian Royal Marine Corps in the Cortellazzo Woods and in the extreme angle of the lagoons, in clearing which they encountered the famous Viennese " Company of Death," composed exclusively of volunteers, clad in black sweaters, the breasts of which are embroidered in white with a human skull.

Floundering in the bogs and losing their weapons, both sides were often driven in desperation to tearing each other with their teeth. During the tremendous hand-to-hand contests that accompanied the closing phase of the battle the Italian Arditi, or daredevils, performed astounding feats of agility. Their special task was to silence a swarm of machine guns protected by barbed wire entanglements.

The Arditi hit on a method altogether novel in the history of this war. Providing themselves with long leaping poles, they made a mighty rush, jumped the obstacles, and, landing in the rear of the bewildered gunners, drove daggers into their backs. One daredevil alone sent eight Austrians stampeding into the Italian lines under the menace of an uplifted hand bomb.

GENERAL DE MAUD'HUY

One of the leading French army corps commanders

Entrance to the Chateau at Villers-Bretonneux

Ruins of the village of Locre, at the foot of Mont Kemmel

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From June 19, 1918, Up to and Including July 17, 1918

UNITED STATES

Attacks by Turkish troops on the American consulate at Tabriz, Persia, and the looting of an American missionary hospital in that city were reported to the State Department June 19.

The Fourth Liberty Loan bill, authorizing bond issues of $8,000,000,000, was passed finally July 5.

A treaty with Great Britain for the reciprocal conscription of British and American citizens was ratified by the Senate on June 24.

The second draft lottery was held in Washington on June 27.

In a letter sent to the House Military Committee July 2, Secretary Baker disclosed the fact that there were now 160,400 officers and 2,010,000 men in the army.

General Peyton C. March announced on July 13 that more than 1,100,000 soldiers were in the overseas army and that three army corps of about 700,000 men were in the fighting line.

A joint resolution giving the President power to take over telegraph, telephone, radio, and cable systems was passed.

Ninety-five ships of 474,464 tons and seventeen war vessels were launched on the Fourth of July.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The Norwegian freighter Augvald was sunk by a submarine June 23, 125 miles east of Cape Race; three members of her crew were drowned and thirteen others were unaccounted for. The British transport Dwinsk, while on its way to America for troops, was sunk about 550 miles east of Sandy Hook, June 24. A German submarine captured the Norwegian bark Manx King, on July 6, 300 miles off Cape Race, and set the crew adrift in small boats. It was not known whether the ship was sunk or converted into a German raider. The sailing vessel Marosa was sunk about 1,200 miles east of Sandy Hook July 8.

Germany announced on June 23 that ships sunk in the month of May aggregated 614,000 tons.

A statement issued by the British Admiralty on June 26 showed that the total British, allied, and neutral tonnage sunk during May was 355,694, of which 224,735 tons were British. American and British ship construction in May was 372,608 tons.

Twenty Norwegian ships were sunk during the month of May, and thirty-one men were lost.

Announcement was made on June 26 that the Canadian Pacific liners Pomeranian and Medora had been sunk.

The Canadian hospital ship Llandovery Castle was sunk off the British coast June 27, and 234 persons were missing.

The American transport Covington, formerly the Hamburg-American liner Cincinnati, was sunk while en route from a French port to the United States without passengers or troops. Six members of the crew were lost.

Passengers on a steamship which arrived at an Atlantic port July 4 reported an attack upon a convoy of vessels returning from Europe, and the loss of the British steamship Orissa on June 25. They also reported that the destroyers of the convoy had sunk two submarines with depth bombs.

A transport which returned to the United States from France July 8 was attacked by eight submarines in the Bay of Biscay when she was eastward bound and loaded with troops, but she escaped and sank one of the attacking U-boats. The destroyers escorting her sank another.

Announcement was made on July 17 that a Spanish steamship on which Minister Lopez de Vega was returning to Spain from Greece had been torpedoed, in spite of the fact that it was flying the Minister's flag and that the German Government had been notified of the Minister's departure.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

June 19—First German Army, under General von Below, makes unsuccessful drive at Rheims on a fourteen-mile line; three divisions smashed by the French; two American patrols cross the Marne east of Château-Thierry.

June 20—Americans take German trenches in front of Cantigny, and advance at Belleau Wood; British and French make successful raids from Ypres southward to the Oise.

June 21—American forces northwest of Château-Thierry make further gains on the north side of Belleau Wood; reconnoitring thrusts by the Allies all along the line; French gain north of the Ourcq.

June 23—British enter German positions near Bucquoy and Morlancourt; French carry out successful raids between Montdidier and the Oise; Italians, co-operating with the French, check German attack at Bligny.

June 24—Germans raid American trenches east of St. Die and southeast of Lunéville.

ville, and capture some prisoners; Americans clear Belleau Wood of all Germans.

June 26—Americans capture important German stronghold south of Torcy, after seven-hour fight.

June 27—British take a strong point on the Lys salient, west of Vieux Berquin.

June 28—British advance on a three-mile front opposite the forest of Nieppe, west of Merville, to a depth of nearly a mile, and overwhelm the 32d Saxon and 44th German Regiments, taking the hamlets of L'Epinette, Verte Rue, and Le Becque; French advance on a four-and-a-half-mile front southwest of Soissons to the north of Villers-Cotterets Forest.

June 29—Germans make two unsuccessful attacks on French lines in the Ambleny-Cutry sector; Americans make successful raid on German lines northwest of Montdidier.

July 1—British attack German lines north of Albert and force the Germans back on important positions southeast of Bouzincourt; French improve their positions south of the Ourcq.

July 2—Americans capture the village of Vaux and the Bois de la Roche, west of Château-Thierry; British repulse attacks northwest of Albert.

July 3—Americans hurl back counterattacks at Vaux; French carry German positions on a two-mile front north of Moulin-sous-Toutvent, on the front between the Aisne and the Oise.

July 4—Australians and Americans capture Hamel and the trench system beyond it, south of the Somme; French deliver two attacks between Autreches and Moulin-sous-Toutvent, pushing into enemy territory.

July 5—German counterattacks at Hamel repulsed; great activity by Allies on the entire front.

July 6—Australians and Americans take the aggressive northeast of Villers-Bretonneux and advance on a front of 2,000 yards; Americans repulse raid at Xivray; French gain ground west of Château-Thierry.

July 7—Americans take part in successful raids east of Hamel and in the Vosges.

July 8—French deliver a blow on the edge of the forest of Villers-Cotterets, and break German lines on a front of 1.8 miles; Australians carry their line forward astride the Somme River to a depth of 600 yards on a front of 3,000 yards.

July 9—French troops advance on a two-and-one-half-mile front west of Antheuil.

July 10—French occupy La Grille Farm, advance to the outskirts of Longpont, and penetrate the northern section of Corcy; British advance 250 yards on a 1,200-yard front on the Lys.

July 11—French capture Corcy and the farm of St. Paul to the south.

July 12—French pierce German line a mile on a three-mile front north of Cantigny and capture Castel; also take Longpont to the southwest of Soissons.

July 13—French make a new gain in the Longpont-Corcy area and push their lines across the Savières River, and also advance in the Antheuil district southeast of Montdidier.

July 14—British defeat the Germans south of Ypres, advancing their front east of Dickebusch Lake.

July 15—Germans launch offensive on a sixty-mile front from Château-Thierry nearly to the Argonne; Americans throw a whole division back across the Marne in counterattack in the curve of the river west and southwest of Jaulgonne; German gains from two and one-half to three miles on a wide front from Rheims to Dormans, pressing back the French and Italian lines to Chatillon, Cuchery, Marfaux, and Bonilly, and take some advanced posts east of Rheims; British improve their positions near Villers-Bretonneux.

July 16—Germans force back French lines at Prunay, southeast of Rheims, taking the village, and push across the Marne southwest of Rheims, pressing the Allies back toward Epernay; Americans and French drive them back at St. Agnan and La Chapelle-Monthodon; long-range bombardment of Paris resumed.

July 17—Germans repulsed in attack east of Rheims between Beaumont-sur-Vesle and Sillery, but advance a mile and one-half on a six-mile front on the western front of the Mountain of Rheims; Americans hold all gains between Château-Thierry and Dormans, and aid the French in pushing the Germans back on the Marne to a line running through Savigny, Bois de Condé, north of Chezy; Fermes-des-Clos-Milon to Nesle-le-Repons.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

June 20—Italians push forward their line between Giano and Sant Andrea past Casa Serena, wrest Rafea Peak and Costa Lunga Ridge from the Austrians, and retake Capo Sile.

June 21 — Italian counteroffensive gains ground in the region of Fagare and Zenson; Austrians fall back at Losson.

June 22—Austrian offensive virtually at a standstill; Italian warships co-operate with troops and enlarge the Piave bridgehead at Cavazuccherina; Vienna claims 40,000 prisoners; captured Czechoslovaks executed.

June 23—Austrians retire across the Piave from Montello to the Adriatic.

June 24—Austrian retreat continues; Vienna announces the evacuation of Montello and the right bank of the Piave; Italians take thousands of prisoners; Nervesa retaken.

June 25—Italians force the last rear guard of the retreating Austrians to surrender, completely reoccupy the west bank of the Piave, and begin offensive on the mount-

ain front between the Piave and the Brenta, in the Monte Grappa sector, inflicting heavy losses and gaining considerable ground.

June 26—Italians completely reoccupy Capo Sile bridgehead and extend their line, holding it against all counterattacks.

June 27—Regiment of troops in the American Expeditionary Force ordered to Italy.

June 30—Italians, supported by French and British, capture Monte di Valbella.

July 1—Italians capture Col del Rosso and the Peak of Echele and repulse heavy assaults on Monte di Valbella.

July 2—Italians storm Austrian defenses in the region of Monte Grappa and capture important positions; General Otto von Below appointed Commander in Chief of the Austrian forces.

July 4—Italians make further progress north of Cavazuccherina.

July 6—Austrians completely expelled from the western bank of the Piave River.

July 8—Italians advance their front line in the Grappa and Col Caprile regions.

July 13—Austrian attacks on the Cornone slopes repulsed.

July 15—French carry out surprise attacks into Austrian lines at Bertigo and Zocchi.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

July 6—Italian and French troops in Albania begin drive between the coast and the Tomorica Valley.

July 9—Franco-Italian forces capture Fieri and important heights between Levani and the monastery of Pohani.

July 10-11—Allies link up a 200-mile line from the Adriatic Sea to Saloniki; Italians occupy Berat; French advance between the Davoli and the Osum to the west of Koritza.

July 13—Greeks disperse Bulgarian detachment on the Struma River; Austrians retire on organized line delimited by Rashtani, Selchani, Hill 500, the confluence of the Tomorica, and the Devoli and Kurshova.

July 14—French sweep Austrians back on the right bank of the Devoli and take Gramshi and Natta; British carry out successful raid on Bulgarian lines west of Doiran.

July 15 — French advance beyond Gramshi and reach the outskirts of Chekini and Cruja, coming in contact with new Austrian line.

July 16—French extend their gains on the eastern bank of the Devoli River, occupying three more villages.

July 17—French extend their gains north of the Devoli River and occupy Meran.

ASIA MINOR CAMPAIGN

July 12—Turkish troops attack British positions in Palestine commanding the crossings of the Jordan and on the ridges north of Jericho, but are driven back in counterattacks.

AERIAL RECORD

Announcement was made on June 21 that American airmen had joined the allied aviators on the Italian front and were aiding in the battle along the Piave.

The Germans continued their raids on hospitals. A Canadian hospital behind the British front was bombed on June 24 and several persons, including doctors, nurses, and patients, were killed. Fifty-four Belgian girls were killed in a raid on an ambulance park at La Panne. An American Red Cross hospital at Jouy was bombed on the night of July 15. Two enlisted men were killed and nine persons wounded.

Paris was bombarded on the nights of June 26 and June 27, but there were few victims and little property loss. One German aviator was killed and two were taken prisoner. Another raid occurred July 1.

British aviators raided Saarbrücken, Karlsruhe, Offenburg, Mannheim, Thionville, and the Metz-Sablons railroad on June 25. The Badische aniline and soda factory at Mannheim was damaged and many persons in the city were killed. Coblenz and Saarbrücken were attacked on July 5. Offenburg, Karlsruhe, and Thionville were again attacked on the nights of July 15 and July 16.

British naval airplanes, in the period between July 4 and July 7, dropped six tons of explosives on German works at Ostend, Zeebrugge, and Bruges. Direct hits were observed on buildings and vessels. Five German airplanes were destroyed and three others were driven out of control.

A British submarine was slightly damaged and six men on board were killed when the craft was attacked by German seaplanes off the coast of England, July 6.

In the great German offensive on the western front, five bridges established by the Germans west of Dormans were destroyed by French aviators and by artillery, July 16. Fourteen tons of explosives were dropped on German lines of communication north of the Marne, and forty-one German planes were brought down.

Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt, youngest son of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, was reported shot down in an air battle inside the German lines in the Château-Thierry sector, July 14.

During the year ended June 30, 1918, British aviators brought down 4,102 enemy aircraft, and lost 1,121 machines. On the west front they brought down 2,150, and drove 1,083 out of control. Naval fliers brought down 623. Their own losses were 1,094 machines, including 92 which were working with the navy.

On the Italian front, from April to June, the British destroyed 165 enemy machines and drove six out of control. Thirteen British machines were reported missing.

On the Saloniki front, between January and June, 21 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British and 13 were driven out of control. Four British machines were reported missing.

From March to June, in Egypt and Palestine, 26 enemy aircraft were destroyed by the British and 15 were driven out of control. Ten British machines were reported missing.

Thirty-three air attacks were made during June by the Allies against German towns and cities, according to a statement issued at Berlin July 17. Thirty-four persons were killed and 37 were severely injured. Thirty-five others suffered slight wounds.

NAVAL RECORD

Thomas J. McNamara, Financial Secretary of the British Admiralty, announced in the House of Commons on June 19 that twenty-one German destroyers and a large number of submarines were penned in the Bruges Canal docks as the result of the British naval operations at Zeebrugge.

Reports of the presence of a fast and heavily armed German raider in West Indian waters were received on June 25. A large British steamship was reported torpedoed.

Four British torpedo-boat destroyers fought a long-range engagement with a German destroyer force off the Belgian coast, June 27. The action was broken off before any decisive results were attained.

Word was received on July 12 that an American naval launch, after helping a French destroyer to tow a disabled seaplane to safety, was sunk by German shore batteries. Two of the crew were drowned and one taken prisoner.

The steamship Wimmera was sunk by a mine off the coast of New Zealand, with the loss of twenty-six lives, according to a dispatch from Vancouver dated July 17.

RUSSIA

Word was received June 23 that the Soviet Government would be compelled to conclude a foreign loan, and that in return for it Germany would be granted wide exploitation of Russia's natural resources.

General Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Russia, was assassinated by two Social Revolutionists on July 6. At the same time a formidable counter-revolutionary movement was attempted in Moscow by the Social Revolutionists. It was suppressed with bloodshed.

A state of war was proclaimed in the province of Archangel, June 23, due to Finnish attempts to take Kola. It became known on July 3 that Germans and Finns had invaded East Karelen and threatened the Murman Railway. Consuls of the Allies on that day received delegates from the Murman coast and the White Sea coast, asking for the protection of the Entente allied Governments.

The entire population of the Murman coast broke with Russia on July 7 and joined the Entente. Supplies from the United States were received at Murmansk. On the same day White Guards occupied Yaroslav, 173 miles northeast of Moscow, and cut communications between Moscow and Vologda.

American and British forces occupied the whole of the Murman coast, July 15, taking possession of the Port of Kem on the White Sea and advancing toward Toroki.

General Tuan Chi-jui, the Chinese Premier and War Minister, announced on June 22 that Chinese troops were available for co-operation with the Japanese against the Bolsheviki.

Czechoslovak forces entered Yekaterinburg, on the Asiatic side of the Ural Mountains, June 26. Their forces in Siberia were left in entire control of Vladivostok July 1, after severe fighting, during which British and Japanese landing parties patrolled the streets to enforce neutrality in the area where the consulates were located. The Bolshevist Army in the region of Irkutsk was defeated July 5, and on the same day a mixed force of Bolsheviki and Austro-German prisoners was put to rout and the Czechoslovaks occupied Nikolayevsk, a naval station on the Amur River. Irkutsk was occupied by Czechoslovaks on July 13, and on July 15 they occupied Klutshevsk, 550 miles east of Irkutsk, and also captured Kazan, 430 miles east of Moscow.

A new Provisional Siberian Government was established at Novonikolayevsk July 10. Its program included the liberation of Siberia from the Bolsheviki and the avoidance, if possible, of foreign intervention. Lieut. Gen. Horvath, the anti-Bolshevist commander, declared himself Premier and was proclaimed Provisional Ruler. The British, French, and Japanese Ministers to China asked him to withdraw his dictatorship on the ground that it was untimely and might impede the movement of the Czechoslovaks.

Stephen Pichon, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the occasion of the presentation of the colors to the Czechoslovak Army on the western front July 1, addressed a letter on behalf of the French Government to the Czech National Council recognizing the independence of the Czechoslavs as a nation.

On July 10 word was received that a memorandum had been presented to the Japanese Foreign Minister and to the allied Ambassadors at Tokio by the Czechoslovak National Council, announcing that Czechoslovak troops operating in Russia desired to fight on the western front and did not want to be mixed up in Russia's internal affairs.

The Wologdaczhe Republic was established in Northern Russia July 10. It comprised the territory in Northeastern Rus-

sia, from the White Sea to the Asiatic frontier.

A revolt occurred in Ukraine against German rule. A fire in Kiev on June 25 destroyed five square miles of the town, the Odessa Arsenal was blown up, and a flotilla of improvised monitors under command of a sailor bombarded Nagauren. A fierce battle between Germano-Ukrainian White Guards and the peasants was fought at Yekaterinoslav June 30.

RUMANIA

The Rumanian treaty of peace with the Central Powers was ratified by the German Reichstag July 3, and by the Rumanian Senate July 5.

MISCELLANEOUS

Serious outbreaks occurred in Austria-Hungary. The Vienna City Council, on June 19, passed a resolution protesting against the reduction of the bread ration, and on the same day the Vienna Labor Council passed a resolution calling for a speedy peace. Bread riots occurred in Vienna, and on June 22 nine strikers were killed and thirty-six wounded in Budapest in conflict with the police at Government railway shops. The strikers formulated a demand for peace.

The von Seidler Cabinet resigned June 23, but Emperor Charles refused to accept the resignation and convoked the Reichsrat for July 16.

Mutinies occurred in the army in Hungary June 28, at the garrisons of Gyor and Pecs. Two thousand of the military were reported shot.

Martial law was proclaimed in the Duchy of Styria July 2 in order to deal with mutiny and desertion.

Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister, in addressing the Reichstag on June 24 on the second reading of the budget, discussed the military situation and the peace outlook. He indicated the probability of a long war, which would be ended not by a decision at arms, but by diplomatic negotiation. The storm caused by this speech, together with aspersions cast on his personal character, which resulted in his bringing suit for libel against two Berlin newspapers, brought about his resignation July 9. Admiral von Hintze was appointed to succeed him.

A report received from Spain, June 28, announced that Austria had asked the Spanish Government to try to open diplomatic relations with the Entente, with a view to a general peace.

Count von Hertling, the German Chancellor, in his speech before the Reichstag Main Committee on July 11, denied that Germany intended to retain Belgium and said that the country was being held as a pawn for future negotiations.

On July 16, Baron von Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, addressed to the Austrian and Hungarian Premiers a detailed discussion of peace based on President Wilson's Fourth of July speech at Mount Vernon.

The three-class ballot reform bill was passed by the Prussian Chamber of Deputies, July 5.

A. Malinoff formed a new Cabinet in Bulgaria, June 22.

The French Government created a Secretaryship for Franco-American War Co-operation and Premier Clemenceau appointed André Tardieu to the post, June 19.

M. Duval, General Manager of the Bonnet Rouge, was shot as a traitor at Vincennes, July 17.

Earl Curzon announced in the British House of Commons on June 20 that both home rule and conscription for Ireland would be put aside for the present, and said that the Sinn Fein plots and the Roman Catholic clergy's stand against conscription were responsible. Forty thousand rounds of ammunition were seized in Dublin, June 24. Premier Lloyd George addressed Parliament June 25, announcing that he would stand by conscription, but asking for sanction for his preliminary system of volunteering.

Haiti declared war against Germany, July 15.

The Stars and Stripes

By HENRY VAN DYKE

Thank God we can see, in the glory of morn,
The invincible flag that our fathers defended;
And our hearts can repeat what the heroes have sworn,
That war shall not end till the war-lust is ended.
Then the bloodthirsty sword shall no longer be lord
Of the nations oppressed by the conqueror's horde,
But the banners of freedom shall peacefully wave
Over the world of the free and the lands of the brave.

Americans on the Battlefront

More Than 1,100,000 of Our Men in France, and 700,000 on the Fighting Lines

[Period Ended July 15, 1918]

COINCIDENT with a remarkable acceleration in the sending of American troops across the Atlantic, units already in France have been gaining fresh laurels on the firing line and gradually relieving the Allies of sectors and parts of sectors. On June 21 it was stated that American troops were then holding thirty-nine miles of the western battlefront, occupying positions in six different sectors. Here they continued the minor operations, made several small gains, and scored at least two important successes on a larger scale.

The success at Château-Thierry in the Marne region was followed up by the Americans who attacked the German line northwest of the town during the night of June 19. They advanced more than half a mile and drove the Germans back from a small pocket on the northern side of Belleau Wood. Here, during the morning of June 21, the Americans straightened out their line by a series of small but brilliantly executed attacks.

Cantigny, in the Montdidier sector, was the scene of another short and fierce struggle on the morning of June 20, when American troops stormed German trenches and machine-gun nests in front of the village. Most of the German troops, acting under orders to hold their positions at all costs, were killed by rifle and machine-gun fire and bayonet. Considering the small scale of the operation, the casualties suffered by the enemy were unusually heavy.

By far the most complete operation planned and executed by American officers and men up to date was the American advance in the Marne Valley on July 1, resulting in the capture of the town of Vaux. The advance was on a two-mile front to a depth of about a mile, taking in some high-lying ground behind Vaux as well as the town itself. [Full descriptions of this American achievement will be found in succeeding pages of this issue.]

The Australians, in their advance at Hamel of one and a half miles on a four-mile front on July 4, had the assistance of American infantry units, which greatly distinguished themselves and won high praise from their comrades. The only criticism the Australian officers had to offer was that the Americans were too enthusiastic and too eager. How our men fought alongside the antipodeans is also fully described in this issue.

A MILLION IN FRANCE

The past month has been prolific in evidence of the remarkable growth of the American Army abroad. More than 1,100,000 men have been sent abroad, and more than 700,000 are combatants under General Pershing. A large number of Americans are in training in Great Britain, where General Biddle is in command of units which are stationed at nearly eighty points throughout the country.

The remarkable acceleration in the rate of sending troops across the Atlantic, already mentioned, was shown in a letter from the Secretary of War to President Wilson on July 1. The facts disclosed for the first time were the following:

The first ship carrying military personnel sailed May 8, 1917, having on board Base Hospital 4 and members of the Reserve Nurses Corps.

General Pershing and his staff sailed on May 20, 1917.

The embarkations in the months from May, 1917, to and including June, 1918, are as follows:

1917—		1918—	
May	1,718	January	46,776
June	12,261	February	48,027
July	12,988	March	83,811
August	18,323	April	117,212
September	32,523	May	244,345
October	38,259	June	276,372
November	23,016	Marines	14,644
December	48,840		
		Total	1,019,115

The total number of our troops returned from abroad, lost at sea, and casualties, is 8,165, and of these, by reason of the superbly

efficient protection which the navy has given our transport system, only 291 have been lost at sea.

MARCH'S STATEMENT

General Peyton C. March, Chief of the General Staff, in a statement on June 22, threw considerable light on recent American military activities in France. Of figures concerning those on the fighting line he said little, but he disclosed the fact that about 12,000 marines were there under Brig. Gen. James G. Harbord of the regular army. He said a good word for the colored troops, and added that "so far, whenever the test has come, regardless of the character of the troops themselves, the American troops have done well."

To the 1st Regular Army Division, under Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard, General March gave the credit for the capture of Cantigny. This was the first American division landed in France. In connection with the Cantigny battle General March emphasized the "very striking example" it afforded of high-class teamwork between infantry and artillery, "and particularly the staff." It showed that our staff training, he said, had now reached the point "where it can work successfully."

Good words were said by General March also for the Rainbow Division—the 42d—under Major Gen. C. T. Menoher, and the New England Division—the 26th—under Major Gen. Clarence Edwards.

Speaking again on June 29, General March announced that the 77th National Army Division, composed mostly of New Yorkers and trained for service at Camp Upton, Yaphank, L. I., had taken over a sector on the western front. This was the first National Army division assigned to a place on the firing line. The division was originally trained by Major Gen. J. Franklin Bell, and after his relief from command was taken across by General Johnston.

General March also made known that five divisions of American troops that had been assigned to veteran British units for intensive training had been transferred to the direct command of General Pershing. This was in accordance with the understanding reached with the British Government at the time the United States consented to have some of its contingents placed with British troops under British commanders. None of these American units has been in France for any considerable period. The American Army overseas was reaching such a state of efficiency that General Pershing could henceforth use his own experienced units as monitors and instructors for troops green in the game of war.

General March disclosed also that the first American troops were landed in Italy on July 28, 1918, and that they consisted largely of Sanitary Units.

On June 28 additions to the sectors in France, where Americans are holding positions, were announced, bringing the total number up to eight. The last sector taken over was in Alsace, near where the battlefront crosses from Germany into France. The eight American sectors were then in the following vicinities: Near Montdidier, northwest of Château-Thierry, immediately east of Château-Thierry, at Toul, in Lorraine, and three in Alsace, one near the border line, another south of that, and one in front of Belfort.

THREE ARMY CORPS

Following an announcement on July 1 that the first American Army corps was just being organized, there came on July 13 the news that General Pershing now had so many properly trained divisions at his disposal that he had been able to form three army corps, which did not include several hundred thousand men training in France and Great Britain and on the way across the Atlantic. Each army corps numbered from 225,000 to 250,000 men, so that approximately 700,000 Americans were actually on the battlefront. The three corps were designated the 1st, 2d, and 3d. The 1st was composed entirely of veteran troops, including the 1st and 2d Divisions of regulars and the Marine Corps Brigade, which distinguished itself in the Château-Thierry-Soissons sector. The complete composition of the three corps, as given out by General March, was as follows:

FIRST ARMY CORPS

Temporarily commanded by Major Gen. Hunter Liggett.

1st (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard.

2d (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Omar Bundy, including marines.

26th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Clarence R. Edwards, composed of New England troops, many of whom had seen service on the Mexican border. This was the first National Guard division sent to France.

42d (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher, known as the Rainbow Division.

41st (National Guard) Division, originally commanded by Major Gen. Hunter Liggett, composed of troops from the Pacific Coast States and known as the Sunset Division.

32d (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. William G. Haan, composed of troops from Michigan and Wisconsin.

SECOND ARMY CORPS

77th (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George B. Duncan, composed of New York troops. This was the first National Army division sent to France and to the front.

35th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. W. M. Wright, composed of troops from Kansas and Missouri.

82d (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. William P. Burnham, composed of troops from Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee.

30th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George W. Reid, composed of troops from Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, and the District of Columbia.

28th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. C. H. Muir, composed of troops from Pennsylvania.

4th (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George H. Cameron.

THIRD ARMY CORPS

3d (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman.

5th (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. John E. McMahon.

78th (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. J. N. McRae, composed of troops from Delaware and New York.

80th (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Adelbert Cronkhite, composed of troops from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

33d (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. George Bell, composed of troops from Illinois.

27th (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, composed of troops from New York.

General March explained that the commanders of the 2d and 3d Corps had not yet been selected, as the policy of the War Department was to wait until Major Generals acquired the experience necessary for the handling of large bodies of men. As soon as the permanent corps commanders were chosen they would be promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General.

The total number of officers and men in the army about the middle of July was approximately 2,200,000, distributed as follows:

On the front with General Pershing.	700,000
Training in France and Great Britain, and en route to Europe	400,000
Training in the United States and stationed at army posts	1,100,000
Total	2,200,000

American casualties up to and including July 15, 1918, were as follows:

Killed in action	1,379
Lost at sea	291
Died of wounds	606
Died of accident or other causes	508
Died of disease	1,345
Total deaths	4,129
Wounded	5,459
Missing, including prisoners	522
Grand total	10,110

To the above should be added the following Marine Corps casualties up to and including July 15:

Dead	573
Wounded	1,044
Missing, including prisoners	65
Total	1,682

The aggregate on July 15 of all casualties sustained abroad was 11,792.

$12,000,000,000 Army Bill Passed

Congress on July 6 finally disposed of the Army Appropriation bill, providing $12,085,000,000, which was duly signed by President Wilson. The principal appropriations included:

Ordnance and ammunition	$3,000,000,000
Clothing	1,230,000,000
Machine guns	575,000,000
Armored motor cars	347,000,000
Transportation	1,532,000,000
Aviation	884,000,000

Among the provisions of the bill are those changing the basis of States' draft quotas from total population to the number of men in Class 1, registering subjects of the Allies made liable to military service by treaties such as the recently ratified Anglo-American reciprocal draft agreement, the organization of a Slavic legion, consisting of Jugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, and Poles in the United States who wish to fight against Austria-Hungary.

The bill originally provided for the promotion of Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate General and Provost Marshal General, to the rank of Lieutenant General for the duration of the war.

In declining the proposed honor, General Crowder summarized the work done under his direction in administering the selective draft law:

> Forty-eight States and three territorial headquarters and nearly 6,000 local and district boards, with an aggregate membership of nearly 18,000 citizens, assisted by legal and medical advisory boards in every jurisdiction, have co-operated with the national headquarters efficiently and honorably, many without compensation, in the superb teamwork which has produced the gratifying result attained under the selective service law. These results embrace the registration of more than 10,500,000 citizens and their classification for military service, and the entrainment of nearly 1,000,000 men now serving with the colors. By Aug. 1 of this year this number will be approximately 2,000,000, and by the close of the year, if expected requisitions are received, the aggregate will approach 3,000,000.

The proposed promotion was stricken from the bill on the ground, advanced by General Crowder, that it would be invidious to recognize his work and not that of the citizens who had co-operated with him.

A treaty between the United States and Great Britain and Canada was signed on June 3 and ratified by the Senate on June 24, whereby Americans in Great Britain and Canada who are within the American draft ages of 21 to 31 years, and Britons and Canadians between 20 and 44, who are resident in the United States, are made subject to compulsory military service if they have not, within sixty days after the exchange of ratifications, returned to their native land or enlisted in the military forces of their own country.

The War Council, which had been created by the Secretary of War, was abolished by Mr. Baker on July 8. All the general officers who had been members of the council had been assigned to various other positions, and the council had therefore become unnecessary. They included General Bliss, appointed American military representative on the Versailles War Council; General Biddle, who was sent to Great Britain to take command of the American troops training there; General Weaver, since retired, and General Sharpe, detailed to the command of the Southeastern Department.

America's War Effort

By NEWTON D. BAKER

[SECRETARY OF WAR]

The following is a summary of what was accomplished by the United States War Department from April 6, 1917, when war was declared, to July 1, 1918. It is a letter sent by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, to the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives:

SINCE April 6, 1917, the regular army has increased from 5,791 officers and 121,797 enlisted men to 11,365 officers and 514,376 enlisted men; the National Guard in Federal service from 3,733 officers and 76,713 enlisted men to 17,070 officers and 417,441 enlisted men; the Reserve Corps in actual service has increased from 4,000 enlisted men to 131,968 officers and 78,560 enlisted men; the National Army has been created with an enlisted force of approximately 1,000,000 men.

The army has increased in fourteen

months from 9,524 officers and 202,510 enlisted men to approximately 160,400 officers and 2,010,000 enlisted men.

The number of men in France or en route to France, including combatants, medical service, service for supply, and all the units which go to make up an entire army, is on July 1 practically 1,000,000 men.

2. *Supplies for Soldiers*—The size of this undertaking may best be seen by these typical purchases by the Quartermaster Corps from the beginning of the war to June 15, 1918:

Articles and Unit.	Quantity.
HARDWARE AND METALS	
Hammers, each	2,567,000
Axes, each	5,121,729
Files, each	10,870,000
VEHICLES AND HARNESS	
Halters, each	1,700,000
Escort wagons	120,000
Combat wagons	26,000
ANIMALS	
Horses and mules	339,593
CLOTHING AND MATERIAL FOR CLOTHING	
Shoes, pairs	27,249,000
Boots, (rubber, hip,) pairs	2,340,000
Overshoes, (arctic,) pairs	4,010,000
Cotton undershirts, each	43,922,000
Denim cloth, yards	103,028,000
Stockings, (wool,) pair	104,333,000

3. *Health of Men in Cantonments*—The deaths per thousand from all causes in the regular army of the United States have been as follows:

1898	20.14	1901	6.90
1900	7.78	1916	5.13

The death rate per 1,000 among all troops—Regulars, National Army, and National Guard—in the United States for the week ending May 31 was 4.89, and for the week ending June 7, 4.14. The death rate for disease only among all troops in the United States for the week ending June 7 was 3.16, which is still lower than that of the preceding week, 3.2, which was then the record low rate since that of Nov. 2, 1917.

Hospital Accommodations in France and the United States and Supplies Therefor—The bed capacity on June 5 in all department hospitals in the United States was 72,667. New construction now under way will provide for a total of 87,344 beds. The number of base and general hospitals in this country has increased from seven to seventy-two, and will be further increased. Vast hospital facilities have been organized and are being organized in France, providing beds numbering from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. of the number of men in the American Expeditionary Force.

Psychological examinations, of which more than 500,000 have been made, result in the weeding out of about one-fourth of 1 per cent. of the men examined.

Nutritional surveys, in 270 messes in 50 camps, have resulted in a readjustment of rations and a conservation of food.

The number of officers in the Medical Corps has increased from 900 to 24,000; the number of enlisted men from 8,000 to 148,000. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the Sanitary Corps and of the army nurses.

4. *Transportation in France*—With the completion of the organization of five new regiments and nineteen battalions of railway engineers there will be over 45,000 Americans engaged in railroad construction and operation in France. Nine regiments of railway engineers have been in France since last August.

There have been produced for the railroad operations of the War Department in France more than 22,000 standard-gauge and sixty-centimeter freight cars and more than 1,600 standard-gauge and sixty-centimeter locomotives. In addition to this, purchases of both cars and locomotives have been made abroad.

A double line of railroad communication has been secured from the French by army engineers, extending from the coast of France to the battlefront, including the construction of hundreds of miles of trackage for yards and the necessary sidings, switches, &c.

5. *Aircraft Production* — (Training planes, bombing planes, combat planes, and guns therefor; and production of Liberty engines.)

Deliveries of elementary training planes to June 8, 4,495.

Deliveries of advanced training planes to June 8, 820.

The average weekly production of advanced training planes during April was

22; during May, 45½; week ended June 8, 78.

To June 8, 286 combat planes were delivered. The weekly average of this type of machine in April was 5; in May, 38, and for the week ended June 8, 80.

Six thousand eight hundred and eighty elementary training engines were delivered to June 8.

Two thousand one hundred and thirty-three advanced training engines were delivered to the same date.

More than 2,000 Liberty engines have now been delivered to the army and navy. The average weekly production in April was 96; in May, 143, and in the first week of June, 115.

Thirty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty machine guns were delivered for use on airplanes before June 8.

6. *Rifles and Ammunition*—More than 1,300,000 rifles were produced in America and delivered between the declaration of war and June 1 of this year.

Deliveries of new United States model 1917, the so-called modified Enfield, have passed the million mark. In the two weeks preceding June 1 more than 66,000 rifles were delivered. Sufficient rifles are being received now to equip an army division every three days.

7. *Ordnance Supplies, Artillery, Browning Guns, &c.*—As to machine guns, heavy Browning guns for instruction purposes are in every National Guard camp and National Army cantonment in this country where troops are in training. During May more than 900 of these heavy machine guns were delivered.

More than 1,800 light Browning machine guns were delivered in May.

Probably the most difficult undertaking in the outfitting of an army is the manufacture of heavy artillery. Not only are the forging and machining processes extremely difficult, but it has been necessary to create manufacturing facilities for the vast proportion of the program. Sixteen plants had to be provided for the manufacture of mobile artillery cannon. In practically all cases these plants had to be retooled, and in some cases they were built from the ground up. The same difficulty is met in the design and manufacture of artillery carriages, but the artillery program is now approaching a point where quantity production is beginning.

The first of four Government-owned shell-fitting plants has been completed and is beginning to produce. In addition, a number of private plants are at work loading shells. Vast as were the privately-owned facilities for the manufacture of powder and high explosives, the Government has provided additional facilities which are very much larger than those which private enterprise had created.

Ordnance engineers, it seems, are well on the way to a solution of the problem of the motorization of field artillery. The problem of motorization of light artillery has been a constant factor in slowing the advance of troops to await the bringing forward of their supporting guns. Tractors have been used by all nations, of course, to haul heavy pieces along good roads, but they have been unable to develop tractors for hauling light pieces over shell-shattered ground. On June 3 the Ordnance Department demonstrated a five-ton armored artillery tractor, which proved capable of negotiating the most difficult terrain, hauling a 4.7 howitzer, which weighed approximately 9,000 pounds.

Approximately $90,000,000 is being spent to provide for the manufacture of nitrates, which are essential in the manufacture of explosives, but which heretofore had to be procured from Chile. The building of these plants will add to our powder output, will save large amounts of cargo space, and it is supposed after the war will produce nitrate for fertilizing American farms.

8. *Port Facilities in France*—Among the most dramatic stories of the war is that of the development by American engineers and American enterprises of port facilities on the French coast. It is not permissible to say where this development has taken place, but the scope of it may be judged by the fact that it would be possible to handle during the month of July a maximum of 750,000 tons at the ports of the American Army in France.

It was necessary before troops of the

American Expeditionary Force could be landed to send an organization of foresters into the woods of France, to send knocked-down sawmills after them, to cut down trees, to shape them into timbers, and to build them into docks in order that our troops might leave their ships. Fast as this work was, and large as the flow of troops has been accelerated, the facilities for dockage have kept pace with the shipments of troops and supplies.

9. *Morals of the Army*—Consensus of opinion is that drunkenness in the army is completely under control, both in the United States and France. General Pershing states: "As there is little beer sold in France, men who drink are thus limited to the light native wine used by all French people. Even this is discouraged among our troops in every possible way."

You may travel for weeks in France without seeing an intoxicated American soldier. In The Congressional Record on or about March 31 there is a reprinted statement of a journalist in France, beginning:

"Every one is on the water wagon at the American front. During the last month I have been at the front daily and often twice a day, seeing thousands of American soldiers. In that time I saw exactly one man drunk, and one other who was under the influence of liquor."

The Third Assistant Secretary of War in ten days at a National Army camp adjacent to Chicago saw two men intoxicated.

There is no permanent military camp in the United States with a red-light district in its vicinity.

The Commission on Classification of Personnel reports that a surprisingly large proportion of recruits ask to be placed in the most hazardous branches of the military service. If a reply is needed to those who say that the men in the National Army are in camp because they have to be, it is this—that those same men are going over the top because they want to go.

The desire among men in the miltary service to get to France and to the front is universal. The Secretary of War stated before the Senate Military Affairs Committee that he had seen grizzled men of the army turn away from their desks to hide their tears when they were asked to do organization work in America rather than go to France, where the glory of their profession lies. When the Secretary of War started for Europe and was on the ocean he was approached, in a number of instances, by seamen, requesting transfer to the army in order that they might see service which seemed more active and closer to the front.

In France it was necessary to change the name of the zone behind the armies from the Service of the Rear to Service of Supply, because of the difficulty in getting men to serve in a region having the shell-proof connotation of the word "rear." Even at the actual front there is something of a tradition against the use of the term No Man's Land. Our men prefer to call it—and to make it—Yankee Land.

American Victories in France

Important Advance at Vaux, Near Château-Thierry, and Capture of Hamel, in Conjunction With British

The most important engagements of the Americans in the period between June 15 and July 15, 1918, were, first, the capture of the village of Vaux, followed by the advance of their lines a mile on a two-mile front, in an action entirely conducted by Americans in the Château-Thierry district on July 1; second, on July 4, the taking of Hamel, south of the Somme, in an action in which Americans and Australians fought side by side, advancing more than a mile on a front of four miles, capturing 1,500 prisoners and much material. The fighting in this sector was participated in by the 1st, 2d, and 3d Divisions, the units in the 2d Division including the 9th and 23d Infantry Regiments, the 12th, 15th, and 17th Artillery, the 2d Engineers, and the 5th and 6th Marines.

Taking the Village of Vaux

By CAMERON MACKENZIE

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THE Americans on July 1 scored in one of those deft, eminently businesslike operations with which for more than a month now they have been pushing steadily ahead in the Marne Valley. They advanced their lines to a depth of about a mile on a two-mile front and captured the town of Vaux and certain high-lying ground to the north of it, bringing back no fewer than 500 prisoners, and all within the space of forty minutes.

The thrust, every detail of which was planned and executed by officers and men of the United States Army acting alone, was by far the most "finished" piece of warfare in which the new troops from overseas have yet been engaged.

It was as a logical development of their earlier successes in the Château-Thierry sector that the Americans advanced in the evening of July 1. Although with the taking of Belleau Wood in the previous week a definite chain of operations had in the American military view been brought to completion, there remained an unfortunate loop, or sag, in their front which it eventually was deemed advisable to straighten.

The straightening of it involved the occupying of Vaux with its tap on the main railroad line into Château-Thierry, the capture of a knoblike crest of ground designated as Hill 192, on the edge of Clerembauts Wood, and also the routing of Germans from a right sizable cluster of trees, midway between the two other points and known as Laroche Wood. The town, hill, and wood became the American objectives, and preparations for the adventure began.

There was something splendidly thoroughgoing in the manner in which the job was approached. Vaux offered the chief problem. The village, which in peace times had a population of about 700, was heavily garrisoned with German troops, and also it was known that nearly every principal building sheltered a well-manned machine gun.

The Americans began with the usual maps and air observations, but soon supplemented these methods of intelligence with others. The countryside was scoured for refugees from Vaux. An old mason-builder was found among others, who as it turned out actually knew the interior arrangements of most of the dwellings in the place.

Scouting parties and patrols night after night kept locating nests of machine guns by carefully drawing their fire. Picture postcards were gathered wholesale, and other methods were invoked.

Before 6 o'clock in the morning the

United States Army knew practically all there was to know about the once sleepy little village of Vaux, knew every turn of its cobbled streets, knew every structure and precisely where it stood, knew every room, every attic, every cellar, and all had been mapped, with a little map and the most minute instructions for every khaki doughboy who was to have a part in the push.

At 6 o'clock the American artillery unlimbered, and until the turn of noon pounded away with great throaty heavies on back regions of the objectives. The guns fired were American guns, the gunners who fired them were American gunners, and the shells that methodically and with a sort of unemotional, matter-of-fact regularity went whining forth from the depths of a copse of leafy woods, sundering the hot Summer's morning, were American shells.

INTENSE BOMBARDMENT

By noontime it was judged that the rear positions of the Germans had been sufficiently plastered with iron, and the American artillery then began intensive fire upon more immediate points of the coming attack.

The bombardment which the United States artillery conducted in the afternoon is worthy of note. To begin with, never before have Americans attained a violence of fire comparable with that which they then attained. Of course, there was no such intensity as has been frequently reached upon British and French fronts, but it, nevertheless, was very high-keyed shellfire and decidedly suggestive of warfare as England and France have come to know it.

In the next place the fire was of the most telling accuracy. After the troops entered Vaux later, they did not find a single building that had not been struck at least once. At one time during the afternoon the Germans attempted to move separate groups of reserves into the village, but every one of the groups was annihilated in its tracks.

After the fighting was over I saw a very pale and very shaky German, who had been slightly wounded and was receiving care—and splendidly decent care it was—in an American field hospital. His declaration was that at noontime there were 4,000 Germans concentrated in Vaux, but that before 6 o'clock, when the attack proper came, all but 700, under the force and terror of the searching and ceaseless American artillery, had fled.

OVER THE TOP

The exact hour when the doughboys went over was three minutes before 6 P. M. In one long-drawn, well-aligned wave they crawled from their trenches or shelters, and, closely hugging an almost perfect barrage, without getting their noses into it, set out all along a two-mile front at an evenly smart pace. Their slight dip down into the long, gentle scoop of a ravine, a not difficult scramble up the opposite slope, and their bobbing tin hats were gone into the roaring evening. In twenty-four minutes they were in Vaux and in twenty-six minutes they completely possessed themselves of Hill 192.

In Laroche Wood a little sharp, close work and some expeditious bombing and bayoneting had been done. Forty minutes were required for the job of that objective.

The resistance in Vaux proper was not very stiff. The Germans endeavored to get machine guns into effective play, but to do so skillfully was difficult. Every American moved to the particular post in the town to which he had been previously assigned, there to perform the particular job he had been bidden to do. None failed, and with such admirable smoothness did the machinery work that as if in a twinkling all was over, and within half an hour a line of American ambulances was wheeling into the village.

WAR IN EARNEST

Of the military value of the action it is difficult at present to form any estimate. The attack was not unrelated to the French thrust toward points south of Vaux, but of its value to American confidence and spirits there can be no doubt, nor can there be doubt that in its adroitness, dispatch, its thoroughness, its sustained team work, what it accomplished was a small triumph.

How much more poignantly than any

words of statesmen or barebone figures of troops brought to France did the entire episode bring the conviction that the United States really was in the most utter truth in the war over and over again! That thought recurred as one passed the long lines of American transport, slow, shadowy, and mysterious, crawling through the night, or came upon dusky columns of American doughboys moving cautiously with bated breath forward to the line, or saw American lads with bandaged heads and limbs lying moaning, or perhaps mute and still, beneath the candle-lit images and crucifixes of some tiny, dim French chapel converted into a hospital or dressing station.

Yes, in the Marne Valley one feels that the United States is immensely in the war, and after Vaux all doubts seemed silenced to nothingness by the tireless American guns which, not content with their work of destruction by day, were with gradually paling flashes roaring in the dawn of the new day.

AMERICAN GUNFIRE

Precisely twelve hours before the infantry had advanced the American guns, firing American shells, manned and directed exclusively by American gunners, had unlimbered for the work of preparation. At that time Vaux was completely intact. Its walls had been somewhat nicked by riflefire or straying shrapnel, and many window panes, according to the American scouts, were missing. Here and there a roof gaped to heaven in token of some preliminary range testing, but Vaux was still a town, a place of habitation, and not a building there but had its four walls solidly standing. Moreover, there was hardly a structure in Vaux that was not of stone. It was against such a stronghold that the American artillery battered for twelve hours on Monday, July 1.

The next day Vaux was an utter and complete ruin, a mere heap of shattered masonry. Not a building was left. A few jagged walls remained standing, but very few. The centre of the town, which was the chief point of the American fire, was battered flat.

The Château-Thierry road, running through the heart of Vaux, and down which on the first day of June the Germans passed on one of the most determined of their pushes toward Paris, is piled high with huge fragments of blasted stone. For the sake of comparison, take the towns of Ypres, Arras, and Bapaume as they existed in the middle of last Winter. Not one of these places had then been reduced by the Germans to the completely debilitated condition in which Vaux is today. The American artillery has proved itself capable of executing within a very brief space of time a veritable masterpiece of demolition.

Thorough American Work at Vaux

By EDWIN L. JAMES

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THE fight had been planned ten days. Our intelligence officers had learned the exact details of the village. Maps of the two villages had been made on a large scale, showing not only every house, but the nature of every house and every cave, winecellar, or other retreat that might hide soldiers. These caves were known to harbor Germans and were certain to be their refuge. On these maps every battery had a number of houses to destroy, and every cave was assigned to some gunner, who was charged with closing the entrances. To the infantry were given maps of the villages, and to squads under Corporals was assigned the job of clearing up the cellars containing Germans, so many Americans being assigned to each cellar.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of July 1 our artillery let loose on Vaux. Guns scattered over a long stretch were centred on the unfortunate place. Then in merciless, methodical fashion we set to

work to depopulate Vaux of Germans. All morning our guns, big and little, pumped high explosives and gas into the village. The accuracy of aim was the same as that which gave rise to the saying that American naval gunners can hit a ten-cent piece at ten miles.

At noon the commander of the artillery reported that Vaux was on fire, and that every house had been hit at least once. Standing on a hill to the south, one could see the big shells land in some little house. There was a cloud of yellow smoke, and the house was no more. But the bombardment did not halt at noon. All the afternoon our guns kept pounding. They were guns made in America.

FOLLOW A CREEPING BARRAGE

At 6 in the evening, after an early supper, the infantry started. But first the artillery range was lifted from Vaux, and the first creeping barrage ever put over by Americans started over the whole area. This area had been divided into checkerboard squares, to each of which one of the guns had been assigned to drop shells. At the start of the barrage a line of shells was dropped across the nearest edge of the area. Three minutes later there was another line of shells a few yards further on. In these lines shells fell about ten yards apart and made a curtain of steel under which no German could live except in a dugout.

Certain and sure that raking fire went across that area, and moving along after it went our infantry. From the first they found that the Germans had been absolutely demoralized by our fire. With the exception of a barrage that the Germans got down on some of our men just before they started, the first 1,000 yards of advance brought remarkably few casualties.

Our line started from a long ravine sheltered by trees. In front of the men was a large wheatfield, with Vaux over beyond the northeast end, and the Bois de la Roche lying to the north of it. From a neighboring hill our infantrymen could be seen, their brown backs bobbing through the wheatfield, with the curtain of shells ahead.

The advance started at 6 o'clock, and at 6:25 the first of our men entered the village of Vaux. By 6:40 they had gone through the woods, gaining all their objectives. Our stormy petrels took Vaux in clean-up style. Squads were ready with their hand grenades to mop up the cellars, but many of these had been closed by our fire, and the Germans had been buried in them. From others the Germans came out and surrendered. In some there was difficulty, and in that case our men threw in hand grenades in great numbers. Generally, if there were any Germans left, they surrendered. There is a strong probability that, when all the prisoners captured are accounted for, the total will be above 500.

TERRIBLY EFFICIENT

Every action connected with the attack was most efficient. Four hours after the men went over the top American telephone lines were working from Vaux back to our headquarters. By 7:30 our ambulances were running into the wrecked village.

The German prisoners agree that the American artillery work was terrific. In the operation we used many thousand high-explosive and gas shells. A wounded German brought in about 10 o'clock said that in the morning there had been 4,000 Germans in the village, but after the barrage started some had been withdrawn, leaving only those who could be sheltered in sixty-eight caves in the village. He said the cave in which he took refuge was wrecked by an American shell and that he lay wounded for six hours until the Americans came in, when one of them heard him yelling "Kamerad!" He said that for twelve hours the bombardment of Vaux had been hell and that the Germans were glad when the artillery stopped and the attack came.

TALAAT PASHA

Grand Vizier of the Turkish Empire
(*Paul Thompson*)

FIELD MARSHAL BOROEVIC

Commander in Chief of the Austro-Hungarian armies in Italy up to July, 1918

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The Advance at Hamel

By PHILIP GIBBS

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THE Australians, assisted by American infantry and supported by tanks, delivered a smashing attack on the Germans July 4, making an advance of one and one-half miles on a four-mile front, including the village of Hamel and the trench system beyond, south of the Somme.

Under the widespread flight of shells, (the bombardment extended over a wide front,) the tanks started forward. Smoke screens were sent up in front of them in dense clouds, which lay low on the ground, to hide them from the German anti-tank guns, and into this fog they went, nosing their way at a steady pace.

Besides the officers and crews, shut up inside their steel walls, working the engines and guns, there were three or four men sitting on the tops, utterly exposed. Their legs dangled over the sides of the tanks, like those of boys going for a joy ride, and in this way they rode into hellfire, as it seemed to the men watching them, because of the smoke screens and the flashes of the shells beyond.

The infantry followed in waves, loose and open lines of men extending forward as they went, close to the barrage, rolling slowly on ahead of them—so close that they took the risk of being wounded by their own fire, but preferred this risk to the more deadly one of lagging behind and giving time for the German machine gunners to get to work.

There were only a few places where the German machine guns opened fire and gave trouble. One of those positions was in the rear trench, where no tank could get into position, and here the enemy fought stubbornly, firing machine guns with a persistent tattoo until they were rushed by Australians.

All this battle happened in a kind of twilight. At 3 o'clock there was a faint line of dawn over the trenches and woods, and ten minutes later there was fair visibility for 300 yards ahead, as tested by Australian staff officers. In this half light, fogged over certain lines by smoke wreaths, the Australians made their way, shouting for the enemy to surrender.

The companies of Americans who assisted in the battle were eager to go forward to meet the enemy face to face for the first time and prove their fighting quality. They have proved it up to the hilt of that sword, which is in their temper and spirit.

Australian officers with whom I spoke told me the Americans attacked with astonishing ardor, discipline, and courage. If they had any fault at all, it was overeagerness to advance, so that they could hardly be restrained from going too rapidly behind the wide belt of the British shellfire as the barrage rolled forward.

CELEBRATING THE FOURTH

It was a historic day for them and for the British. It was the Fourth of July, the day of American independence, when many French villages quite close to the fighting lines were all fluttering with the Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes in honor of their comradeship in arms and symbolizing the hope of peace in the united strength of the armies that now defend her soil.

And it was the first time the American soldiers had fought on the British front. They understood that on their few companies, fighting as platoons among the Australians, rested the honor of the United States in this adventure. Their General and his officers addressed them before the battle and called on them to make good.

"You are going in with the Australians," they said, "and those lads always deliver the goods. We expect you to do the same. We shall be very disappointed if you do not fulfill the hopes and belief we have in you."

The American boys listened to these

words with a light in their eyes. They were ready to take all the risks to prove their mettle. They were sure of themselves, and were tuned up to a high pitch of nervous intensity at the thought of going into battle for the first time and on the Fourth of July.

"LUSITANIA," BATTLECRY

The Americans were not tender hearted in that eighty minutes of the advance to the ultimate objective with any of the enemy who tried to bar their way. They went forward with fixed bayonets, shouting the word "Lusitania" as a battlecry.

Again and again the Australians heard that word on American lips, as if there was something in the sound of it strengthening to their souls and terrifying to the enemy. They might well have been terrified—any German who heard that name, for to the American soldiers it is a call for vengeance.

It is a curious fact that with less provocation than the French, who see their own towns destroyed before their eyes and a great belt of ruin across their country and a world of tragedy where their own families are separated from them by the German lines, the American soldiers have come over here with such a stern spirit and with no kind of forgiveness in their hearts for the men who caused all this misery.

Today the young American soldiers who come out of battle wounded tell their experiences, and through them all is the conviction that the Germans are "bad men," and that death is a just punishment for all that they have done.

KILLED SEVEN GERMANS

One American Corporal, only 21 years of age, was wounded three times, but killed seven Germans, which, as he reckons, is two boches for each wound and one over. He had an astonishing series of episodes in which it was his life or the enemy's. After going through the enemy's wire near Vair Wood, he found himself under fire from a machine gun hidden in a wheatfield, and was wounded badly in the thigh with an armor-piercing bullet designed for tanks.

He fell at once, but, staggering up again, threw a bomb at the German gun crew and killed four of them. One ran and disappeared into a dugout. The American Corporal followed him down, and the man turned to leap at him in the darkness, but he killed him with his bayonet.

He went up from the dugout again to the light of day above, and a German soldier wounded him again, but paid for the blow with his own life.

Another German attacked him, wounded him for a third time, and was killed by this lad whose bayonet was so quick.

That made six Germans, and the seventh was a machine gunner whom he shot. By this time the American Corporal was weak and bleeding from his wounds, and while he lay, unable to go further, he hoisted a rag on to his rifle as a signal to the stretcher bearers, who came and carried him back.

The American companies had very light casualties, and are satisfied. They accounted for many of the enemy. They are glad of that in a simple, serious way, and the spirt shown by those American soldiers in action on the British front for the first time seems to me, in spite of their youth, like that of Cromwell's Ironsides, stern and terrible to the enemy, who to them is the enemy of God and mankind.

The General commanding the French Army in the Château-Thierry sector announced that the Bois de Belleau, where the Americans won their victory June 26, would be known hereafter as the "Bois des Américains."

Heroic American Deeds

Edwin L. James, THE NEW YORK TIMES *correspondent with the American Expeditionary Force, relates these typical instances of individual courage:*

LYING on a corner cot in a hospital was a young American soldier who took part in the fighting north of Belleau Wood on June 26. And he had a terrible grouch as he told me his troubles. He was afraid that the war would be over before he could get back into it, since he had had the ill-luck of being wounded just when he was getting really interested.

As I turned away an army surgeon called me aside and told me this lad's story.

In the severe fighting of June 26 this boy of 19, who is a Sergeant, was leading seven men with their rifles busy. One by one his men fell, until he was left alone.

Still shooting at every German head he could see, he came to a little clearing, where he got five Germans covered. They threw down their rifles, held up their hands, and yelled "Kamerad!"

The American youth kept his rifle on them and advanced, when a sniper got him through the right arm. He had to drop his rifle, but drew his automatic with his left hand and kept on going. Then the sniper wounded him in the left leg. That did not halt him. He forced the Germans to disarm; then he directed them to make an improvised litter for him.

Pressing his automatic into the back of one of the Germans, the Sergeant ordered them to carry him back to his post command. Down through woods swept by machine-gun fire, down a road, across a field, and then to his post command his captured litter bearers took him. Then he was put into an ambulance and taken to the rear.

After his wounds had been dressed at a field hospital he was completely disgusted when told that he had to go to a base hospital for a long time. He was still aggrieved when he said to me, "Hell, the war will be all over before I get back." I would like to give this brave lad's name, but the censorship rules forbid until after the War Department notifies his family that he is wounded, which will be from ten days to two weeks.

For individual accomplishments in the way of bagging Germans the palm for fighting on June 26 goes to Private Frank P. Lenert, who hails from Chicago. Lenert got himself surrounded by Germans about 3 o'clock in the morning. Seeing that he was alone, he thought it best to call off the fighting for a bit.

Lenert is a German-American. His captors were seventy-eight privates and five officers. They showed great interest in knowing how many Americans were in the attacking party. Lenert told them that eight regiments had attacked and many more were coming after them.

The Germans knew the American barrage behind them had cut off their retreat, and they told Lenert that since so many Americans were coming it was useless for them to fight longer, and they craved the honor of surrendering to Lenert.

Not losing for a moment his self-possession, despite the situation thrust upon him by his overstatement of our forces, Lenert asked for his rifle and got it. Then he ordered the Germans to throw all their arms away, which they did.

Placing himself behind the eighty-three boches, he marched them triumphantly to the rear. On his way he met a detachment assigned to take back prisoners, but Lenert said, "Nothing doing. These are my meat."

At just 5 o'clock he reached his headquarters with his prisoners. His General believes that Lenert's bag is a record for an individual capture.

"My God," said Lenert, "no wonder these boches believe the lies their officers tell them when they swallowed mine about how many regiments were coming after them."

As the soldiers come out of the fight many tales of heroism are being told.

One group of Americans, commanded by a young Lieutenant, cut their way into a German company and were surrounded. Refusing to surrender, they cut their way out, losing half their number, but fifteen minutes later, with the aid of reinforcements, they cut their way back into the German company and killed or captured all the members of it.

At a hospital I saw one of the Germans of this company. I asked him how his company had fared, and he said:

"Sir, there were thirty killed by the Americans and fifty captured. There were eighty in our company."

Fighting in the American forces were many drafted men who had been brought up as replacements. They gave a good account of themselves in all instances by the side of the seasoned fighters.

One of the higher officers told me how two men who had been in the army only a few months were manning a machine gun, when a shell burst, destroying the machine gun and wounding both of them. They went back to their post command, asked and obtained another machine gun, and, going back, manned it until the fight was over. Both men are now in hospital. Our officers are enthusiastic over the good omen of the individual bravery of the drafted men.

The German wounded are surprised at the excellent care taken of them by our surgeons. With the exception of the Prussians, most of them behave in a very decent manner. The Prussians are insolent.

One Prussian youngster, when asked if his army was well fed, replied that they had plenty to eat, as had the German civilians. When the bread and coffee was passed around soon afterward, he was not served. This forced him to say that he had had nothing to eat for three days and was almost starving then. He got a small cup of coffee and one slice of bread, while the others got two. The majority of the prisoners are Poles, who are glad to be captured.

In spite of their bravado, all the Germans said they hoped the war would soon be over, and they are obsessed with the idea that it will end in three months with a German victory.

None knew anything about the Austrian reversal, and would not believe it when newspapers were shown them. Hindenburg rather than the Kaiser seemed to be their idol.

FRENCH PREMIER'S PRAISE

On the morning of June 27, 1918, Premier Clemenceau appeared on the American front where the deeds recounted above occurred and warmly complimented the troops on the operation, which he said was "peculiarly American in conception, plan, and execution." It was in this action that the Americans drove the Germans out of Belleau Wood, killing and wounding over 1,200, capturing 311, besides taking eleven machine guns.

Premier Clemenceau in his address placed due emphasis on the fact that the successful operations had been planned by American commanders and executed by American soldiers unaided.

This sent a thrill of joy through the American fighters, for because of the necessary extended training of Americans under the direction of the French the German command had drawn for home consumption the lesson that the Americans were not to be trusted to fight unaided. Propagandists and correspondents had been pushing this idea hard. It was the first time that Clemenceau had personally thanked an American unit in the line for good work. American officers today found the French Premier thoroughly familiar with their record since June 1. Speaking perfect English, he told the General and his staff that he had entered Richmond five days after Grant and had then learned the valor of American fighters which the descendants of the fighters of 1861 are now living up to.

He said the bravery of the American soldiers and their numbers made the doom of the German hopes of victory certain. He observed that Americans were now arriving in France at the rate of 300,000 monthly.

Despite his seventy-odd years, the Premier was hale and hearty, and showed the enthusiasm of a boy in his praise of the Americans.

Citations by General Pershing

On June 24 General Pershing cited a number of Americans for especial acts of bravery. These citations are typical of many scores of others that have followed since then, recording the actual deeds of American fighting men on the battle-fronts. They are placed on record here as examples of the courage of American troops under fire:

Private Herbert L. Lennox, Pottsville, Penn.—Severely wounded and unable to retire, concealed autorifle in bushes and with pistol in blouse lay on ground until enemy passed. When the enemy had been driven back in a counterattack. Lennox crawled back to the autorifle and opened fire on the retreating enemy, killing or wounding many.

Private Axel Jermaison—Wounded, but refused to quit. Acted as loader for automatic rifle until too weak to continue; ordered to the rear, picked up the rifle of a wounded man and fought in the trenches until the enemy was repulsed.

Sergeant U. B. Norman—Remained in fight, although seriously wounded, refusing treatment until others had been treated first.

Captain William B. Woodward, Brooksville, Miss.—Showed sound judgment and coolness in changing the missions of his batteries, giving maximum assistance to the infantry and protecting the artillery personnel.

Major L. E. Hohl, Pittsburg, Kan.—Rare courage and leadership in rallying remnants, 200 strong, of different organizations, dispersed by blowing up an ammunition dump.

Lieutenant N. Ainnes Brown—Efficiency and coolness in the evacuation of wounded at personal risk, under trying conditions.

Private Robert Nelson—Exposing himself to heavy shellfire and acting as lookout.

Sergeant Samuel Core—Worked for nearly two hours without cover, wiring in a strong point within sight of the enemy's heavy shell and machine-gun fire.

Sergeant R. R. Buckwalter—Wounded before a fight, insisted on going forward with his section, buried by a shell; remained at work until the end.

Corporal Boleslaw Sugmocki—Unaided and with disregard to danger killed several German snipers who had inflicted casualties on the front line.

Private Samuel D. McCain, Philadelphia.—Rescued a severely wounded comrade, carrying him on his back across an area swept by machine-gun fire; carried another wounded comrade to a dressing station one kilometer under shellfire.

Private Ross E. Read, Portland, Ore.—Rescued a wounded comrade who became entangled in barbed wire during the height of machine-gun fire.

Private George Laube, Atlanta, Ill.—Gathered timbers to complete a bomb-proof shelter under a heavy machine-gun fire.

Sergeant Kenneth K. Burns, Rodeo, N. M.—Voluntarily installed and maintained telephone lines under shellfire.

Private Louis I. Dial, Stamford, Texas.—Maintained telephone lines under shellfire.

Private Oscar R. Knodeld, Springfield, Mass.—When communications failed, voluntarily went forward under shellfire and procured valuable information on the progress of the fighting.

Private Albert A. Hazeltine, Butte, Mon.—Passed over road and fields under heavy shellfire to get information on the progress of the attack when the lines of communication failed.

Captain William P. Crooke, Anahein, Cal.—Displayed courage in maintaining telephone communications, his great efficiency enabling his command to follow at all times the progress of the fighting.

Private Floyd Coulburn, Salisbury, Md.—At a time when it was necessary for the enemy not to obtain an identification, he brought in the body of a comrade killed in action. He was wounded and since has died.

Private Aug.—For heroic conduct with a daylight patrol in carrying out an important mission in the face of artillery and machine guns.

Private Raymond Upton.—For the same performance.

Lieutenant George M. Flack, Providence, R. I.—He kept his men in hand and held a post, despite serious losses, during an enemy raid.

Private Jesse Hyden.—After the Corporal and the remainder of the gun crew were injured and the gun put out of action he repaired the gun and resumed firing. Wounded in the head, he helped to carry two wounded men of his squad to a first-aid station.

Private John Norris—He repaired telephone lines under a terrific shellfire and was wounded.

Privates Roy Sage and Earl Arnold—They worked twelve hours on the night of May 27, laying telephone lines that had been cut three times, compelling them to return for more wire, under terrific shellfire and gas bombardment.

Private Harry March, Long Branch, Cal.—Volunteered to carry messages through a devastating fire and returned with valuable information.

Corporal Sam Zingman, Kovno, Russia—He repaired telephone lines for twelve hours, perfecting connections under a terrific shell and gas attack.

Private Charles D. Fair—Was killed in action while repairing telephone lines under shellfire.

Privates Joseph Beck, Philadelphia; Ernest A. Becker, Henry C. Franz, Edgar A. Hartman, Robert E. Carson, and Mike Vujnovich—For repairing telephone lines under shellfire. All were wounded.

Lieutenant Robert W. Markus, Quincy, Ill.—He led a machine-gun section to a forward

position until he became unconscious from exhaustion.

Sergeant James W. Koon, Weems, Ohio—He operated the machine gun of the section until the ammunition was exhausted and ran through a heavy artillery fire to report to the platoon commander.

Sergeant Henry W. Endter, Bernard, Ohio—In disregard of personal danger he directed and assisted in digging out members of a platoon buried by the explosion of a large shell and cheered his men while under heavy fire.

Corporal Talmage W. Gerrald, Gallivants Ferry, S. C.—Killed while carrying a wounded man through barrage to a first-aid station.

Private Lindlay McPhail, Park Ridge, Ill.—He exposed himself to danger in assisting and directing the evacuation of wounded.

Captain E. S. Dollarhide, Philadelphia—Refused to leave a machine gun, although suffering from shell wounds, until forced to do so by his commander. He returned and fought throughout the engagement.

Private Paul Tereschenko, Philadelphia—Was wounded while delivering a message, but refused to go to the rear.

Private Daniel R. Edwards, Philadelphia—Handled a machine gun, although wounded. All his comrades were killed.

Sergeant Henry Krothe, Atlanta, Ga.—Remained at his post, seriously wounded, directing machine gunners.

Private L. C. Kohmann—Displayed a great courage and example to his men in braving machine-gun fire while delivering messages.

Private William R. Cox—For capturing seven German prisoners single handed after advancing 300 yards into the woods ahead of his comrades.

Corporal Judson E. Steele, Edgewood, Iowa—Buried three times by shell explosions and wounded, he kept his machine gun in action and refused to leave until ordered to do so.

Private Ivan L. Coiner—Manned a machine gun, although buried three times, and when his gun was shattered remained at his post with a rifle.

Sergeant Thomas W. Clemens, Kuttawa, Ky.—Although troops on both sides of him retreated owing to an intense bombardment, he kept his men at their post and prevented a panic.

Lieutenant W. P. Waltz, Belen, N. M.—Under personal risk he walked from gun to gun, directing and encouraging the machine gunners under heavy bombardment.

Privates Leo Ernest Du Bois, Marquette, Mich.; Leon Louis Smith, Waldo Emerson Canfield, and Donald Hartman Moore—For remaining on duty as observers in front-line trenches under violent shellfire.

Sergeant John Takach, Winburne, Penn.—His post cut off, he took charge of his men and fought until all were wounded; displayed skill and judgment in making a counterattack and retiring.

Corporal Carter C. Selfe, Bristow, Va.—Showed coolness and courage while severely wounded, going to the assistance of isolated comrades with an automatic rifle.

Private Benjamin Ferill—Displayed daring in climbing a tree to observe the approach of the enemy and giving timely warning to his platoon.

Private Cris Lee—Seeing the loader of an automatic rifle wounded, ran forward and seized the equipment of the wounded man and served the gun until severely wounded.

Lieutenant Gerwin D. Adair—For the same performance.

Heroes Rewarded With Distinguished Service Crosses

Distinguished Service Crosses were awarded to more than 100 American marines who performed deeds of exceptional valor in the fighting near Château-Thierry in June. Thirty-seven additional crosses were awarded July 11. The order of the American General issued in connection therewith was as follows:

It is with inexpressible pride and satisfaction that your commander recounts your glorious deeds on the field of battle. In the early days of June on a front of twenty kilometers, after night marches and with only the reserve rations which you carried, you stood like a wall against the enemy advance on Paris. For this timely action you have received the thanks of the French people whose homes you saved and the generous praise of your comrades in arms.

Since the organization of our sector, in the face of strong opposition you have advanced your lines two kilometers on a front of eight kilometers. You have engaged and defeated with great loss three German divisions and have occupied important strong points—Belleau Wood, Bouresches, and Vaux. You have taken about 1,400 prisoners, many machine guns, and much other material. The complete success of the infantry was made possible by the splendid co-operation of the artillery, by the aid and assistance of the engineer and signal troops, by the diligent and watchful care of the medical and supply services, and by the unceasing work of the well-organized staff. All elements of the division have worked together as a well-trained machine.

Amid the dangers and trials of battle every officer and every man has done well his part. Let the stirring deeds, hardships, and sacrifices of the past month remain forever a bright spot in our his-

tory. Let the sacred memory of our fallen comrades spur us on to renewed effort and to the glory of American arms.

[It was reported July 2 that the 1st, 2d, and 3d Divisions of United States Regulars, commanded by Major Gens. Robert L. Bullard, Omar Bundy, and Joseph T. Dickman, respectively, were in the Château-Thierry region and took part in the capture of Vaux.—EDITOR.]

German Official View of the Americans

AN official German Army report was captured July 7 on an officer taken in the Marne region. The document was as follows:

Intelligence officer of the Supreme Command at Army Headquarters, No. 7, J. No. 3,528, Army Headquarters, June 17, 1917.

Second American Infantry Division.

Examination of prisoners from the 5th, 6th, 9th, and 23d Regiments captured from June 5 to 14 in the Bouresches sector.

Purpose of the Attacks—The prisoners were not informed of the purpose of the attacks. The orders for the attacks on Belleau Wood were made known only a few hours before the attacks took place.

Arrival in Line and Relief—The marine brigades went into sector from June 2 to June 4, and elements of the other two regiments from June 5 to 6 in the area Torcy-Vaux, (4 KM. W. of Château-Thierry,) one battalion from each unit being in the front line. There they relieved French troops of various divisions whose identity they did not know. They had no information concerning their relief. Only the prisoners from the marine brigade considered that on account of heavy losses their relief was imminent.

Paragraph One—The 3d Marine Brigade belongs to the Marine Corps, which was already in existence in the United States during peace time. The 1st and 2d Marine Brigades are said to be still at home.

Paragraph Two—Regarding the distribution of machine guns, the prisoners made contradictory statements. They claim that in the 3d Marine Brigade, for instance, each regiment, in addition to the infantry battalion, has one machine-gun battalion of four platoons, each platoon having twelve machine guns. Furthermore, each brigade is said to have one brigade machine-gun battalion.

According to a captured order of battle of the 26th American Division, (Intelligence Officer 7, No. 3,228, June 8, 1918,) that division has only one machine gun company to a battalion in each regiment. In case the vague statements of the prisoners are correct, the discrepancy can be perhaps explained by the fact that the Marine Corps was part of the United States peace army and was therefore equipped according to principles other than in the case of the 26th American Division, which has been formed from National Guard troops since the war began.

Elements of the 2d American Division were put into the Moulanville (Verdun) sector from the middle of March to the middle of May for training, and were relieved by unknown French troops.

The division was then moved by rail to the vicinity of Vitry-le-François, where it remained about five days. From there the division was transferred by rail, via Coulommiers-Denis-Pont-Oise, into the regions west of Beauvais. The 5th Regiment of marines was in the vicinity of Gisors, thirty kilometers southwest of Beauvais. The 6th Regiment of marines was at Chars, seven kilometers northwest of the marines along the Pont-Oise to Beauvais railway.

The 9th and 23d Regiments were quartered with and near the marines.

The division rested eight days in this region. Manoeuvres on a large scale or with large units were not held; only exercises in minor tactics, hand grenade throwing, and target practice were carried out. A few long practice marches were made.

On May 31 the 3d Marine Brigade was ordered to move and put into French motor trucks, (twenty men or ten officers in each truck.) The 5th Regiment of the marines was the first to leave and traveled via Beaumont, Lucarches, Ermenonville, (west of Nateuiles,) Plessis, Belleville, and Meaux to Lisy-sur-Ourcq, where they were unloaded after a journey of eighteen hours.

The next regiment to leave was the 6th Regiment of marines, which followed the same route, while the 9th and 23d Regiments apparently moved via Beaumont, Ecoven Genesse, Aulnay, (environs of Paris,) Clave, Meaux, and were unloaded in the neghborhood of La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. The 5th Regiment of marines was put into line during the night of June 2-3 as the first regiment of the division, the other elements taking up their positions in the sector in échelon.

The 2d American Division may be classified as a very good division, perhaps even as assault troops. The various attacks of both regiments on Belleau

Wood were carried out with dash and recklessness. The moral effect of our firearms did not materially check the advance of the infantry. The nerves of the Americans are still unshaken.

Value of the Individual—The individual soldiers are very good. They are healthy, vigorous, and physically well developed men of ages ranging from 18 to 28, who at present lack only necessary training to make them redoubtable opponents. The troops are fresh and full of straightforward confidence. A remark of one of the prisoners is indicative of their spirit: "We kill or get killed."

Method of Attack—In both attacks on Belleau Wood, which were carried out by one or two battalions, the following method of attack was adopted: Three or four lines of skirmishers at about thirty to fifty paces distance; rather close behind these isolated assault parties in platoon column; abundant equipment of automatic rifles and hand grenades. The assault parties carried forward machine guns and were ordered to penetrate the German position at a weak point, to swing laterally, and to attack the strong points from the rear.

Particulars on the American Position—No details are available. The prisoners are hardly able to state where they were in position. According to their statements, it may be assumed that the front line consists only of rifle pits one meter deep, up to the present not provided with wire entanglements. The organization of the positions in rear is unknown.

Morale—The prisoners in general make an alert and pleasing impression. Regarding military matters, however, they do not show the slightest interest. Their superiors keep them purposely without knowledge of the military subjects. For example, most of them have never seen a map. They are no longer able to describe the villages and roads through which they marched. Their ideas on the organization of their unit is entirely confused. For example, one of them claimed that his brigade has six regiments, his division twenty-four. They still regard the war from the point of view of the "big brother" who comes to help his hard-pressed brethren and is, therefore, welcomed everywhere. A certain moral background is not lacking. The majority of the prisoners simply took as a matter of course that they have come to Europe in order to defend their country.

Only a few of the troops are of pure American origin; the majority is of German, Dutch, and Italian parentage, but these semi-Americans, almost all of whom were born in America and never have been in Europe, fully feel themselves to be true-born sons of their country.

(Signed) VON BERG,
Lieutenant and Intelligence Officer.

Bastile Day in the United States

Celebration of French Holiday

THE French national holiday, July 14, 1918, the one hundred and twenty-ninth anniversary of the fall of the Bastile, was celebrated throughout the United States with unexampled sincerity and fervor. Fully 200 American cities had official celebrations and a number of Governors of States officially recognized the day and called upon the people to observe it with appropriate ceremonies.

During the day in New York City there were salutes of warships in the harbor; formal military and naval ceremonials at forts, naval stations, and training camps; special services in honor of France and the French spirit of liberty in many churches; open-air meetings in the afternoon, and feats of flying performed in the air over the city by French and American aviators. In the evening a monster meeting was held in Madison Square Garden, where 10,000 persons of all nationalities heard addresses by the Ambassadors from Great Britain, Italy, and France; also by Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and Ignace Paderewski, the pianist, who represented Independent Poland. Former Supreme Justice Charles E. Hughes presided. The celebration closed with a tableau showing those whom France had befriended in their hour of need, those whose aspirations she had fostered and whose fights for freedom she had helped, rallying to her aid when the hour came in which she needed help to preserve her own liberties. Into a space kept open in the floor of the Garden 2,000 soldiers and sailors marched in an allied tableau. First came a detachment of French marines, with fixed

bayonets, bearing the Tricolor. They halted in front of the platform and came to a salute as the "Marseillaise" was played. Then came a group of Belgian aviators behind their national flag; a British detachment; a detachment of Serbian veterans; Poles from the training camp at Fort Niagara; Italians, Greeks in costume, and then large detachments of American soldiers and sailors, all rallying to the aid of France.

President Wilson sent the following message to the people of France:

America greets France on this day of stirring memories with a heart full of warm friendship and of devotion to the great cause in which the two peoples are now so happily united. July 14, like our own July 4, has taken on a new significance, not only for France, but for the world. As France celebrated our Fourth of July, so do we celebrate her Fourteenth, keenly conscious of a comradeship of arms and of purpose of which we are deeply proud.

The sea seems very narrow today, France is so neighbor to our hearts. The war is being fought to save ourselves from intolerable things, but it is also being fought to save mankind. We extend our hands to each other, to the great peoples with whom we are associated, and to the peoples everywhere who love right and prize justice as a thing beyond price, and consecrate ourselves once more to the noble enterprise of peace and justice, realizing the great conceptions that have lifted France and America high among the free peoples of the world.

The French flag floats today from the staff of the White House, and America is happy to do honor to that flag.

President Poincaré of France sent the following:

France is profoundly grateful to the great sister Republic for joining with her in the celebration of the anniversary of the 14th of July, as France herself joined America to celebrate Independence Day. These mutual tokens of friendship have not the conventionality and coldness of mere official manifestations. They spring like a living flame from the hearts of our two peoples and have the force and the spontaneity of great national movements.

America and France feel closely linked across the ocean by their common aims and hopes. Like their allies, both seek to deliver the world of imperialistic tyranny and ambition. For this sacred cause, the valiant American soldiers are fighting today on French soil and, of late, on Alsatian ground.

I send to their parents, their mothers, their wives, their children, to all those whom the war has momentarily separated from those brave men, the assurance that they are and will be treated by France with the same affection as her own children, and that we will consider them not only as our brothers in arms, but as brothers by adoption, for whom shall be reserved forever a place at the family hearth.

Those who will have fought together for liberty will remain united to each other by indissoluble links. I express to the whole American people my admiration and my wishes for victory.

RAYMOND POINCARE.

General Foch sent the following:

We are celebrating today the anniversary of our independence, and we are fighting for that of the whole world.

After four years of struggle the plans of the enemy for domination are stopped. He sees the number of his adversaries increase each day, and the young American Army bring into the battle a valor and a faith without equal. Is not this a sure pledge of the definitive triumph of the just cause?

Cablegrams were sent to France by the Presidents of all the leading trade union organizations and labor societies, representing millions of toilers. These messages expressed the deep affection felt in America among all classes for France and renewed in vigorous terms the pledge that the war would be fought until France's rights were redeemed. Leading American public men, Judges, publicists, authors, and business men, issued statements extolling France and promising the fullest support to the French people in achieving their rights and in expelling the Germans from their soil.

The following dispatch, which was sent by the Chairman of the Committee on Allied Tribute to France, expresses the general note which everywhere in the United States was sounded on that day:

Spontaneously, without official decree, every city, great and small, throughout the United States, over 200 in number, is gathered in mass meeting, procession, or open-air demonstration to pledge its loyalty to France. We are ratifying by the voice of the people the history-making declaration of our President that the wrong done to France in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine shall be righted. You have fought with such patience that the very word tomorrow has been forgotten in your souls. We give you back tomorrow Alsace-Lorraine. In city, vil-

lage, in church, in camp, and in the great councils of associated labor, there is but one thought—France and America, united now and forever!

Former President Roosevelt sent the following letter to George W. Pepper, to be read at the Philadelphia celebration of Bastile Day:

July 2, 1918.

In this greatwar we stand unequivocally by all our allies, by every nation which has continued to fight, and which will continue to fight to the end, for the great common cause. We stand for England, and Italy, and Japan, for cruelly wronged Belgium and ruined Serbia, but for no nation do we stand more strongly than for France.

We feel for France ancestral friendship, and we have to France a hereditary debt to pay. Moreover, France has been the keystone of the arch of resistance to the weight of German brutality. France has suffered terribly. Not only must Germany make good her losses, but France must be guaranteed against a repetition of the wrongdoing. There is only one way to accomplish this purpose, and that is by insisting upon the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. This nation has been committed by the President himself to this purpose. The President has stated that Alsace and Lorraine must be returned to France, and to this statement all wise and far-sighted Americans join in with a grateful "Amen."

We all stand unalterably and unequivocally with the President in this pledge. If Germany keeps Alsace-Lorraine, any peace is a peace of victory for Germany—a German peace. Of course, far more than restoring Alsace-Lorraine must be done, or else the peace will still be a German peace. But unless Alsace and Lorraine are restored to France it will of necessity be a German peace anyhow. When the peace negotiations come we must stand by all our allies.

In especial we must insist upon justice for every nationality oppressed by Austria, Turkey, or Bulgaria, whether in Asia Minor, in the Balkan Peninsula, or in the Dual Empire, and we must prevent the exploitation of Russia by Germany, and we must see Belgium amply indemnified. But above all else we should insist upon the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France, for by her terrible suffering and her gigantnc achievement France has won the right to the whole-hearted, the unequivocal, and the unalterable support of this nation in the determination to replace her European boundaries where they were prior to the war of 1870.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. George Wharton Pepper, Pennsylvania Council of Defense.

Sinking of the Llandovery Castle

Hospital Ship Deliberately Sunk by a German Submarine, With Heavy Loss of Life

WHAT was considered the blackest crime thus far committed by a German submarine in the campaign of unrestricted warfare was the sinking of the Canadian hospital ship Llandovery Castle, an 11,000-ton vessel, seventy miles off the Irish coast, on the night of June 27, 1918. The ship had been chartered by the Canadian Government and had been carrying wounded and sick from England to Canada for many months previously. The Llandovery Castle, at the time of its sinking, was on the way to England, having on board 258 persons, including eighty men of the Canadian Army Medical Corps and fourteen woman nurses. Only twenty-four persons reached land, all the women being among those drowned.

The British Admiralty statement read in part:

Germany's awful debt to the world continues to grow. Another hospital ship has been torpedoed, this time seventy miles from the nearest land, and her people turned adrift in their boats to sink or swim as best they might. And though, as it happened, she was a Canadian hospital ship, returning from Halifax with no wounded aboard, the tale of crime reveals wanton deliberation on the part of the submarine commander.

It was during the night of June 27, toward 10:30, that the crime occurred. The Llandovery Castle, steaming on her course at some fourteen knots, showed the usual navigation and regulation hospital ship lights. Under the overcast sky

she was plain to see, and could not be mistaken for anything but what she was —a ship immune by every law of war and peace from attack or molestation. No one on board saw the wake of the torpedo. The first intimation of the presence of a submarine was a jar and the roar of an explosion from aft. Then the lights went out.

All that followed, save when a dim light was obtained from an emergency dynamo, just before the ship foundered, took place in the darkness. The engines were rung once to stop, then full speed astern, but from the engine room came no answer. The rehearsed routine of the ship, however, held good. Along the darkened decks the crew groped to the boat stations and stood by for orders to leave her. From the bridge the Captain's megaphone, loud in the night, bade them hold till way was off the ship. The carpenter was aft making an examination of the damage.

In his wireless cabin the Marconi operator was trying in vain to transmit the ship's position. His key gave no response, the spark was gone. The carpenter's report was that No. 4 hold aft was blown in, and that the ship could not remain afloat. The order was given to lower away the boats on both sides and abandon the ship.

The officer commanding the Canadian Army Medical Corps on board reported that his people were out. This is important, in view of the fact that no boat but the Captain's has been picked up.

Save for any of the ship's company or engine-room crew who may have been killed by the explosion of the torpedo, it is clear that every one got away. One of the small boats, called "accident boats," was held back for those last to leave the ship. But when all the others were away the Captain went to his cabin for an electric torch, and on returning to deck found that this also had gone.

The submarine hailed the boat in English. "Come alongside," it ordered.

The boat was pulling down to pick up a drowning man. The second officer stood up and shouted back: "We are picking up a man from the water."

"Come alongside," repeated the brusque voice from the submarine. The boat held on its way, and forthwith two revolver shots were fired at or over it.

"Come alongside. I will shoot with my big gun," shouted the submarine commander. The boat lay alongside the submarine and the Captain (probably the man picked up) was ordered on board.

The commander asked him sharply, "What ship is that?"

"It is the hospital ship Llandovery Castle," answered the Captain.

"Yes"—the commander did not attempt to appear surprised—"but you are carrying eight American flight officers."

"We are not," replied the Captain. "We have seven Canadian medical officers on board. The ship was chartered by the Canadian Government to carry sick and wounded Canadians from England to Canada."

To the submarine commander's reiterated, "You have been carrying American flight officers," he added, "I have been running to Canada for six months with wounded. I give you my word of honor that we have carried none except patients, medical staff, crew, and Sisters."

The commander then demanded if there were any Canadian medical officers on the boat, and he was told there was one. He was ordered to come aboard.

"Where are our other boats?" asked the Captain. The submarine commander did not answer. He was watching the Canadian medical officer being roughly hauled on board and thrust along the deck. This was done so violently and with such plain intention to injure the Canadian, Major T. Lyon of the Canadian Army Medical Corps, that he actually had a small bone in his foot broken by the handling he received.

There was another German officer in the conning tower, the second in command, who had not yet spoken. In reply to the Captain's question, he motioned over his shoulder with his field glasses northward.

Major Lyon was interrogated after protesting as a medical officer, and ordered back into the boat. The Captain also was allowed to go. The boat was cast off, and pulled away from the submarine. The submarine began to circle round the wreckage at full speed. Several times it shaved the boat narrowly, once swirling past within two feet of it; once it stopped and again took the second and fourth officers aboard and questioned them.

By this time the submarine commander invented a new excuse. He stated that there was a big explosion aft as the vessel sank, and that therefore she must have been carrying ammunition. The second officer explained patiently that this was the explosion of the boiler and the falling of the funnel. They were allowed to return to the boat, which then made sail and proceeded.

Again, for a while, the submarine circled and threatened her by swooping close to her, then moved off and seemed to come to a stop. From this position, says the Captain's official statement, she opened fire at an unseen target, firing about twelve shells. It is perhaps too early yet to guess what the unseen target may have been. Possibly the other boats, when they are picked up, can furnish evidence on this point.

The Captain's boat had been towed for some distance while alongside the sub-

marine. Nothing was to be seen of the others. Since no wireless was sent out, there was no hope of assistance arriving from the north. The Captain therefore decided to make for the Irish Coast to send help. After sailing and pulling for about seventy miles they were picked up by the destroyer Lysander, which immediately sent a wireless that search should be made for the other survivors, and carried the occupants of the Captain's boat into Queenstown.

Major Lyon, on arriving in London, described his experiences. "The Germans," he said, "seemed obsessed with the idea that American aviators were aboard, and it took us some time to convince them otherwise." He continued:

> I was taken to the conning tower and kept standing about three minutes while I was interrogated by the German commander regarding my being a medical officer. I saw eight or ten men while aboard. All of them spoke English.
>
> Finally they sent me back to the lifeboat, my story having tallied with Sylvester's.
>
> This seemed to surprise the Germans, as they pretended to be sure that aviators were aboard. I have my doubts about this belief being genuine, my idea being that the Germans simply used this as a pretext for the torpedoing of the Llandovery Castle. * * *
>
> After our experience we all agreed that their first intentions were to sink without trace, but why they spared us is inexplicable unless it was because most of the survivors in our boat were men of the sea, and they tell me there is a sort of Freemasonry among them.
>
> As the submarine disappeared in the darkness we heard ten or twelve shots, one over our heads. I shall never forget the cries of the helpless men in the water clinging to the wreckage that night. While the sea was rolling, it was not really rough, and I believe that if the Germans had not delayed us we would have been able to assist quite a number.

All the 234 persons in the other boats have been given up as lost.

Shipping Losses and Shipbuilding Progress

COMPLETED statistics for the month of May, 1918, showed that the production of new vessels by American and British shipyards was coming close to the amount of shipping lost by enemy action. The figures for the first five months of the year are shown in the following tables:

OUTPUT

	United States Gross Tonnage	United Kingdom Gross Tonnage	Total Gross Tonnage
January	55,316	54,907	110,223
February ...	77,265	93,785	171,050
March	107,881	151,569	259,450
April	100,178	105,625	205,803
May	162,025	162,444	324,469
Total.....	502,665	568,330	1,070,995

LOSSES

	British Gross Tonnage	Allied and Neutral Gross Tonnage	T'l British, Allied and Neutral Gross Tonnage
January	218,528	136,187	354,715
February ...	254,303	134,239	388,542
March	222,549	176,924	399,473
April	220,709	84,393	305,102
May	224,735	130,959	355,694
Total.....1,140,824		662,702	1,803,526

According to these figures, the average loss per month to the end of May was 360,705 gross tons, as compared with an average output of 214,199 gross tons. But the monthly production of new tonnage has advanced at a great rate. The production in the United States in May was 300 per cent. greater than in January, and also showed a big advance over the preceding month of April. The June production was still greater, amounting to 177,076 gross tons.

It should be kept in mind also that the United States figures are exclusively Emergency Fleet Corporation construction, while Great Britain's figures include all new tonnage built there.

It is also important to note the difference between "deadweight" and "gross" tons, since the indiscriminate use of the two terms has been the cause of considerable confusion. Deadweight tonnage means the maximum cargo, bunkers, consumable stores, engines, boilers, and all other matter, including the crew. Gross tonnage means the number of units of 100 cubic feet each of the entire cubical capacity of a vessel, including space occupied by cabins, boilers, engines, coal bunkers, &c. To reduce deadweight tonnage to gross tonnage, the term gen-

erally used, the deadweight tonnage must be divided by 1.60. In some cases the division is 1.65.

The further activities of the German U-boat which made the attack on shipping off the United States coast in the latter part of May, 1918, were indicated by the following reports:

> The British transport Dwinsk, torpedoed on June 18 when 550 miles south by east of Sandy Hook, New Jersey.
>
> The Belgian steamer Chilier, sunk by shellfire on June 21 when 1,400 miles off the Atlantic Coast.
>
> The Norwegian steamer Augvald, destroyed by bombs on June 23 when 1,100 miles east of Sandy Hook and 125 miles East of Cape Race, Newfoundland.
>
> The Norwegian bark Manx King, captured by a German submarine on July 6 when 300 miles off Cape Race.

These operations suggested that the German submarine was making its way in a homeward direction.

An official French dispatch received in Washington on July 3 pointed out that there were only a dozen German submarines at sea, instead of twenty, which had been generally operating at any given time. The dispatch continued:

> It would seem that the enemy can no longer keep up his effort at this strength at all times and in all places, and that he needs to take breath for fresh efforts.
>
> Doubtless a part of this falling off of the submarine offensive must be attributed to the operations against the ports in Flanders, to the fatigue of the crews, exhaustion of materials, and, above all, to the losses it has sustained, because for a long time their losses have far exceeded the additions to the service of new submarines.
>
> At the end of June a certain activity again manifested itself, but in the areas far out at sea, rather than in inclosed waters or near coasts. Whatever the causes, the submarine results made no progress in June.

The United States Army transport Covington, formerly the Hamburg-American liner Cincinnati, 16,339 gross tons, was sunk in the night of July 1, 1918, by a German submarine while on her way from a French port to the United States without passengers or troops. All the officers and crew, except six, were saved and taken to a French port.

The Naval Court of Inquiry, which dealt with the loss of the transport President Lincoln on May 31, found that the vessel was sunk by "an act of war" and exonerated the officers and men from all responsibility.

One of the notable features of the Fourth of July celebrations was the launching of nearly 100 ships at American shipyards. They included fifty-three wooden vessels and forty-two steel vessels, aggregating 296,540 gross tons. Seventeen war vessels, consisting of fourteen destroyers, one gunboat, and two mine sweepers, were also launched on July 4.

Enemy Aliens in the United States

Nearly 4,000 in Internment Camps—How the Camps Are Conducted—The Rumely Propaganda Case

ENEMY aliens in the United States for the most part have been permitted to pursue their normal way of life with very little restriction. Natives and subjects of the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires have been registered and must carry certificates of identification. They are forbidden to go near camps, arsenals, navy yards, and other military and naval establishments, and they are not permitted to reside in or visit certain districts.

By a bill approved by President Wilson on April 19, 1918, the provisions of the Espionage act were extended to women subjects of enemy countries. Such women thus become obliged to register. The well-known fact that women are employed as spies was responsible for this precaution.

The only enemy aliens that are in-

terned are, first, prisoners of war, including members of the enemy military and naval forces and officers and seamen of merchant vessels, and, secondly, civilians resident in the United States who are either found guilty or suspected of treasonable or seditious activities. The number of German prisoners is now between 3,500 and 4,000. Included among them is the crew of the German raider Prinz Eitel Friedrich, which put in at Hampton Roads when the United States was a neutral. The crew was interned at the time under the international laws of neutrality. But when the United States entered the war the men became prisoners of war. A large proportion of the other Teutonic prisoners are officers and crews of the German steamers which were seized by the United States in April, 1917. The remainder are enemy aliens whose activities were regarded as dangerous at the time of their arrest—men who attempted or were suspected of attempting to destroy munition plants and interfere with the Government's military and naval preparations, or of spreading pro-German propaganda, or of giving utterance to seditious ideas and sentiments. This class includes a considerable number of Germans who were prominent figures in financial and commercial life or in art and learning.

THREE INTERNMENT CAMPS

There are three principal internment camps. The first is at Hot Springs, a North Carolina health resort, where the Government took a large hotel and its grounds. This is where the interned seamen are kept. The hotel can accommodate 500, and in the grounds there is plenty of room for barracks. The other prison camps are at Fort McPherson and Fort Oglethorpe, both in Georgia. Here cantonments similar to those occupied by United States troops have been erected.

As soon as the Government found itself confronted with the problem of handling war prisoners it decided that, no matter what the treatment of American prisoners in Germany might be, the United States was going to be scrupulously fair-minded and abide by The Hague agreement. Under the provisions of this agreement prisoners of war have certain rights. For example, they may not be compelled to work at anything contributing to the Government's military activities; they are permitted to communicate with their friends; and if they work they are paid wages as officers and soldiers of the same grade. Many of the Germans are skilled workers and have done a good deal of the building at the cantonments where they are held as prisoners, and since the completion of the buildings have done all the necessary work in the camps.

The prisoners have been allowed to develop ways of life and amusements of their own. At Hot Springs they have built a German village which has every appearance of one of the old picturesque corners in Bavaria or the Black Forest. Here there are theatres and concert halls, stores, and a canteen, and practically everything required for the decency, comfort, and distraction of the modern man. And in addition the Y. M. C. A. has stationed Secretaries at all the prison camps for the same purposes as they serve with the army abroad and in the clubhouses in the United States. The food is good and the Germans are allowed to have it cooked in their own way by those among them who were cooks before being interned. Supplies, other than the rations, are bought at cost price, which is considerably lower that what is paid in stores outside.

ENEMY ALIEN PROPERTY

Not only are enemy aliens subject to special wartime laws and regulations, but all property belonging directly or indirectly to enemy subjects has been brought under the control of the Government. This work comes under the direction of the Alien Property Custodian, (A. Mitchell Palmer,) and is becoming more extensive and complicated every day as the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy and the Espionage acts are put into force. Several hundred million dollars in stocks, bonds, and other instrumentalities, real estate and fixed capital, and general merchandise have been seized.

An example of the extent to which German interests had developed in the United States has been seen in the investigation of the activities in this country of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, the great financial institution which has played so large and important a part in German imperial expansion. The investigation, which was made by the New York State Attorney General, Merton E. Lewis, and Federal officials, and which also covered the financial interests of certain German-Americans in Germany, indicated that there was $300,000,000 worth of property in the United States the beneficial ownership of which was practically all held in Germany by enemies of the United States. Among the schemes unearthed was one to corner the wool supply of the United States for after-the-war consumption in Germany. The importance of German woolen interests in this country was further disclosed when the Alien Property Custodian seized six great German-owned woolen mills in New Jersey, valued at more than $70,000,000. Similarly, German firms and individuals were largely interested in cotton, and several large groups of corporations involved in a scheme to supply Germany with cotton were taken over. The effect of the operation of German interests upon the actual conduct of the war was demonstrated in the case of a corporation referred to as the "L. C. Company," capitalized at more than $50,000,000. It was one of the largest coke concerns in the United States. Until America entered the war the Germans represented in the ownership were able to keep all of its trinitrotoluol (TNT) by-products out of allied hands, although the stockholders lost a huge sum of money by doing so. The Deutsche Bank was largely interested in the company until it was reorganized under American control and its TNT by-products were made available for the Allies and the United States.

The Transatlantic Trust Company, which was organized in New York in 1912, was taken over by the Alien Property Custodian early in July on the ground that the majority of the stock was owned by the Austro-Hungarian Government, which acted through three Budapest banks. On July 11 four Austro-Hungarian subjects connected with the institution were arrested. They were Guido von Steer, formerly private secretary of the late Emperor Franz Josef; Julius Pirnitzer, President of the company; Andrew Gomary, Pirnitzer's private secretary, and Dr. Isidore Szekely, until recently press agent of the company. Guido von Steer, who had been in the United States for three years and had made his headquarters at Allentown, Penn., was described as the company's "manager of confidential agents."

GERMAN PROPAGANDA

A sensational phase of the activities of the German Government in trying to use the press for propaganda purposes was exposed in connection with the arrest of Dr. Edward A. Rumely on charges of purchasing The New York Evening Mail with money supplied by the German Government and of making false statements about its ownership. The definite accusation was one of perjury, arising out of a statement filed with the Alien Property Custodian, in which Rumely asserted that The Evening Mail was an American-owned newspaper.

In many respects the financial features of the transaction—which, the Government charged, transferred the control of The Evening Mail from American to German interests—were similar to the plan followed by Bernstorff, Adolph Pavenstedt, and Hugo Schmidt in transferring the huge sum which was paid to Bolo Pacha, the executed French traitor, to debauch French public opinion in favor of a German-made peace. In the case of Bolo, the funds, which totaled about $1,700,000, passed through a number of banks before they reached Bolo.

In the Rumely case, according to the Government agents, there were also several transfers, Dr. Heinrich Albert, the former German paymaster in this country, drawing the money out of banks in the form of cashiers' checks, which went to Walter Lyon of the former Wall Street house of Renskorf, Lyon & Co.

Lyon, in turn, indorsed the checks to that firm, which, it was alleged, subsequently paid the purchase amount in a single check to Lyon, who then, it was charged, paid it to Rumely. For this transaction, according to the Government, Lyon received a commission of $5,000. The banks figuring in the original transactions, which involved the first payment of the purchase price of $735,000, were the Equitable Trust Company, the Manhattan Company, the Columbia Trust Company, and the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company. But the $750,000 payment was only about one-half of the financial outlay expended by the Germans in their efforts to have their own public opinion-making New York daily. After The Evening Mail had passed into Rumely's control, the New York State Attorney General said, it soon began to lose money. With its change from pro-ally to pro-German sentiment its subscription lists began to dwindle, and its income from other sources began to decline. The result was that, beginning in January, 1916, and up to the time that Bernstorff was dismissed from the United States The Evening Mail, according to the Government agents, cost the Kaiser an additional $626,000, or a total, including the purchase price, of $1,361,000.

According to statements made in Washington the money invested by German agents in The Evening Mail was part of a sum of $30,000,000 set aside by the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments for propaganda in the United States. The arrest of Rumely, it was stated, would be only the first step in a nation-wide investigation to discover whether other newspapers were taken over with money put into the $30,000,000 fund. The publication of The Evening Mail was continued by the bondholders.

While the charges made against Rumely have so far been the most serious in connection with pro-German propaganda in the United States, numbers of individuals have been arrested and imprisoned for isolated utterances of a disloyal or seditious character. A general survey of the situation, however, shows that since America entered the war the German element in the population and pro-German sympathizers have for the most part kept silent, and discouraged those among themselves who feel inclined to give expression to their opinions and sentiments, the most numerous cases of sedition arising in connection with the propaganda work of Socialists and similar opponents of the nation's war policy.

New Forces at Work to Save Russia

Allied Troops Guarding the Murman Coast and a Czechoslovak Army Fighting Bolshevism in Siberia

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1918]

THE factors in the Russian situation which attracted most attention in July were the Czechoslovak movement, with the various concomitant developments, and the efforts, so far upon the whole ineffectual, of the native Russian population to overthrow the Soviet régime.

At the time of the Bolshevist coup d'état there were in Russia a number of military units composed chiefly of Czechs and Slovaks who had formerly been in the service of Austria-Hungary and who had gone over to the Russians, in the hope of fighting for their national independence on the side of the Allies. It is understood that at the request of the French the Soviet authorities equipped these soldiers for service on the front. Upon the conclusion of peace at Brest, an agreement was reached with the Chief of the Soviet Army whereby the Czecho-

slovak troops were permitted to proceed unmolested across European Russia and Siberia on their way to the western front.

The attitude of the Czechoslovaks to the Bolshevist Government had all the time been one of strict neutrality. Some friction between the two was caused by what the Czechoslovak soldiers construed as an unwillingness on the part of the Moscow Government to furnish them the means of transportation across Siberia. The friction turned into open hostility when, yielding to the pressure brought to bear upon the Bolshevist Government by Germany, Trotzky ordered the Czechoslovak troops to be disarmed.

The conflict began on May 26, when the Soviet attempted to enforce Trotzky's order. The Czechoslovak forces opened operations against the Bolshevist troops simultaneously in the Volga region and in Siberia. Early in June several towns along the Volga were in their hands. About the same time large numbers of them arrived in Vladivostok. During June 9 and 10 they occupied Samara and advanced to Ufa, in the Urals. They seized control of the chief grain routes and deprived Northern Russia of the Siberian food supply. In the middle of June they controlled the southern section of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Samara to Chelyabinsk, the northern branch from Chelyabinsk to Yekaterinburg, and the main line on the east of Novonikolayevsk. A month later they held the Trans-Siberian Railway from Chelyabinsk, in the Ural Moutains, to Krasnoyarsk, a distance of 1,300 miles, as well as its eastern terminus, scattered Czechoslovak units operating on an area stretching clear across Siberia.

The Czechoslovak forces defeated and ousted the Bolsheviki at Irkutsk and Vladivostok, (June 30.) During the fighting which took place in the latter city allied marines were landed for the purpose of protecting the consulates. Having disarmed the Bolsheviki at Vladivostok, the Czechoslovaks advanced into the Amur region and occupied Nikolayevsk, on the Amur River, as well as a number of other towns. On July 12 the Czechs held most of the Trans-Siberian Railway, and detachments from Vladivostok were marching west to effect a junction with their comrades. Polish detachments were reported to have joined the Czechoslovaks.

OFFENSIVE AGAINST CZECHS

An official Moscow communication, dated July 9, announced a great victory over the Czechoslovak forces. It was stated that the Soviet troops took Syzran and Bugulma, in the Volga region, the Czechoslovaks and the White Guards fleeing in the direction of Samara. Three more towns were occupied by the Government troops. One of these cities, Yaroslav, 173 miles northeast of Moscow, was previously reported to have been taken by White Guards. The Soviet troops also launched an offensive against the Czechs in Siberia, and claimed to have retaken one town. The communication stated that the Czechoslovaks committed atrocities upon railway men in Western Siberia. Another Soviet communication told of the suicide of General Muravyov, who led the Soviet troops against the Czechs. According to the official version, the General turned traitor, ordered his men to advance on Moscow, and, when the troops refused to obey his order, shot himself.

According to information obtained by the Washington Government, the Czechoslovak forces in Russia number 50,000. Colonel Vladimir Hurban of the Czechoslovak National Council estimated them at 80,000, and the number stationed in Vladivostok at 15,000. Well-informed Russians in London—and the German press—were inclined to double Colonel Hurban's estimate. The men were reported to be well fed and well clothed, but insufficiently armed. They were commanded by the Russian General Dieterichs, who was Chief of Staff under General Dukhonin.

Responsible leaders declare that the Czechoslovak forces now operating in Russia do not desire to undertake or in any other way to interfere in Russian internal affairs. A memorandum presented to the Japanese Foreign Minister and the allied Ambassadors in Tokio by Colonel Hurban speaks in the following

terms of the course the Czechoslovaks seek to follow: "The Czech Army consists of volunteers, whose object is to fight Germany and Austria, to liberate the Czechoslovak Nation, and to establish an independent State. The Czechoslovaks * * * have no moral right to pursue the policy of protection with regard to such a State as Russia. * * * Their clear duty is to pursue a strategical movement toward France." In discussing the situation the delegate of the Czechoslovak National Council for America pointed out, however, that the policy of the Czechs may be altered in view of the fact that the Bolsheviki broke the agreement with them.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SOVIETS

In a statement addressed to the American representative of the Finnish People's Republic, the Czech Socialist Federation of the United States protested against an attempt to identify the Czechoslovak soldiers, most of whom, the document asserts, are Socialists, with the cause of the counter-revolution in Russia. The statement quotes Professor Masaryk as saying: "Our army is struggling against the external foe. We are the guests of our brothers in Russia and we will not interfere in their internal affairs." The clashes between the Soviet troops and the Czechoslovak forces the federation considers to be the result of a misunderstanding, for which either the local Soviets or the armed Teuton prisoners are responsible.

In spite, however, of the Czechs' repeatedly proclaimed neutrality with regard to Russian internal affairs, it is certain that wherever their troops seized control the anti-Bolshevist elements immediately took the opportunity to overthrow the Soviet régime. After the Czechs had taken Samara the anti-Soviet portion of the population wreaked vengeance on their opponents. More than 100 Red Guards and many civilians were shot and the Soviet leaders arrested.

The triumph of the Czechs in Western Siberia apparently led to the overthrow of the Soviets in the entire region from Tobolsk to Semipalatinsk. Having defeated the Bolshevist forces at Vladivostok, the Czechs dissolved the local Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. They pursued a similar course of action at Irkutsk and elsewhere. A Peking dispatch, dated July 4, reported that, assisted by the Czechoslovaks, the counter-revolution was spreading all over Western Siberia, and that the Bolsheviki were fleeing to Mongolia. The Czech Army was frequently referred to in the allied press as a nucleus for the struggle against Bolshevism in Russia.

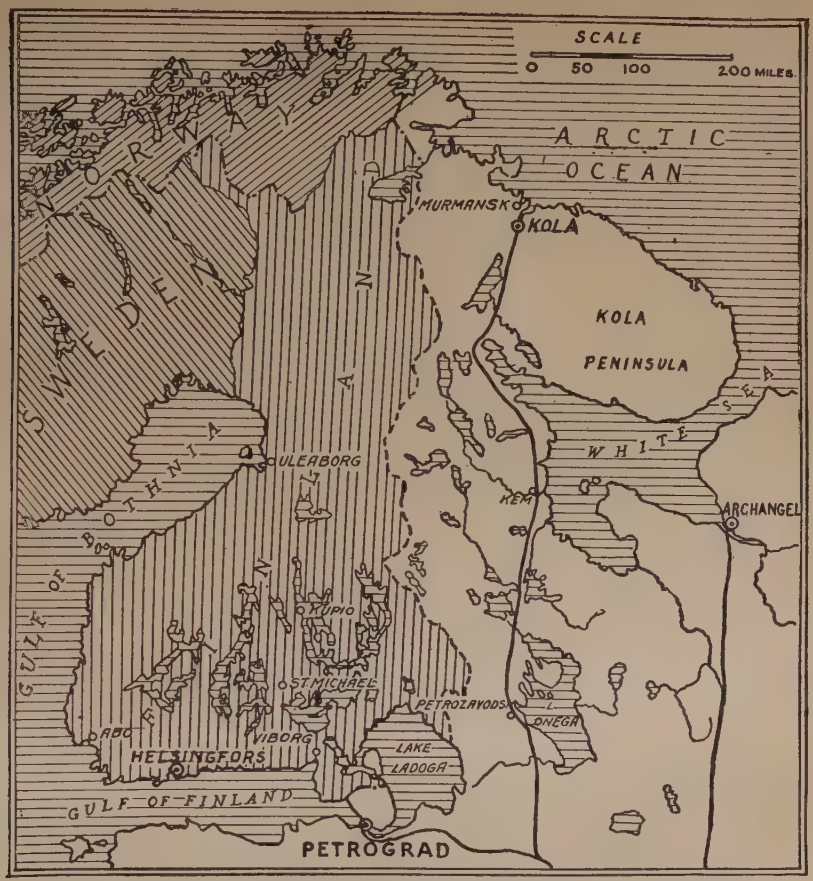
NEW SIBERIAN GOVERNMENT

It was reported on July 10 that a new Provisional Siberian Government had been established at Novonikolayevsk. This city is situated in Western Siberia, on the River Ob. It is one of those urban centres in Siberia which for the last twenty years have grown from insignificant hamlets into large towns. The new Government has set for itself the following tasks: The overthrow of the Bolshevist régime in Siberia; restoration of order throughout the country, if possible without foreign help; the convocation of the Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage; distribution of land among the landless; State control of the nation's economic activities; the creation of a provincial organ of self-Government and a Labor Bureau.

Another non-Bolshevist Siberian Government was reported to have been set up at Nizhne-Udinsk.

A dispatch from Harbin, dated July 10, announced that General Horvath, Vice President of the Chinese Eastern Railway, had proclaimed himself Premier of a Temporary Siberian Government. This Government intends to act in complete accord with the Allies and repeal all Bolshevist decrees. It would renew all allied treaties, re-establish a disciplined and nonpolitical army, and restore property. General Horvath pronounced himself in favor of religious freedom and autonomy for Siberia. He appointed a Temporary War Cabinet for Siberia.

In the first half of July important developments took place in the Murman region, in Northern Russia. The move-



MAP OF MURMAN-PETROGRAD RAILWAY, SHOWING KOLA AND KEM, NOW OCCUPIED BY ALLIED TROOPS

ment here is directed both against the Bolsheviki and against German-Finnish encroachment. Its object is to defeat the German plan to occupy the Murman ice-free ports and establish submarine bases on the Arctic. It also aims to prevent the Germans from seizing the strategic points along the Murman Railway, and from taking Vologda and thus isolating Petrograd from Siberia.

Finnish-German forces made their first attack on the Murman Railway early in April. The Allies intervened by sending an Anglo-French detachment to reinforce the Russian Red Guards who faced the Finns at Kem. Complete harmony seems to have existed at that time between the local Soviet and the allied expeditionary force, and the defense of the coast and the railway was intrusted to the leadership of a committee consisting of a Russian, a Britisher, and a Frenchman. In June the Finns and Germans resumed their advance toward the Murman Railway, aiming at the important stations of Kem and Kandalaksha. According to a Washington dispatch of July 2 the Finno-Germans completed a railroad to Kem. The same dispatch reported that 35,000 or 40,000 Finnish-German troops were concentrating around Vyborg, and that submarines were already supposed to be in the White Sea. The next day the Finnish-German campaign against the Murman region was reported to have begun.

In view of these developments, the Allies landed a number of troops on the Murman coast, to reinforce the detachments—including American marines—

MAP OF THE MURMAN COAST AND RAILWAY TERMINAL, SHOWING RUSSIA'S ONLY WINTER PORT AVAILABLE FOR ALLIES

which guarded the supplies at Kola. According to a dispatch of July 9, munitions from the United States had already arrived at the Murman terminal. It was announced on July 7 that the entire population of the Murman coast had seceded from Russia and joined the Entente Allies. Because of the opposition of the Soviet Government to the allied landing and its willingness to trade the region to the Finns, the local poulation had decided to appeal for protection to the Allies. The anti-German population of Northern Finland also appealed to the Allies. It is noteworthy that since the revolution the Murman population has received its food supplies from America and the other allies.

As a reply to the landing of allied troops on the Murman coast the Soviet War Commissary for the Northern District called into service the peasants and workmen of the classes of 1896-97 and issued orders for immediate military preparations. Three hundred Serbian and Italian officers were arrested at Archangel by the Bolsheviki.

WHY PORT IS ICE-FREE

The strategic as well as economic importance for Great Russia of the Murman ice-free port and its railway can hardly be exaggerated. The term "Murman coast" applies, strictly speaking, to the section of the arctic shore stretching between the Russo-Norwegian frontier, at the mouth of the River Voryema, to Cape Svyatoy, on the White Sea, a distance of 252 sea miles. "Murman" is a corruption of "Norman," i. e., Norwegian. The Island of Kildin lies between the Western and Eastern Murman, which is also known as the Russian, coast. The western part of the coast is a succession of bare cliffs broken by long, easily accessible, fjordlike inlets, such as Varanger, Motovsky, the Gulf of Kola, with several harbors, Teribersky, and others. A branch of the Gulf Stream laves the coast and keeps the sea and the gulfs free from ice all year around, while the White Sea further south is icebound for more than six months of the year. Only the innermost points of the inlets extend-

ing far into the mainland freeze during the Winter. Polar icebergs never reach Western Murman.

The region, which is a part of the Government of Archangel, is both ethnically and historically Russian. It was colonized by the ancient Novgorodians, and the present aboriginal inhabitants of it are descendants of that sturdy and intelligent race. The town of Kola, on the shores of the Kola Bay, is first mentioned in the Russian annals under the year 1264, and there is an ancient Russian monastery near Pechenga Bay.

IMPORTANCE OF PORT

The idea of developing a port on the ice-free Murman coast and connecting it by a railway with the interior of the country is not a new one. The project of constructing a railroad to Kola was under official consideration as early as 1894. With the outbreak of hostilities the construction of the railroad became a matter of the highest military importance. It must be recalled that with the closing of the ports of the Baltic and the Black and Azov Seas Russia lost six-sevenths of all its imports. Russia had to find a new line of communication with the Allies. The Murman coast furnished it. On Jan. 1, 1915, the construction of the railroad was authorized by the Emperor. The necessary surveying was done in the Winter of 1914-15, and the actual construction was practically completed by November, 1916, in spite of the handicaps of a roadless, swampy, uninhabited region, a severe climate, and the frightful incompetence and corruption of the bureaucratic administration.

The railroad, which is about 1,000 kilometers long, runs from Petrozavodsk to the little port of Kem, on the White Sea. Then it becomes a coast railway and reaches Kandalaksha, also on the White Sea. Thence the railroad cuts the practically virgin region of the Kola Peninsula on its way to the Port of Kola. There is an extension from Kola to the town of Romanov, on the eastern shore of the inlet, and to Murmansk, on its western shore. The harbor of Murmansk, known as the Yekaterina Haven, is a part of the Kola inlet, and is situated at its mouth. It is described as a large flask-shaped bay, protected from storms, free from ice throughout the year, deep, and accessible even to large oceangoing craft. Murmansk, the terminal station, has grown up for the last two or three years from a collection of barracks into a town with a tatterdemalion population of 6,000. The town is reported to be a workmen's commune, without shops and hotels, governed by seven autonomous councils.

A ship from an English port will reach Murmansk sooner than Petrograd. Besides, it will have the advantage of traveling all the while on the high seas. The journey from New York to the Murman coast is twenty-four hours shorter than that from New York to Libau.

CHIEF ENGINEER'S VIEW

V. Goryachevsky, Chief Engineer of the Murman Railroad System, is responsible for the following estimate of its carrying capacity: "At the present "time, provided as it is with stations, "water supplies, dwellings, and mate- "rials, the Murman Railway, once fur- "nished with the necessary rolling stock, "can easily carry 3,500 tons of supplies "per day, while the port of Murmansk, "with its piers, cranes, and tracks, is "equipped to receive the same amount "of tonnage daily." Mr. Goryachevsky has the following to say about the attitude of the inhabitants of the region penetrated by the new railroad toward the Allies:

> They could never forget how much they owed to the Allies. After the Soviet Government came into power and communications were demoralized the Murman population was completely isolated. The Bolsheviki ignored us entirely, and we faced terrible misery and privation until I appealed to America for help. Within a month's time America sent three vessels full of provisions, and my workmen were eating American biscuits and American meat and smoking American tobacco. In that way the Russians in the Murman have come to look upon America and the Allies as a source of help and food, and that's why they look forward eagerly to the day when an allied force shall step on Russian soil and deliver their country from the Germans on the one hand and the demoralizing Bolsheviki on the other.

When the Murman Railroad became

a reality, Russian economists compared its construction to the building of the transcontinental American railways. The new railroad, even in its present undeveloped form, is bound to open up the resources of a region of 74,000 square miles which is rich in forests and ores and which has a practically inexhaustible wealth of fish. It is estimated that the herring which could be caught on the Murman coast would supply the entire internal Russian market. An impulse will also be given to the colonization of the Russian Canada, as the Governments of Archangel and Volgda have been called, for the territory penetrated by the Murman Railroad has only an average of two men to a square mile. At this moment, however, it is the strategic value of the railroad that counts. The Murman port, with its railway, is invaluable to the Allies as a line of communication with Great Russia. During the coming Winter it will be Russia's only open seaport in Europe. It is believed, therefore, that Germany will make every effort to deprive the Allies of this avenue of approach.

ASSASSINATION OF MIRBACH

On July 6 General Count von Mirbach, German Ambassador to Russia, was assassinated in Moscow. The next day Lenine sent the following communication to M. Joffe, Russian Minister in Berlin:

> Two unknown men entered the German Embassy at 2 o'clock this (Saturday) afternoon, having documents from a special committee. They threw a bomb in Count von Mirbach's office, wounding him so severely that he died.
>
> Representatives of the Government immediately visited the embassy and expressed indignation at the act, which they considered as a political manoeuvre to provoke trouble. The Government is taking every measure to discover the murderers and bring them before a special revolutionary tribunal.
>
> Extra measures have been taken to protect the German Embassy and citizens. The Government requests you to express to the German Government the Russian Government's indignation and convey its sympathy to the family of the late Count.

Two days before he was murdered von Mirbach was savagely denounced by Social Revolutionary speakers at the All-Russian Soviet Congress in Moscow. Reports from various sources linked the assassination with the anti-Bolshevist terror alleged to have been organized by the Social Revolutionists. In his speech before the Reichstag on July 11, Imperial Chancellor von Hertling blamed the murder on the Allies, saying that they instigated the deed in order to involve Germany in a fresh war with Russia. The murder was also attributed to an underground nationalist organization.

The assassination of the German Ambassador was followed by an armed revolt against the Soviet Government in Moscow, organized by the Social Revolutionists. For a short while the Government telegraph office and a part of Moscow were in the hands of the rebels. After fierce fighting in the streets the uprising was quelled and a great many people arrested. Among those seized by the Bolsheviki were said to be Tseretelli, Chernov, Skobelev, and Savinkov, all members of the Kerensky Cabinet. On July 12 it was reported that Chernov, one of the most prominent leaders of the moderate Social Revolutionists, was marching on Moscow at the head of a peasant army. He was also reported to have emerged from obscurity as the leading spirit of a powerful anti-Bolshevist movement, inspired by a platform combining the tenets of Social Revolutionism and the principles of democratic, non-class government.

After a moment of hesitation Germany apparently decided to continue its policy of supporting Lenine's régime, in spite of the murder of her Ambassador. On July 10 the Berlin Government announced semi-officially that it did not intend to hold the Soviet Government responsible for the assassination. "The German Government and Nation," the statement added, "hope that the Russian Government and people will succeed in nipping the present revolutionary agitation in the bud." After having blamed the assassination on the Entente, von Hertling, in his speech of July 11, said:

> We do not want fresh war with Russia. The present Russian Government desires peace and needs peace, and we are giving it our support in this peaceful disposition and aim. On the other hand, it is true

that political currents of very varied tendencies are circulating in the Russian Empire—movements having the most diverse aims, including the monarchist movement of the Constitutional Democrats and the movement of the Social Revolutionaries. We will not commit ourselves to any political countercurrent, but are giving careful attention to the course Russia is steering.

An Amsterdam dispatch of July 13 conveyed the impression that the anti-Bolshevist revolt in Moscow was not completely suppressed. Herr von Rosenberg, one of the German representatives at the Brest-Litovsk conference, was appointed on July 14 to succeed Count von Mirbach.

ALLIED INTERVENTION

Allied intervention in Russia, after long hesitation, became a fact about the middle of July. A dispatch from Moscow by way of Amsterdam announced on July 15 that the whole Murman coast was occupied by American and British troops. After capturing Kem, a railroad station on the White Sea, they had advanced toward Toroki. The Bolshevist authorities at that point had withdrawn to Nirok. Unoffical Washington advices indicated that the American portion of this force consisted of a small number of marines, who were co-operating with much larger units of British and French troops. All had entered the country at the express invitation of the Russians in the Murman region.

The commanders of this Entente force issued an appeal to the population for help against Germany and Finland. The Murman coast was formally declared to be Russian territory under the protection of the Entente Powers. M. Tchitcherin, the Russian Foreign Minister, addressed a note to Great Britain demanding that the British detachments on the Murman coast be re-embarked without delay. The demand was ignored.

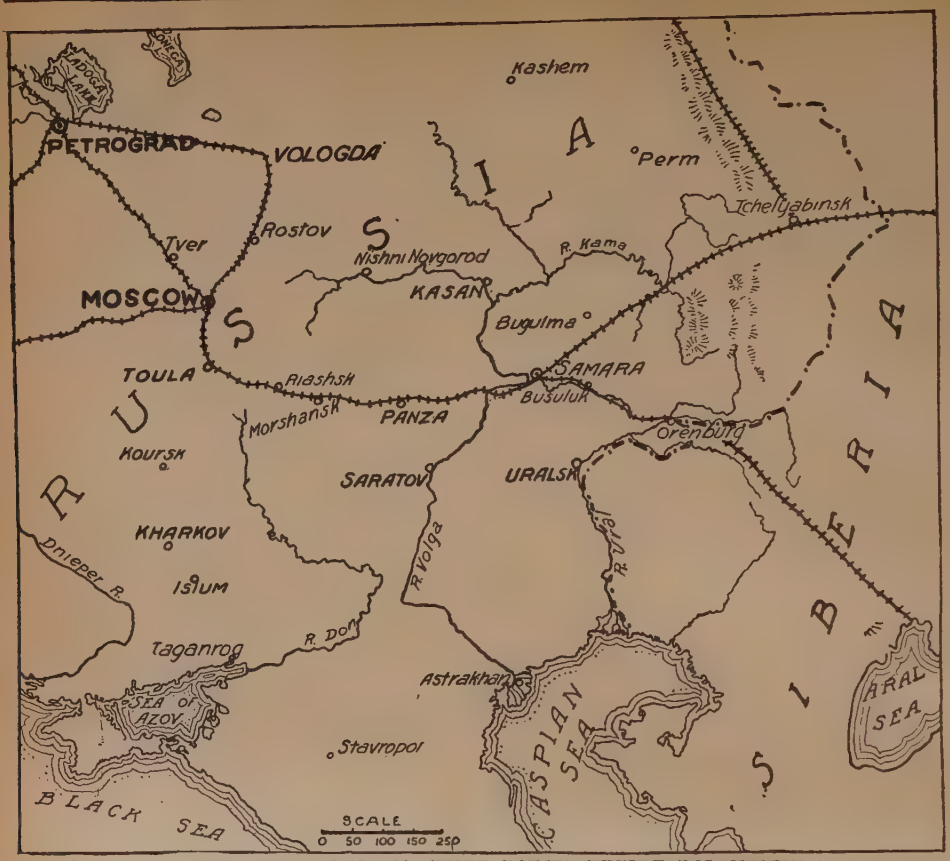
On July 13 it had been reported that England had sent fresh troops to Siberia to assist the Czechoslovaks and the native population in their struggle against the Bolsheviki and the armed prisoners. It was also stated that the Supreme War Council at Versailles had laid before the Washington Government definite and positive recommendations regarding armed military intervention in Russia.

There were no indications, however, that President Wilson had changed his attitude of favoring an informal commission of American financial and industrial experts, carrying material aid and advice and protected by ample police force. The possibility of some sort of conditional recognition by the American Government of the Soviet régime was not excluded.

CONFLICTING COUNSELS

During the month under record a great many persons and groups laid their views regarding intervention before the American Government. Professor Masaryk, head of the Czechoslovak National Council, and other well-informed men urged the dispatch of a civil mission for the purpose of educating the masses and developing the resources of the country. Others recommended armed assistance. According to Mr. Konovalov, Minister of Trade and Industry under three Provisional Governments, allied military intervention is the only logical solution of the present Russian situation. At a meeting held at Harbin, Manchuria, a group of Russian citizens, representing different social and political organizations, appealed for immediate armed aid for Russia from the Entente Allies. A similar appeal was made by a group of prominent Russians in London and by the Far Eastern Russian Committee for the Salvation of the Motherland.

Alexander Kerensky, too, admited that without allied military aid Russia would be unable to restore her national independence. The Premier of the overthrown Provisional Government appeared unexpectedly in London on June 26 at the meeting of the Labor Conference, after having escaped from Russia via the arctic. He made a speech in which he said, among other things: "I bear "witness here that the Russian people "will never recognize the treaty of "Brest-Litovsk, a treaty which has "hurled Russia into the abyss of an- "nihilation." On July 13 Kerensky was reported to have recommended that the allied nations should each send imme-



MAP OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA, SHOWING CHIEF POINTS WHERE BOLSHEVIKI HAVE BEEN FIGHTING CZECHOSLOVAK AND OTHER ANTI-BOLSHEVIST FORCES.

diately to Russia a small expeditionary force, but, above all, war munitions. He asserted that the various recent attempts of the Russians to overthrow the German rule had been planned while he was in Russia.

The American Administration's indecision and inaction were criticised in the Senate on July 13. "To stand aside," said Senator Borah, "while Russia is making this struggle, to offer neither aid nor counsel nor advice, is to fail in what is perhaps the uppermost task of the war."

RUSSIAN EMBASSY'S VIEW

The following review of the situation in Russia was issued by a member of the Russian Embassy at Washington:

The always-changing conditions in Russia have passed in the last few days into a new critical phase which modifies almost entirely the whole situation. Unveiling new hopes and possibilities, the situation is at the same time pregnant with new dangers and perplexity. Two important events have happened: The Moscow revolt is being suppressed, and the valiant Czechoslovak troops are seriously threatened by combined German-Bolshevist attacks.

The fact that the uprising in Moscow, which had a distinctly national and anti-German character, is now violently crushed and thus dooms to imprisonment and humiliation those best representatives of the Russian revolutionary democracy, such as Savinkoff and Tzeretelli, gives an evident manifestation of the following factors prevailing in Russia's present conditions:

1. The elements for a national movement tending to liberation from the German grip exist in Russia and revealed themselves through the Moscow events, these elements originating directly from the peasant and popular organizations, which the Social Revolutionary and the

Social Democrat Parties undoubtedly are.

2. The apparent failure of this national movement proves once more that, no matter how sincere and genuine the anti-German feelings which inspire the national Russians, an attempt of a national character would not succeed without a friendly allied help, and this on account of the fact that the watchful eye of Germany, her propaganda and authority with the Bolshevist Government, will undoubtedly oppose and crush every attempt of that nature, which would be a real threat to Germany's successes in Russia, and if developed might be the mortal blow we here wish that Germany should receive from a regenerated Russia.

3. As to the fact which appears today beyond any doubt that Germany has a direct interest in opposing every move that could lead to an uprising of the national spirit in Russia, I would simply quote the present attitude of Germany, who has openly expressed her satisfaction and even congratulations to the Bolshevist Government for the happy suppressing of the revolt. Furthermore, Germany is even willing to pass over the murder of her Ambassador in Moscow, which under other circumstances she certainly would not have done.

MIRBACH'S DUPLICITY

But I feel that it might be timely to reveal to the American people all that we know of Count Mirbach's activities in Russia. This adroit Prussian diplomat, while entertaining the most cordial relations with the Bolshevist Government and flooding the country with fake news and deliberate misrepresentation, was simultaneously making all efforts to tempt the moderate Russian groups to accept German military help for the overthrow of the Bolsheviki. He was assuring the national Russian organizations that Germany had certainly a real interest in having in her neighborhood a moderate Government which would only agree to friendly relations with the Central Powers. Mirbach went so far as to promise an immediate reconsideration of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The Russian national groups, although not concealing their hopeless condition and growing despair from the lack of any signs of allied help and their desire to liberate their country from the Germans, yet rejected with indignation Mirbach's ignominious proposals. What happened later is known—Mirbach was assassinated.

According to recent news from the parts of Siberia and Central Russia where the Czechoslovaks have passed and have been greeted by the population as a symbol of anti-German revolt, the Soviets disappeared naturally without any bloodshed, simply through the fact that an anti-German movement involved representative popular organizations.

Having referred to the Czechoslovaks, I have approached the second of the two above-mentioned new factors in the Russian situation—I mean the danger which is threatening these fighting units belonging to the allied armies. I did not happen to meet anybody whose mind could not be preoccupied and filled with anxiety in considering the possibility of the Germans annihilating the valiant Czechoslovak troops.

Can the Allies afford to abandon these Russian patriots? Can they afford to lose conscientiously the real friends they still have in our country, thus paralyzing the possibility of a national regeneration of Russia which we consider to become a direct result of a nonpartisan and unselfish allied help?

BOLSHEVIST CONSCRIPTION

The reply of the Soviet authorities to the attempts to overthrow their régime and to the menace of allied intervention was an effort to enforce conscription. On July 12 the Bolsheviki were reported to have raised 600,000 troops of a questionable fighting value. Leon Trotzky reported to the All-Russian Soviet Conference, on July 13, that a part of the Bolshevist force had deserted to the enemy and that the discipline of the troops had suffered from Anglo-French propaganda.

Trotzky recently began a campaign in favor of a general military conscription. The international situation was such, he argued, that the Soviet Republic needed a large and powerful army based on the principle of obligatory military service. "But if we shall not be able to produce such an army, said the bulletin of the War Commissariat, editorially, (June 20,) "then Russia will "disappear for a long time to come as "an independent country. She will "merely serve as a war theatre for other "countries, and her plains will be walked "over by hordes of Germans, English, "and Japanese, all equally foreign and "hostile to the free Russian people, who "will devastate her in their common "struggle." Trotzky thought it, however, inadvisable to extend the obligatory service to the bourgeoisie. The latter would be formed into noncombatant units, to be used for digging trenches and cleaning barracks.

MAP SHOWING THE CHIEF RAILWAYS OF RUSSIA

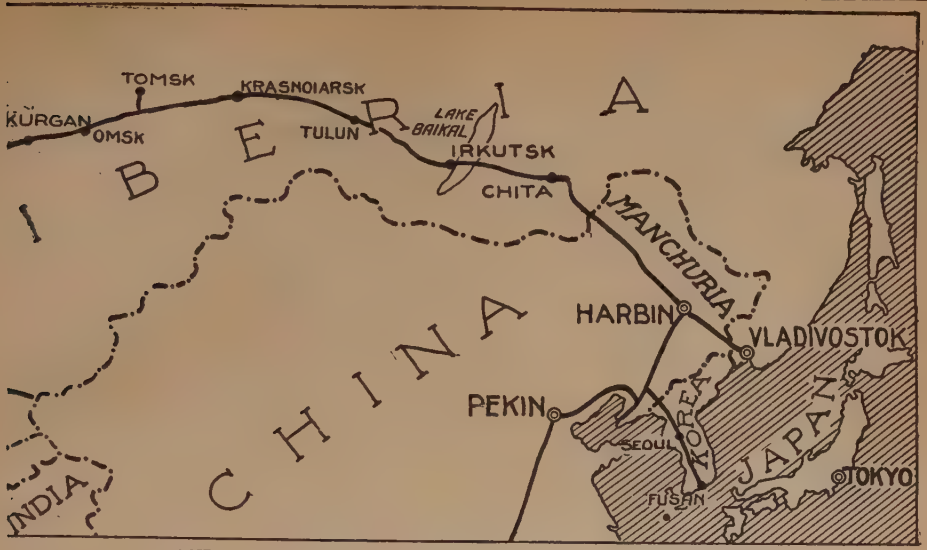
Late in June it was reported in the press that the Berlin Government was elaborating a plan of intervention in Russia for the purpose of restoring order in the country with the aid of the Soviet troops. Early in July a Vienna newspaper published a Moscow dispatch to the effect that "if the Japanese and English should occupy Russian territory, the Soviet Government would immediately join Germany."

Early in June the number of Austrian and German troops on the territory of the former Russian Empire, exclusive of Finland, was estimated at 300,000, and the German troops in Finland at from 50,000 to 100,000. In July the Central Powers were said to possess in Russia thirty-two German and fifteen Austrian divisions, and one German division in Finland. In the middle of July the advanced line occupied by the Teutons ran from the Finnish Gulf to the City of Smolensk, then to the east and south, past Voronezh and Tsarytsin, and reached the Sea of Azov at Rostov. In the south the Germans were assisted by General Krasnov, who had set up a pro-German government in the Don region. In the Caucasus the Germans, resisted by the Armenians, as well as the local Bolsheviki, and aided by the Turks, were aiming at the oil region.

The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets was summoned for June 28 to consider the dangers which beset the Socialist Republic, but it did not open until July 4. The delegates numbered 678 Bolsheviki, 278 Social Revolutionaries, 30 Maximalists, and 6 Internationalists. In the middle of June the Central Executive Committee had ordered all local Soviets to expel those of their members who represented Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries of the Right and the Centre. It justified this step on the ground "that the authority of the So-"viets, presiding through an extremely "difficult period, is being attacked sim-"ultaneously by international imperial-"ism and its coadjutors within the Rus-"sian Republic, who are in conflict with "the Government of the workmen and "peasants."

No financial reforms were carried out, and no steps taken to provide for the indirect taxation planned by Lenine. The presses were still turning out paper money at the rate of 3,000,000,000 per month, thus rapidly increasing the aggregate of 40,000,000,000 paper rubles which were in circulation in June. The Financial Department estimated the assets of the nationalized and private banks at 30,000,000,000.

The mixed commission appointed, in accordance with the Brest treaty, to consider the claims of the States, reported



AND MAIN POINTS ON THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY

on July 12 that Germany's claim for indemnity from Russia amounted to 7,000,000,000 rubles.

HUNGRY RUSSIA

In his message to the American people, made public late in June, Prince Kropotkin, the well-known Russian revolutionary thinker and leader, says that at the present moment the most urgent necessity is to save European Russia from impending starvation. He implores America to send to Russia seeds, tractors, and agricultural experts, as "a direct gift and a friendly service from nation to nation."

Recent advices convey the impression that famine is a grim actuality in Northern Russia, especially in urban regions. In the middle of June it was reported that in Petrograd men and women frequently dropped in the streets, overcome by sheer hunger. There is often no bread to distribute, the maximum allowance of black bread being two ounces, and the population of the former capital has to make shift with potatoes and desiccated vegetables. "Hungry citizens," to use the language of a Petrograd daily, "seek ravenously among offal and rubbish heaps, and lick the paste off street posters and placards." Intolerable conditions obtain also in Central Russia. Raw materials and manufactured articles are extremely scarce. The business of providing food is the paramount preoccupation, and political indifference is prevailing among the famishing masses.

Lenine has apparently pinned his faith to the plan of combating hunger by means of making the poorer elements of the peasantry break the power of the more opulent farmers. The latter, he argued at a meeting, are the only ones to hoard the grain; once their autocracy is destroyed bread will be plentiful. In the meantime, foraging parties of armed workmen have become a regular feature of the Soviet Government. From time to time they sally into the countryside on their dangerous errand of provision hunting and bring the seized foodstuffs into the towns.

The following fragmentary data, given by the Commissariat of National Economy, furnish precise information on the decrease of the cultivated area within the limits of European Russia:

Government.	—Acreage Tilled in 1918.—
Yekaterinoslav	38% of Acreage Tilled in 1916
Voronezh	40% " "
Kharkov	53% " "
Saratov	28% " "
Samara	30% " "
Kazan	34% " "

According to a dispatch of July 12, hundreds of persons were dying daily

in Petrograd from cholera, the disease being due to starvation. M. Zinovyev, head of the Petrograd committee representing the Council of Commissaries, said in an appeal: "Every day many hun-
"dreds of persons are falling victims to
"disease. It is impossible to do any-
"thing to combat the epidemic, as we
"are unable to furnish even a quarter
"of a pound of bread a day, and are
"forced to give herring instead of
"bread."

REVOLT IN UKRAINE

During the month under record the peasant revolution in the Ukraine, directed against the Germans and the régime of the German-supported Skoropadsky, was growing in force. In the middle of June a revolt began at Kiev. Forty thousand peasants were reported to be participating in the uprising. The latter spread to the Governments of Poltava and Chernigov. On June 29, 75,000 Ukrainian peasants, well armed and well officered, were said to be advancing against the Germans in Kiev, the total number of the revolted peasants being 200,000. At the village of Krinichki, Government of Yekaterinoslav, a pitched battle took place between the peasant troops and the Germans, in which the Germans lost 1,000 men, twice as many as the Ukrainians. The Germans in the Ukraine were reported to be requesting reinforcements.

Dispatches received in Stockholm on July 11 conveyed the impression that the whole of the Ukraine was aflame with revolution. The peasants were reported to have a number of small armies numbering 15,000 to 20,000 men each and well armed with artillery and machine guns, and equipped for trench warfare. The German reinforcements rushed to the country were estimated at thirty-five divisions, (420,000 men.)

RUSSO-UKRAINIAN PEACE

On June 12 a truce was signed by Russian and Ukrainian delegates at Kiev. The following is a summary of its provisions:

Military activities along the entire front are stopped during the period of peace negotiations. Nationals of the contracting parties are allowed to return to their respective States with their property, with the exception of merchandise, interest-bearing papers, and valuables. Cash to be taken is limited to 10,000 rubles for the head of the family and 2,000 rubles for each member, with a maximum of 20,000 for the family. An additional 80,000 rubles may be transferred if resulting from the sale of property. Both contracting parties have the right to limit and stop the import and export of foreign currency.

A commission of representatives of both States will be formed to transfer gradually from Russia to Ukraine railway rolling stock taken from the Ukraine. Postal, telegraphic, and passenger communication will be re-established simultaneously with the fulfillment of the other provisions of this paragraph.

Both States, on a basis of reciprocity, will establish their representative commissaries and Consuls for Russia and the Ukraine. The Red Cross societies shall facilitate the journey to their respective States of prisoners of war who are citizens of either State. A committee shall be formed within one week to regulate requests for and exchange of merchandise.

Both States shall immediately consider terms of peace.

On June 28 the Russo-Ukrainian Peace Commission reached an agreement regarding frontier boundaries. It was decided to base the delimitation on the ethnic principle, taking also into consideration the various interests of the two peoples.

FINLAND UNDER GERMANY

Early in July it was rumored that Finland was about to declare war on the Entente Allies. The Finnish Government, however, denied this intention. In a recent conference with Minister Morris at Stockholm, General Mannerheim, the former commander of the Finnish White Guard, admitted that German influence had come to stay in Finland. He added that he was biding the time when he could rally the Finnish patriots for the task of overthrowing the German rule.

In a recent speech in the Reichstag Hugo Haase, leader of the German Minority Socialists, asserted that since the Germans entered Finland 73,000 workmen had been arrested there and many of them executed. He said, in effect: "The list of those sentenced to

"death in Finland contains the names "of a former Premier and fifty Social- "ists, members of Parliament, some of "whom already have been shot. Owing "to the numerous daily executions "the town of Sveaborg has been re- "named 'Golgotha.'" The Finnish Senate decided to expel the Jews from Finland on the ground that they financed the Red Guards.

The Finnish Constitutional Committee adopted by 16 votes against 15 the monarchical form of government for Finland, and the new Constitution is being shaped along monarchical lines. Finland will have a monarchy strongly limited by a Parliament.

On July 11 the Bolshevist Government agreed to enter into peace negotiations with Finland.

The American Minister to Sweden sent to President Wilson a copy of the protest, issued by the Esthonian Diet and Government, denouncing Germany's occupational methods in Esthonia. The document asserts that Germany is "plun- "dering the country, seizing foodstuffs "to such extent that the native popula- "tion is left to starve, while German sol- "diers are permitted daily to send double "rations to Germans." The protest points out the following facts:

> Despite the assurances of Count von Hertling, the German Imperial Chancellor, and the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, Germany has established a military dictatorship in Esthonia. Before the entrance of German troops Esthonian troops had re-established order in most districts, but the Germans disarmed these troops, suspended the Government, removed the administrative organs in the towns and country, took all the functions into their own hands, and created advisory committees composed of German residents who do not form more than 2 per cent. of the population.
>
> German has been introduced as the official language, although it is not understood by 90 per cent. of the people. The German language also has been introduced into the schools, while the Dorpat University has been Germanized.
>
> By means of unscrupulous penalties consisting of heavy fines, penal servitude, and shootings after trial by court-martial the Germans have suppressed free speech and political activity. Those newspapers which have been allowed to continue publication have been compelled to publish pro-German propaganda. Prominent Esthonians who modestly protested against the oppression have been arrested.

Summary of the Russian Situation

By HAROLD WILLIAMS

[Mr. Williams, a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, after living many months in Russia, wrote this clear summary of the situation on July 15, 1918]

RUSSIA is helping herself in finding a way out of the labyrinth by very curious and wonderful ways of her own. Bolshevism is a mood. That mood, having wrought intolerable confusion and disaster, is now passing, and Russia, more recognizable, more intelligible to the Allies, is beginning to take shape. It is as if that amazing country were determined to demonstrate that the help which the Allies have been planning to give her will be given in vain.

Those who have pleaded for military aid to Russia have always argued that once a rallying point were given the active forces of the nation would begin to gather and assert themselves. By a strange fortuity that rallying point has appeared from within in the shape of the Czechoslovak force. The Czechoslovaks are not Russians, but a kindred people. The Czechs are the Slav inhabitants of Bohemia and the Slovaks are men of the same stock, speaking practically the same language, who inhabit the mountainous northwestern part of Hungary, just on the fringe of Bohemia.

For a century this people, which in brighter days gave to the world John Huss, has been struggling to free itself from the grip of the Germans and Hungarians. The great opportunity came in the present war. Czech and Slovak soldiers of the Austrian Army surrendered in thousands to the Russians, not to save their lives but to spend them in fighting

on the side of the Allies against their German and Hungarian oppressors and for the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak State in the heart of Europe.

The Russian Government formed them into an army corps, and these sturdy fighters distinguished themselves nobly in the last offensive of the Russian Army. They remained at the front as long as there was a front, and when the Russian Army ceased fighting they were withdrawn to Kiev. After the Bolshevist revolution and the Brest-Litovsk peace they maintained strict neutrality in internal Russian disputes and shut their ears to calls from either side. Their one desire was to fight the Germans and demonstrate their right to independence.

Then in May they began to move eastward in the hope of somehow, some time, getting out of Russia and taking their places on the western front. They were weary of the Russian turmoil, and wanted to fight. The Bolsheviki did a very foolish thing. They tried to check their passage eastward and to disarm them.

The Czechoslovaks were compelled to fight the Bolsheviki. They struck hard, so that the ill-disciplined, ill-trained regiments of the Red Army, which had never calculated on serious fighting, fled before them. In a marvelously short time the Czechoslovaks, who were quickly reinforced by lurking and scattered Russian antagonists of the Bolsheviki, rescued control of several towns on the Volga and in the Urals and of nearly the whole of the Siberian Railway.

The Bolshevist Commander in Chief, a plucky adventurer called Muravieff, finding it impossible to suppress the Czechoslovak movement, thought that the moment was opportune to turn on his masters, but his Red Army would not follow him, and he shot himself.

Dutoff, the Ural Cossack leader, and apparently General Alexeieff and his force have linked up with the Czechoslovaks, and the main body of the Social Revolutionaries, with the Committee of the Constituent Assembly, is in the movement. The Czechoslovaks have seized the old Tartar city of Kazan, the key to the Lower Volga. Success succeeds, and once the strong spell of the Bolshevist power is broken a general defection may be anticipated.

While this movement was growing in the east, while starvation, disease, and unemployment made rapid headway in the towns, and chaotic, quarrelsome landgrabbing was the rule of life in the villages, a remarkable thing happened in Moscow. Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador, was murdered in Moscow, and the murderers were not so-called counter-revolutionaries, but men who until recently were the closest allies of the Bolsheviki! The Jew Blumkin and the Russian Alexandrovich, who killed Count Mirbach, were Left Social Revolutionaries, members of that extreme faction which split off from the main Kerensky-Tchernoff section of the Social Revolutionaries and joined heart and soul in the Bolshevist campaign.

For several months after last November there was no essential difference between them and the Bolsheviki. Being primarily a peasant party, they brought peasant Soviets by strange manipulating into the Bolshevist movement. They induced Lenine, a Marxist, to accept their agrarian program. Several of their leaders held portfolios in the Bolshevist Government. Members of the party were active in all committees and Soviets, but they began to part company with the Bolsheviki over the Brest-Litovsk peace.

They were the authors of the famous formula proclaimed by Trotzky, "No peace and no war," and after the conclusion of that peace their Commissaries resigned from the Government and attempted to organize what they called a revolutionary war against all imperialism.

The break was not serious at first, but it has been steadily growing. The Left Social Revolutionaries mock at Lenine's theory of a peaceful interval for social reform. Their ideal is one perpetual and highly romantic revolution, and they like the Allies no better than they like the Germans. Amid all the strange and heterogeneous movements Russia is trying to find herself.

Russia's Constituent Assembly

An Eyewitness's Story of the Seventeen Fateful Hours That Started the Nation Toward Ruin

By LUDOVIC NAUDEAU

M. Naudeau, the author of this word picture of a historic episode, was sent to Petrograd as a special correspondent of the Paris Temps during the Kerensky régime, and remained through the Bolshevist upheaval, always a keen observer of men and events. In this article he describes the single session of the Constituent Assembly, which the Provisional Government had called, and which the Lenine Government disbanded by force, thus deliberately departing from the road that led toward constitutional liberty. Mr. Kerensky, speaking before the French Chamber of Deputies on July 5, denounced the Bolshevist policy and displayed a copy of a protest voted on May 18, 1918, at a secret meeting of the Russian Constituent Assembly, against the Brest-Litovsk treaty, declaring that Russia was still at war with Germany.

ANY one entering the hall of the Tauride Palace in Petrograd at 5:30 P. M. on Jan. 18, 1918, would have seen the 425 members of the Constituent Assembly standing while they sang the "Internationale" with imperturable gravity, and would not have doubted that an ardent spirit of fraternity and lofty idealism, like a warm fluid, was uniting all hearts. This illusion, however, would not have survived an instant of close observation. Up to the very base of the tribune, in fact, compact groups of armed men were to be seen: sailors with fixed eyes and clenched jaws, who never ceased to cast looks of distrust and rancor at the majority of the delegates; Red Guards, who had been made to believe that the cunning resistance of the bourgeoisie and the traitorous opposition of the false Socialists, calling themselves the Social Revolutionary Party, would be the sole obstacle to the immediate realization of that universal happiness which the Bolsheviki were announcing to the people.

Is it necessary to believe that these men, bristling with arms, were all wicked? Not at all. Most of these sailors and Red Guards seemed to me rather to be weak dreamers. They evidently believed that it would truly be for the public good to annihilate the wretches, the monsters, the "hyenas of capital," who were hindering the birth of the blessed epoch in which all human beings, reconciled, were to receive their equal share of happiness. I carefully studied a little sailor near me whose hair almost joined his eyebrows, and whose prominent, rosy cheeks inclosed the narrow wicket through which filtered, sharp, shining and fixed, a look full of both innocence and hatred. This fanatic, convinced that he was the depositary of truth, the instrument of justice, certainly was thinking that he would be doing a most meritorious work if he were to destroy a few of these "minions of capital," these tools of the exploiters, who, having deceived most of their constituents, here formed the majority of the assembly. In like manner all these armed men appeared determined to use their weapons against the members of the traitorous majority if the minority members gave them the faintest sign.

WILD STREET SCENES

Besides, how could any one who found himself in the Tauride Palace during those memorable hours have failed to realize the danger when an intermittent fusillade was still crackling in the adjacent streets of the Shpalernaïa? Many of the Deputies, on their way to the hall, had heard, before the hisses of the Maximalists in the assembly, those of the bullets in the cold air. More than one had looked upon stark bodies and red pools in the snow, and had seen wild-eyed ruffians ready to make new victims.

Twice in the tramway car I had been compelled to crouch, pell-mell with the other passengers, on the floor of the vehicle, because death was screaming in the wind.

And yet what more peaceful, more inoffensive, more sanely democratic, more fraternal, than those great processions which, in the morning, from different parts of the capital, had marched forth to range themselves in front of the Tauride Palace in order to celebrate the opening of the Constituent Assembly? From the first hours of the day I had seen these processions passing, and had followed several of them; they contained, behind their brass bands and under their immense scarlet banners, thousands of workmen, employes, students, minor functionaires, soldiers without arms; countless women, young girls, even children. Not a rifle, not a sabre, not a revolver in any hand. But the Maximalist devotees had persuaded their followers that these demonstrations were counter-revolutionary in character. Behind these marchers they affected to see the sinister shadow of Korniloff, of Kerensky, of Kaledine, of the Cadet Party, of the bankers and all the ignoble "bourjouis."

From that time forth the guardians of the revolution decided that these processions should not reach the palace, but should be stopped by persuasion or by force. And this is how it came about that as these defenseless crowds advanced, singing revolutionary hymns, they were suddenly assailed with fusillades in different parts of the city. Desperadoes posted on certain roofs, like the police, the Pharaohs of the old régime, fired into the densest crowds. Elsewhere machine guns barked, hurling hailstorms of bullets. Infantrymen, coming out of their barracks, deployed across a main street and fired a volley into the disarmed citizens. A Sister of Charity, who, on her knees in the snow, was imploring these wretches not to murder their brothers, was killed at the muzzle of a rifle by a furious madman.

The "conquerors" of this lamentable day boasted afterward that the processions had been quickly dispersed. I bear witness, however, having seen it with my own eyes, that several of these columns of unarmed and inoffensive marchers gave proof of astonishing stoicism, keeping their ranks and even continuing their march despite the volleys, and retiring at last only before the most immediate vision of death.

OPENING THE CONVENTION

At 4 o'clock, the hour when the session is supposed to begin, the great quadrangular hall still seems half empty. Half the delegates either have not been able to reach Petrograd from their distant homes or have not even been chosen as yet. Nevertheless, some things are noticeable: the Cadet Party, which should occupy about fifteen seats on the right of the hall, is totally absent; this is explained by the fact that most of its members have been arrested or are in flight. The whole centre and left belong to the Social Revolutionary Party, whose chiefs are being pointed out with the finger, and whose numerical superiority at once strikes the eye.

Among those elected, as elsewhere throughout the hall, there is a considerable proportion of soldiers, with some sailors and a few women, whose presence arouses no curiosity. Finally, on the extreme left, crowded one against another like troops for a battle, the Bolsheviki and the radical wing of the Social Revolutionaries form a veritable phalanx ready for the offensive and the resort to force; its members are in sarcastic attitudes, while, on the contrary, the Social Revolutionaries in the centre of the hall are grave, silent, a little pale, with a sad look upon their faces.

But suddenly a frightful outcry arises on the extreme left. It is a savage clamor in which catcalls are mingled. At the same time, while the Bolsheviki are still shaking their fists in the direction of the tribune, there come from the galleries, where the "public" is massed, yells that make one shudder. Finally on both sides of the tribune the sailors and Red Guards break into curses and scarcely restrain gestures of menace. What has happened?

An old man with a large gray beard, Schvetzov, has appeared with great dig-

Dr. G. V. Lomonossoff
Head of Russian Railway Mission to the United States
(© Harris & Ewing)

Pavel Petrovitch Skoropadski
Dictator of the Ukraine

Vladimir Burtseff
Publicist and opponent of the Bolsheviki

General Horvath
Director of the anti-Bolshevist forces in Siberia

RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

Chairman of the Commission on Training Camp Activities

nity in the Presidential chair. He is the dean by virtue of age, a Social Revolutionary, who, at the invitation of one of his colleagues, and without waiting longer for the good-will of the Commissaries, is trying to declare the first session open. This audacity has exasperated the Bolsheviki; they break into imprecations. They rage and hiss while Schvetzov, trying in vain to make his voice heard, persists in ringing the bell. But all at once, as if delivered from an insupportable nightmare, the same men utter a long sigh of relief, ending in joyous cries of acclamation. The bell no longer tinkles in profane hands; the sacrilege is ended; a little dry man, Sverdlov, has leaped to the Presidential chair, and has torn the little bronze bell from the hands of old Schvetzov, whose troubled eyes fill with tears.

THE RULE OF FORCE

What can the assembly do against such an outrage? It is in a circle of bayonets; some of the armed men posted by the Commissaries even carry bombs at their belts. The majority of the delegates elected by universal suffrage must, therefore, suffer the violence that is being perpetrated. The minority, made bold by its complicity with the most ignorant, credulous, brutal, and irresponsible elements of the nation, sets itself up as a sort of dictatorial Government which forbids the majority to oppose it.

The unspeakable Sverdlov reads a long screed, a sort of ultimatum, the purport of which is that the Constituent Assembly must recognize as a dogma the supremacy of the Soviets; it must also confirm at the outset all their decrees; approve without reserve all their acts and recognize implicitly as to itself that it was elected under imperfect conditions, so that the idea it is supposed to represent is now only a "distorted image of the people's will."

This lecture, which the majority hears in impassive silence, is welcomed with the joyous cries and demonstrations through which the Bolsheviki exhibit their satisfaction. The latter, moreover, undertake to force the Social Revolutionaries to applaud certain passages of the screed. By signs they intimate to their adversaries that they ought to show approbation. Thus, when Sverdlov reads the passage relating to the nationalization of lands without remuneration to the owners, as the Socialist majority remains imperturbable, the Maximalist minority cries: "It's shameful! They don't applaud. Therefore they are for *indemnity!*"

This subterfuge represents the tactics of the Bolsheviki completely: pretending to forget that they have merely assimilated and applied the agrarian program of the Social Revolutionary Party, formulated several years ago, they are trying to persuade the credulous populace that they alone are sincere revolutionists. And it is with the same ulterior motive that they suddenly propose the singing of the "Internationale" at 5 o'clock. Everybody rises, a momentary truce is established; it is the scene that I described at the beginning of this article; voices unite, even if hearts remain separated by irreconcilable hatreds, and on one can tell the populace that the Social Revolutionaries, sold to the hyenas of capital, have refused to sing the hymn of the revolution.

COMMITTEE OF TYRANTS

So this Constituent Assembly, dreamed of for a whole century, as seen in the radiant perspective of the future; this assembly, for which the revolutionists of 1917 prepared the way with filial piety, and which was fully expected to put an end to the calamities from which Russia is suffering; this assembly, whose beloved name had shone upon the scarlet banners of all the Socialist Parties since the overthrow of Nicholas II., behold it here, gasping before our eyes like a martyr on the cross, given over helplessly to the abominable sabotage of a band of schemers who have spread the belief that they are the only democrats, the indispensable guardians of justice and truth.

What we see before us in this Constituent Assembly is a minority seizing control as a committee of tyrants. In the name of whom or what? In the

name of the dictatorship of a proletariat that is much too ignorant, in reality, to dictate anything at all. The Bolsheviki, by a revelation from heaven, no doubt, have assumed the monopoly of this dictatorship for themselves. Their postulate is simple: They alone think right. The people who elected them as Deputies are the only people in whose name it is proper to dictate. As for the other constituencies, much larger, who have given a strong majority to the Social Revolutionaries, these are false constituencies, fools, imbeciles, and the best service that can be done to them is to pay no attention to what they want.

If the Social Revolutionary Party, however, opposes to the invectives of the Maximalists and the pressure of bayonets a force of inertia devoid of pomp, it nevertheless has its tactics; it knows well how, in spite of all, to enjoy its prerogatives as a majority. Thus for the first time it gives itself up to a noisy demonstration and a long salvo of applause when its candidate, Tchernov, is proclaimed President by 244 votes against 151 for Mme. Spiridonova, who had been proposed by the extreme radical wing. During this time the Deputies of that faction keep scornful silence, but the galleries howl and the soldiers in the hall finger their guns nervously. To these simple souls it is clear that a monstrous attack has just been made against the majesty of the people, and that this defiance, hurled by the minions of capital, will justify an immediate prosecution of the crime.

TCHERNOV'S POWER

Meanwhile Tchernov appears in the Presidential chair. He is a little, stocky man, with a short, bulging chest, from which comes a voice of thunder, an extraordinary advantage, which permits the leader of the Social Revolutionaries to make himself heard in spite of all the tumult. Tchernov delivers an address of incontestable ability, first depicting in pathetic terms the devastating horrors of the war, then recalling his own part in the first Zimmerwald Conference, a topic thanks to which he succeeds in holding the attention of the tyrannical minority. Tchernov excels in presenting the program of the majority, which he represents, and in exposing, by light allusions and indirect statements, the inanity of the Maximalist formulas. To the sarcasms and invectives of the Extreme Left he opposes only the ever-increasing volume of his formidable voice; he dares to recall the defeat of the attempt at separate negotiations, "in which German imperialism unmasked all its aggressive greed."

PRELIMINARY BATTLE

The atmosphere is that of battle. Summoned unexpectedly to declare whether or not he recognizes the supremacy of the Soviets, Tchernov parries and thrusts nimbly by declaring that until very recently the Soviets themselves have had for their principal article of faith the necessity of endowing a Constituent Assembly with national sovereignty as soon as possible, and that, when this has been done, the present assembly, regularly elected by the majority of the people, need fear no injury.

This mode of escape raises furious cries among the radicals and long applause among the Social Revolutionaries. But Tchernov has more than one trick in his bag. He takes the offensive, for he ends by proposing that the Deputies shall all rise and salute the memory of the many heroes who have recently given their lives for this Constituent Assembly. Disconcerted, the radicals cannot refuse to take part in this manifestation. Scarcely are the delegates seated again when Tchernov aims another blow at the dictatorial minority by proposing that everybody rise once more to render homage to the heroic soldiers, martyrs, who still remain at the front, and thanks to whose devotion this assembly is able to meet at Petrograd.

This motion rouses unheard-of fury on the Extreme Left; the galleries emit an avalanche of insult; the Maximalists rise to their feet; it is evident that the subtle oratorical fencing of Tchernov exasperates them, because it seems to them to be full of irony aimed at the dictatorship which they have usurped. One of

them thinks to do a masterstroke by proposing that the assembly shall in like manner salute the victims of the November revolution, that is, of the uprising that gave power to their class. Naturally the majority cannot obey such an injunction; they do not rise. The galleries raise an outcry. Some one shouts that the Social Revolutionaries are knaves and traitors; the Maximalist Deputies shake their fists at them, and at the base of the tribune the armed guards are moving about in a disquieting manner.

The situation of Tchernov in the Presidential chair during those tragic hours fairly symbolizes the power held by all those whose duty it was to rule Russia in 1917. Why did none of those men perform any act of energy? Ask Tchernov today, Tchernov, vilified, ill-treated, why he limited himself to opposing timid observations and persuasions to the cries and hisses from the galleries. Yet there was one moment, before the cynical meddling of outsiders, when he showed anger, forgot the enmities that encircled him, and declared that he might be obliged to compel the respect due the assembly by expelling all those who disturbed its deliberations. But then, on the extreme left, a pale little man in flashy clothes and a straggling, tow-colored beard, cried with a jeer: "Try it, then! Don't forget that the time is past when you and your class can take liberties!"

The man who thus jeers and threatens is the supreme commander of the Russian armies—"Generalissimo" Krylenko, the intrepid hero of the armistice! Frenzied applause greets the sally of the proletariat's cherished son, President Tchernov casts a look of distress and discouragement over the delirious humanity before him, and foreigners witnessing the scene shudder.

NO REAL ISSUE

The extraordinary thing is that only microscopic shades—questions of tactics rather than of political programs—separate the two Socialistic factions, the more numerous of which here finds itself oppressed by the less numerous simply because the latter can count on the support of a few thousand sailors and armed workmen. Citizen Tchernov is a famous veteran in revolutionary fighting, a specialist of long standing upon matters of agrarian reform; he has advocated giving the lands to the peasants; he has just reminded the convention that he is an old Zimmerwaldian. But it no longer suffices to think with the People's Commissaries if one does not use the formulas of the commissaries.

In the same way, in the street, it is no longer the imperial police who machine-gun the crowd; it is the people who are assassinating the people. Armed Socialists are killing other Socialists who have no arms; factory workmen called Red Guards are shooting other factory workmen called reactionaries. All these Red Guards, all these sailors who are firing their rifles and machine guns into processions of common people and of soldiers who desire peacefully, with empty hands, to acclaim the Constituent Assembly; all these wretched murderers, all these half-crazed men running amuck, are twin brothers of their victims. This civil war, this persecution of the people by the people, is the result of the party propaganda of the Smolny Institute, and this propaganda recalls the sinister reprisals inflicted upon each other by devotees of one and the same creed when they are divided by subtle questions of casuistry.

CLIMAX OF EXCITEMENT

But we are still far from having seen the chief paroxysm of this stirring day. The frenzy is increased every moment by the speeches of several Maximalists, who are proclaiming the necessity of civil war as a divine remedy for all the ills from which the people are suffering. These men, whose teachings have wiped out the Russian Army, who have thrown Russia weaponless and writhing beneath the heel of the conquerer, are now making thunders of war, and their maledictions against their compatriots are accompanied by an incessant rattling of bayonets. These capitulants have only one desire: to create fear!

A tempest of howls, a sort of blind rage fills the hall; the "public" posted in the tribunes utters cries of hate, and some persons get the impression that the hired assassins of the dictators are going to use their arms. What, then, is happening? Some outrageous defiance must have been hurled at the assembly, and some minion of the old monarchy must have dared to show his face in the hall. This time the fury of the "true" Socialists seems to be of the first water, some unpardonable affront has been offered to the popular majesty. Here is the fact:

A man who was long in prison for having tried to defend the cause of the proletariat, a man whose life has been a model of self-abnegation, rectitude, and disinterestedness, a man who may fairly be regarded as the noblest figure of this revolution as well as one of its principal creators, this man, Tseretelli, has dared to appear on the platform. Never have I contemplated a spectacle of more atrocious irony than that of Tseretelli, pale, but impassive under that storm of objurgations. To have spent his whole life serving the proletariat, to have been the implacable adversary of Stolypin during the famous sessions of the Second Duma, to have been dragged from prison to prison, from exile to exile, to have contracted tuberculosis in that life of suffering to which the events of 1917 alone were to bring an end, and all this only to be howled off the platform of the Constituent Assembly as an *enemy of the people*, a traitor, a wretch who had sold himself! Men whose hands are still perhaps red with lynchings, with "executions" committed the night before on the public highway, are furiously reproaching Tseretelli with being a partisan of the death penalty, that same reproach which, in September, at the time of the national conference in the Alexandra Theatre, made Kerensky grow pale and hesitate before our eyes.

TSERETELLI AT BAY

Let us remember: In May the Socialist Ministers of that epoch, the Tseretellis, the Tchernovs, the Skobeleffs, wished to show themselves liberal and generous; in the name of liberty of thought they refused to have Lenine arrested. When this man was suspected by the majority of the population they spared him, protected him, covered him, defended him. What a terrible object lesson! In the name of liberty they wished to allow the circulation, without constraint, of the propaganda of men who had only one object—to overthrow liberty and install the tyranny of ignorance and brutality. Here in this convention we see the result—listen to those howls and invectives branding the *enemy of the people!*

For a long time, while Tchernov tries in vain to restore a little calm, Tseretelli remains motionless in the tribune, casting a look of sorrow and pity upon that sea of faces in delirium, whose rage is implacably bent on destroying the work created through so many sufferings. But from this depression, from this oppression, the thought of the orator suddenly frees itself in inspired phrases; his love for the people, his fear of seeing the first fragile fruits of the revolution compromised, is expressed in words so pure that the raging monsters calm themselves one after the other, and end by finding themselves under the domination of the tribune. Sincerity, in spite of everything, has in it a force that controls passion and blind hatred, and when Tseretelli, whose every phrase is a sob, a cry of the heart, begs the assembly to return to reason, not to abandon itself to foolish acts, and not to ruin by madness the common work for which so much blood and so many tears had already been shed, a great silence hovers in the air, and one seems to hear the beating of the pulse of remorse.

BOLSHEVIKI WORSTED

The arguments of Tseretelli become more and more logical, more and more persuasive; he throws into the light the inanity of the Maximalist policy; he shows that their opposition, their intolerance, their tyranny are inspired only by their fear of criticism and by their lack of confidence in their own rightness. At last he dares to make this grave

assertion amid such surroundings: "The greatest enemy of the Russian revolution is German imperialism." And they listen to him, they no longer attack him! This day, with all its terrorism, has allowed two leaders of the Social Revolutionists to deliver speeches of prime importance; each of them, despite all that he has had to endure, has won his battle. The speeches of the Bolsheviki, with their ranting, their brutalities, and their too facile threats, seem rather mean and poor, compared to these masterpieces of eloquence.

Alas! So much the worse for Tchernov and Tseretelli if they have excelled. The Bolshevist chiefs find it agreeable to "decree" the reform of humanity through a series of ukases. Was it going to be necessary henceforth for them to descend to oratorical tilts with these prattlers of the Constitutional Assembly, to put everything again in doubt, perhaps to risk adventures?

It was already 10 o'clock at night. The Bolsheviki, gloomy, scowling, demanded a suspension of the session and retired to consult in the hall reserved for their party. They were not seen again. When the assembly resumed its work their benches remained empty, and everybody felt the premonition of some sinister event.

THE BREACH WIDENS

In the assembly hall the majority, knowing they are condemned, have come to a pause. Nevertheless, Skobeleff delivers his courageous address on the day's massacres, and, in spite of the threats and howls from the galleries, puts through a vote for an investigation. But now there appears in the tribune an emissary from the Bolsheviki, Raskolnikov. He has come to explain the absence of his party. He judges that the promises of the majority "are nothing but deceptions." But that is nothing. What the Bolshevist party cannot tolerate, he explains, is that the assembly should persist in ignoring the power of the Soviets. It persists in not recognizing their supremacy; it stubbornly maintains its "counter-revolutionary attitude." Henceforth it shall be for the Soviets themselves to decide what shall be done with the counter-revolutionary party in the assembly.

The break has come. It is the crisis. The delegates sit in funereal silence. The galleries rock with joyful stamping.

The left wing of the Social Revolutionaries, faithful allies of the Bolsheviki, repeat the ultimatum formulated by Raskolnikov. Their orator, Steinberg, reproaches the majority with having craftily tried to escape from the necessity of replying in regard to the Soviets. Steinberg utters a grave and revealing phrase. He demands of the majority "an approbation, without reserve, of the policy of peace followed by the Commissaries." In short, what is sought to be exacted from the Constituent Assembly is that it should at first sight indorse with its high authority the pourparlers for a separate armistice. But the men elected by the people maintain a solemn silence, and for an instant one might believe there is a slight flutter in the ranks of the Social Revolutionary radicals. As there are many peasants among them, the majority invite them earnestly not to retire before at least voting on the agrarian law. They hesitate, are perplexed; but their leader, Karelin, demands the retirement of all his troop in a body, and leads it away, saying: "Our party is leaving this hypocritical and cowardly assembly, which is sinning against the revolution!"

Henceforth the schism is complete. The majority is isolated and waits for the worst. The tribunes howl, demanding that all the charlatans who persist in occupying the hall should be put out. The Social Revolutionist majority expects a coup de force; it feels that it is to be strangled, kept from proving that it is not the enemy of the people. Thus it uses its remnant of energy in trying to attest by striking acts that it, too, as much as the Bolsheviki, even more than they, desires the swift conclusion of a democratic peace, the socialization of the land, and the control of industrial enterprises. Thus far it has succeeded in evading the reply which the dictators of the Soviet had from the first exacted. Now that everything in its attitude and

in the words of its orators has expressed this response, it realizes that its dissolution is imminent; so with a feverish precipitation, which the circumstances nevertheless justify, it hastens to give answers to the great fundamental problems raised by the renovation of Russia's life. The resolution regarding peace negotiations is voted instantly amid the bellowings of the human beast.

Then, while President Tchernov in all haste is reading the draft of the law for the socialization of the land, a sailor suddenly mounts the tribune beside him, interrupts him, and signifies that the session must be adjourned, as "the guard is tired." In vain does Tchernov object that all the Deputies too are tired, but that they intend to continue the work which the nation has intrusted to them. His declaration that the assembly will give way only to force also is without effect, since it has been under the shadow of force from the beginning.

What is to be done when fanatics in the galleries are pointing their guns at the President, aiming at certain Deputies, and shouting that if they are made angry they are going to let loose a storm of bullets upon the assembly? What, indeed? The members vote with raised hands for the laws that Tchernov indicates. Hearts are full of anguish; some Deputies have tears in their eyes. They must leave, defeated, after a session of seventeen hours, with hanging head and heavy heart, to play the last act in this débâcle of democracy, while the sailors and Red Guards sneer and grumble, persuaded, apparently, that they have saved the revolution.

Lamentable is the scattering of the waifs of the Constituent Assembly in that black morning of Jan. 19, 1918! It is 6 o'clock; bayonets and looks of distrust and hatred glitter in the darkness. One hears terrible threats uttered. Sailors and Red Guards, ranged in hedges, insist on seeing file past them these suspects, men elected by universal suffrage, driven forth into the snow and tempest. Such is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Human folly can be more bitterly cold than the north wind.

CRIME OF THE MAJORITY

What, then, was the real crime of the Social Revolutionary majority? Precisely this—that it was a majority, forcing the Maximalists to see their own inferiority in numbers by ocular evidence. Then, the ability of its orators, Tsernov, Tseretelli, was so evident that the Commissaries refused to prolong an experience dangerous for their own power. They had instantly perceived that, with its eloquent speakers, this majority, if permitted to gain time, would by some skillful move shake down the audacious dogma of the supremacy of the Soviets. The latter refused to continue an intellectual joust which appeared decidedly unfavorable to themselves.

What is the good of discussing things with a parliamentary majority when one can disperse it with swashbucklers naïvely persuaded that by driving out the "false Socialists" they are helping to establish the golden age, in which the humblest mortals will taste on earth the joys, the happiness, the delights hitherto confined in all the paradises?

But especially—and this is the main point—the turn taken by the first debates had alarmed those who were directing the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. Had any speaker in those seventeen hours dared to oppose the revolutionary majesty by so much as an accent that was clearly patriotic? Certainly not. In all the speeches delivered by Maximalist or Minimalist orators, and despite the ferocity of the vociferations, there was, nevertheless, harmony, unanimity on one point—the horror of war, the obsession, the fixed idea of peace, and the mad hope, even the conviction, that the revolution was going to propagate itself throughout Europe and regenerate the universe.

New Russia remains persuaded, or is trying to persuade itself, in order to conceal from itself the true nature of its defection, that it is achieving a work infinitely more significant than a definitive victory over Teutonism would have been. This megalomania of pacifism, this imperialism of defeat was, for a foreigner, the dominant impression of

the day. Yet the virile address of Tseretelli, where he dared say that German militarism was the most dreadful of all perils, sounded like a defiance, an accusation in the ears of the clan which at Brest-Litovsk was intoxicating itself with fantastic Tales of Hoffmann. Such was the disturbing significance of the coup de force of which the Constituent Assembly was the victim.

DEATH KNELL OF RUSSIA

Thus the Constituent Assembly passed away, the last, pale phantom of what had been the Russian nationality. Unstable as it was, this apparition still seemed menacing to those who since the Spring of 1917 had so insistently assured the simple Russian people that a peace without annexations or indemnities would be the easiest thing in the world to obtain from the Central Powers. This internationalist convention was still too nationalist for the mysterious men who, since the preceding May, had never ceased to engineer fraternizations with the enemy, and who had worked so desperately, through a cynical propaganda, to annihilate the Russian Army. This convention of dreamers and idealists still shed too much light to suit the dark agitators whose return to Russia exactly coincided with the appearance of clouds, ever more livid, in the sky, until then limpid and rosy, of the young revolution.

With the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly our last illusions have vanished. The weak pretense of declaring a holy war on Germany if she dared propose a peace other than "democratic"; the bluff at raising a revolutionary army—are these not merely deceptions added to preceding deceptions? The only war that is being prepared for in earnest is civil war. One can no longer see from what direction rescue could come. On every side, within the boundaries of what once was Russia, one sees only chaos, confusion, catastrophe, and the people seem to have neither the strength nor the courage to react. Thus, during the fourth year of a disastrous war and after one year of revolution, the pretended dictatorship of the proletariat, wielded in reality by a few thousand sailors and armed workmen—the least thoughtful and most covetous and brutal elements—pursues its course with many appearances of being subordinated to a conspiracy of which it seems to be the blind instrument.

Petrograd, Jan. 23, 1918.

Great Britain and the Jugoslav State

The New Adriatic Reconciliation

[By the Editor of The New Europe]

FOUR years of war changed many things, but none more markedly or more felicitously than the Adriatic question. When Italy entered the war in May, 1915, the enmity of Latin and Slav on the shores of the Adriatic Sea, artifically created and sedulously fostered by successive Hapsburg Governments, was in full flame, and bade fair to consume both races in a devastating conflagration from which alone the common enemy, Austria, could profit. The Southern Slav hated the Italian in Dalmatia as an imperialist usurper, the Italian denounced the Southern Slavs as the Cossacks of Austria brutally overwhelming a superior culture by sheer force of numbers.

At successive periods before the war the Vienna Government fostered the pretensions, now of the one party, now of the other, and thus aroused an acute sense of grievance in both. It seemed as if nothing but a miracle could reveal to these fratricidal peoples where their real enemy and their true interests lay. The miracle has come to pass, and in our rejoicing we shall not attempt to apportion the credit to the various agencies which have brought it about. But, since British friends of both peoples have had some share in it, we take this occasion

to express our gratitude to the Government for enabling Lord Robert Cecil to greet the new Adriatic reconciliation with such a significant and eloquent welcome.

At the Mansion House celebration of Italy's third war anniversary, the Minister of Blockade not only spoke of our Latin ally in language whose warmth and sincerity is echoed in every British heart, but singled out for special emphasis of praise the generosity of Italian statesmanship, by which a new era of co-operation has been opened for the Adriatic peoples. To Lord Robert Cecil's words we will only add that the Adriatic agreement is a most remarkable proof of the efficacy of unofficial diplomacy in preparing the ground for a real diplomatic triumph. The Governments concerned will be the first to recognize that private initiative launched and skillful private diplomacy steered this fine enterprise to the haven of official approval. And when we speak of official approval we cannot resist a slight attack of self-satisfaction at the language which Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the British Government, addressed to Italy and to those subject races of the Hapsburg Monarchy whose representatives recently met in that historic Congress of Nationalities in the Campidoglio at Rome.

TEXT OF LORD CECIL'S ADDRESS

Above all, do not let us forget the principles we are fighting for. Let us hold high, and ever higher, the standard of freedom and justice under which we are battling. In these things, I venture to think, our Italian ally has given us a splendid example. I will not speak of their efforts; I have already said something of them; I know how warmly they have seconded all proposals for a closer union between the Allies, and, above all, I welcome especially their recent congress at Rome, which has done so much to strengthen the alliance of which they are a part. I believe that congress was valuable for its wisdom and its moderation. I believe it was valuable for the spirit of brotherhood which it displayed. But, above all, I welcome it because it showed that the Italian Government, as expressed by the speech of the Italian Prime Minister, (Signor Orlando,) recognize to the full that the principles on which the Kingdom of Italy was founded were not only of local application, but extend to international relations. Italy has shown herself ready to extend to the Poles, to those gallant Czechoslovaks, to the Rumanians, and last, but not least, to the Jugoslavs, the principles on which her own "Risorgemento" was founded, and on which she may still go forward to a greater future than she has ever seen in the past. That is a great work, and those who have borne any part in it may well be proud of their acccomplishment. Assuredly, it is welcome to the British Government, and, if I may venture to interpose a personal note, particularly to myself. I always felt, and I said so here eighteen months ago, that there was no inconsistency whatever between the aspirations of Italy and those of Jugoslavia. We welcome it, not only because it is just and true, not only because it increases the cordial co-operation of our allies, but also because it emphasizes and brings once more into clear relief the principles for which we are fighting this war.

People talk sometimes about the dismemberment of Austria. I have no weakness for Austria; but I venture to think that that is the wrong point of view. The true way to regard this problem is not the dismemberment of Austria, but the liberation of the populations subject to her rule. We are anxious to see all these peoples in the enjoyment of full liberty and independence; able by some great federation to hold up in Central Europe the principles upon which European policy must be founded, unless we are to face disasters too horrible to contemplate. The old days of arbitrary allotment of this population or that to this sovereignty or that are gone—and, I trust, gone forever. We must look for any future settlement to a settlement not of courts or Cabinets, but of nations and populations. On that alone depends the whole conception of the League of Nations, of which we have heard so much, and unless that can be secured as the foundation for that great idea, I myself despair of its successful establishment.

War Finances

Public Debts of Each of the Chief Belligerent Countries in the First 47 Months of the War

By D. G. ROGERS

DURING the first three years and eleven months of the war the public debts of the warring countries, as treated below, in Table 1, show an aggregate of $129,500,000,000, of which about $85,600,000,000 represents the increase in the public debts of the different allied groups and $43,800,000,000 the increase in the public debt of the Central Powers.

Among the European nations, Great Britain shows the largest increase of indebtedness, viz., by $26,542,000,000. This total includes $7,027,000,000 advanced to allies and dominions up to Feb. 9, 1918. On the other hand, the total increase is inclusive of advances received from the United States since April, 1917, which totaled $3,055,000,000 on June 30, 1918.

RUSSIA'S GREAT DEBT

Russia's public debt shows an increase of about $20,200,000,000 between Jan. 1, 1914, and Sept. 1, 1917. This total includes the amounts advanced by the Allies, and, in addition, about $7,800,000,000 received by the Treasury in the shape of notes from the State Bank, whose stock is owned exclusively by the Government. To the $7,027,000,000 advanced by Great Britain, largely to Russia and Italy, should be added advances of the United States to the Allies totaling $5,594,000,000 on June 26, 1918.

The war debts of Germany and Austria-Hungary likewise include advances —to Bulgaria and Turkey. These advances, so far as known, cover by far the larger portion of the war expenditures of these two.

Total debt figures shown pertain to the principal belligerent countries only, and do not include the public debts of neutral countries, which have risen considerably during the war.

COMPARATIVE TABLE 1

Showing the public debt of the principal belligerent countries (in millions of dollars):*

Country.	Before Entering War. Amount.	At Most Recent Date. Amount.	Increase.
ALLIED POWERS			
Great Britain..	$3,458	$30,000	$26,542
Rest of Bt. Emp	1,454	3,000	1,546
France	6,598	25,227	18,629
Russia	5,092	25,383	20,291
Italy	2,792	7,676	4,884
United States...	1,208	15,008	13,800
Total	$20,602	$106,294	$85,692
CENTRAL POWERS			
Germany	$1,165	†$30,000	$28,835
Austria	2,640	13,314	10,674
Hungary	1,345	5,704	4,359
Total	$5,150	$49,018	$43,868
Grand total.	$25,752	$155,312	$129,560

With the spread of the war and the continuous rise of prices, the cost of the war is constantly increasing, calling for larger and larger borrowings by the Governments. In floating the huge public loans the Governments have had the assistance of the banks, co-operation between the Governments and central banks of issue being particularly close. Loans of a permanent character are, as a rule, preceded by issues in large volume of Treasury bills or certificates, a large proportion of which is discounted by the central banks. The amounts of Treasury bills and other short-term obligations discounted by the European Governments with their central banks have

*The ante-war public debt figures are those of the Federal Reserve bulletin; figures by the same authority were used as a basis in bringing up the figures to June 30, 1918.

†Prince Fugger declared recently in the Bavarian Chamber of Deputies, according to German papers, that Germany would have to provide for a war debt of about $33,250,000,000 if the war terminated unfavorably to her this Summer.

been constantly rising, partly accounting for the inflation of currency and prices, which in turn cause increased borrowing.

In Great Britain temporary borrowings of the Government from the Bank of England, as a rule, do not cause any increase in note circulation, the Government receiving deposit credit for the amount borrowed. Whatever addition to note circulation took place there is due to issues of currency notes by the Government to the banks, largely against the deposit of Government and other securities, as distinct from the practice on the European Continent, where, in most cases, notes are primarily issued by the central bank to the Governments.

Table 2, below, shows the effect of the war upon the status of the principal

COMPARATIVE TABLE 2

Showing total note circulation, deposits in gold and silver, and holdings of principal banks of issue at the outbreak of the war and at the end of 1917.

ALLIED POWERS

(In thousands of dollars)

	AT OUTBREAK OF THE WAR				AT END OF 1917			
	Total Note Circulation	Total Deposits	Gold and Silver Holdings	Ratio of Gold and Silver to Total Note and Deposit Liabilities.	Total Note Circulation	Total Deposits	Gold and Silver Holdings	Ratio of Gold and Silver to Total Note and Deposit Liabilities.
				P.C.				P.C.
France	$1,289,855	$256,716	$919,968	59.5	$4,311,000	$610,961	$687,480	13.7
Great Britain	144,566	326,699	185,567	39.4	[1]223,586	808,671	283,899	27.5
Japan[2]	212,342	61,367	112,296	41.0	410,816	291,341	326,982	46.6
Italy	324,824	37,403	232,965	64.3	[3]1,243,574	309,579	178.188	11.5
Russia	841,174	592,522	863,371	60.2	[4]9,456,516	[4]1,780,088	[4]758,798	6.8
Total	$2,812,761	$1,274,707	$2,314,167	56.6	$15,645,492	$3,800,640	$2,235,377	11.4
United States[5]	.....	.....	.....	....	$1,246,488	$1,457,994	$1,668,268	61.7

CENTRAL POWERS

Austria-H'y	$432,341	$59,419	$311,963	63.4	$3,594,156	$424,004	$64,657	1.1
Germany	692,442	299,515	363,670	36.7	[6]2,729,324	1,915,993	615,929	13.3
Total	$1,124,783	$358,934	$675,633	45.6	$6,323,480	$2,339,997	$680,586	7.8

[1]In addition, there were outstanding currency notes to the extent of $1,035,505,039, secured by $1,370,023,500 in gold.

[2]Figures for Dec. 31, 1913 and 1917.

[3]These figures refer to the Bank of Italy. On Nov. 10, 1917, there were also in circulation notes of the Bank of Sicily, 274,666,650 lire; notes of the Bank of Naples, 1,413,103,400 lire, and Treasury bills (Nov. 30) 1,684,000,000 lire, (metallic reserve 167,000,000 lire,) a total of 3,371,770,050 lire, or $650,751,620, as against $197,053,400 on July 20, 1914.

[4]Figures for Oct. 16-29, 1917.

[5]Figures for the Federal Reserve Banks, as of Dec. 28, 1917, exclusive of gold with foreign agencies.

[6]There were also outstanding on Dec. 31, 1917, the following issues:

	Million Marks.
Treasury notes	350.0
Loan Bank certificates	6,266.0
Notes of Bank of Bavaria	68.5
Notes of Bank of Saxony	44.1
Notes of Bank of Württemberg	24.6
Notes of Bank of Baden	26.0
	6,799.2

or $1,613,450,000. On July 31, 1914, the issues of the latter four banks amounted to $40,590,900, as against $38,844,500 on Dec. 31, 1917.

banks of issue in the warring countries, according to the Federal Reserve bulletin. It is seen that while the amounts of metallic cover at the banks in the warring countries of Europe have changed but little in the aggregate, the ratio of these amounts to their liabilities has gone down since July, 1914, from 54.3 to 9.4 per cent.

Amounts of gold held in the vaults of the central banks of issue do not represent in every instance the total monetary stocks of gold in any given country. Great Britain maintains a metallic cover of $138,695,250 against currency notes, which amounted to $211,785,306 on May 12, 1915, and $1,035,505,039 on Dec. 31, 1917. The Irish banks held on an average for the four weeks ended Nov. 3, 1917, $80,320,541 in gold against an average note circulation of $107,872,975, and the Scotch banks reported as of the same date average gold holdings of $82,678,720, against an average amount of notes in circulation of $88,106,406. There should also be included small amounts of reserve and circulation of six private banks and three joint stock banks in England proper. The larger commercial banks in England also hold as part of their vault cash considerable amounts of gold, the London City and Midland Bank alone showing in gold $34,065,000 on Dec. 31, 1917.

In the case of Italy there are notes in circulation of the Banca di Napoli and the Banca di Sicilia in addition to the issues of the Banca d'Italia. On Nov. 30, 1917, the combined gold reserves of the first two banks were $45,355,000 and silver reserves to the extent of $7,720,000, against a combined note circulation of $343,733,000. On the same date the Italian Treasury held $32,231,000 of metallic reserve against its Treasury note issue of $325,012,000.

Figures of gold reserves relating to the Bank of France, the Reichsbank, and the Austro-Hungarian Bank are more closely representative of the total monetary stock of gold in those countries. All gold in circulation that could possibly be gathered was concentrated in the vault of the central banks. Some increase in the gold reserve of the Reichsbank is probably due to the transfer to its vault of part of the gold reserve held by the Austro-Hungarian Bank at the outbreak of the war. On July 23, 1914, the latter held $271,589,437 in gold coin and bars, and this sum had gone down to $53,630,570 on Dec. 7, 1917.

Casualties of Belligerents

Approximately Eight Millions Dead and Thirteen Millions Wounded or Missing During Four Years of Fighting

IN attempting to arrive at an estimate of the loss of man power in the war, one confronts difficulties on the part of various Governments which refuse to publish casualty figures. One is eventually compelled to rely on statements of a more or less contradictory character.

Great Britain since the beginning of the war has consistently published her casualties. Her losses have been smaller than those of the other European powers, owing to the time required to bring her full strength to bear upon the enemy. The United States has also followed the practice of publishing daily losses; therefore, the figures for Great Britain and the United States as shown in the table below are official.

The nearest approach to an official statement of losses suffered by France during the last four years was given by André Tardieu in an address at the Madison Avenue Baptist Church, New York City, on April 28, 1918, when he stated that the French battle losses, including killed, wounded, and captured, totaled 2,600,000 men, of whom about 1,300,000 were killed outright.

France suffered tremendously in the early retreat to the Marne and later in the defense of Verdun. These and

other losses, together with those suffered as a result of the German drives during this year's campaign, undoubtedly increased her total casualties considerably.

Russia was one of the greatest mortality sufferers of all the warring powers, and the figures as given probably lean toward conservatism.

Italy until recently was saved from extreme casualties through the confining of open operations to her mountain frontiers. The great offensive of Austria along the Piave undoubtedly increased the losses of Italy to an appreciable extent.

Belgium and Serbia, overrun by the Teutonic powers early in the war, lost heavily, but of late their armies have been comparatively inactive. Rumania, although entering the war late, suffered disastrously through German invasion.

According to the German official casualty list published daily until May 10, 1916, the Germans had lost up to that date 2,822,079 men. The daily list was then succeeded by a monthly summary compiled by the British War Office from German bulletins, which gave the total loss up to Aug. 1, 1917, as 4,624,256, of which 1,056,975 were killed or dead of wounds, and 335,269 were registered as prisoners.

In October, 1917, George Ledebour, the German Socialist leader, is reported to have stated during a speech in the Reichstag that Germany, during three years of war, had lost 6,000,000 men, of which 1,500,000 were dead. Karl Bleibtreu, the German military statistician, writing in Das Neue Europa of April 22, 1918, gives the German losses up to Jan. 1, 1918, as 4,456,961 men. His figures deal exclusively with those killed in action or taken prisoner. Using the German figures with caution, together with the Entente estimates of Germany's heavy losses this year, the totals arrived at in the summary may be considered as a fair approximation.

In regard to Austria-Hungary, the great campaigns in the east during the last four years are to be considered, these having been carried on by large forces in the open over wide stretches of territory. Lack of means of communication and hospital facilities also has been a factor in increasing the total losses.

The Teutonic casualties in Italy have been large. Their latest offensive, June-July, 1918, resulted in disaster, with an estimated casualty list of 150,000 men.

Turkey has been a heavy loser, waging war on a wide sweep of front, from Gallipoli through Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. Bulgaria's losses have been comparatively small.

The figures appended do not include the enormous loss of life among the civilian population of invaded countries, though such loss was directly attributable to the war. Nor do they include losses of life at sea.

LOSSES AMONG COMBATANTS IN FOUR YEARS OF WAR

[Figures estimated, except United States and Great Britain]

	Dead.	*Wounded, Captured, or Missing.	Total Casualties
United States..	†4,487	6,752	11,239
Great Britain..	‡434,774	979,154	1,413,928
France	1,375,069	1,600,279	2,975,348
Russia	2,762,064	2,466,572	5,228,636
Italy	160,356	329,644	490,000
Belgium	63,250	182,898	246,148
Serbia	76,484	261,170	337,654
Rumania	100,000	250,000	350,000
Totals	4,976,484	6,076,469	11,052,953
Germany	1,812,500	4,569,820	6,382,320
Austria-H'ary ..	964,368	1,779,317	2,743,685
Turkey	182,644	370,452	553,096
Bulgaria	11,324	19,128	30,452
Totals	2,970,836	6,738,717	9,709,553
Grand totals.	7,946,320	12,816,186	20,762,506

*Eighty per cent. of the Entente allied wounded return to the armies; Germany claims that 85 per cent. of her wounded return as combatants.

†To July 9, 1918, inclusive.

‡To July 1, 1918, (forty-seven months.)

The Agony of the City of Lille

Experiences of One Citizen During the Horrors of German Occupation

Part I.

By MARGUERITE BUCHET

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by M. L. Cavenaugh]

During the twenty years since I left Lille I have not had the opportunity of seeing my old governess, Mlle. Marguerite Buchet. After she had regained her freedom, through a convoy sent to the south of France, and as she was no longer under the domination of the Germans, she wrote me this account of the invasion. The poor woman opened her heart and told me of the agonizing moments and the harrowing scenes she had passed through. On leaving Lille she was obliged to leave her safe-deposit box, which contained the earnings of the hard labor of her entire life, and which she knew she would never be able to recover. At her departure the Germans would not allow her to take even two francs from her box. In publishing this account, I wish to show once more what it is to be under the yoke of our enemy, and also to evince the sentiment of friendship and memory for one who was so kind to me in my childhood.—Foreword by Mme. Marie Reveilhac.

MY country is dear France. My native city is dear old Lille, which for three years has groaned under the domination of the Germans. During the first days which followed the invasion and the great fires in the city we only had the strength to suffer, but at the end of a few weeks I thought I would write what I would call "mes souvenirs," that is to say, the most striking things I noted, as they presented themselves, but "mes souvenirs" never saw the light. On our departure the Germans forbade us to take books, journals, paper, &c., consequently we burned quantities of letters and papers, as we preferred to destroy them sooner than let them fall into the hands of our enemies.

October, 1914, will never be forgotten by us; no one can ever understand the terrible sorrow of the invasion if they have not experienced it. Friday, Oct. 9, the first bomb fell on the city. Saturday they fought on the boulevard. All the inhabitants hurried into their houses. In the evening the bombardment commenced, continuing Sunday and Monday. Darkness reigned in the city. Thousands of shells whistled, fire broke out, hearts were crushed with anguish and grief, while our brave soldiers valiantly held out. Our heroic defenders were only a few thousand, and they were attacked by a strong army. Our men knew it could only end in defeat, that word which chills the blood, but they had been commanded to hold bravely on, in order to save the region further north which led to the sea, so they fought courageously, heedless of the tremendous force and thinking neither of their wounded nor their dead. For some days the city had been declared closed, and as there were so few cannons they carried them from one gate to another, striving to make the Germans think that they had many. Fires broke out in many quarters of the city, flames shooting to twenty and thirty meters in height. There were some desperate flights for life amid the fall of whistling shells. I know of a woman with three children who was obliged to flee from her house five times during that terrible night. There were young mothers who had to flee with their newly born. A little child, trembling all over, said: "Bonne maman, je ne vais pas mourir." They had to

leave everything, their homes, their souvenirs, everything they loved, and go to the unknown in their distress and poverty. Finally, the hour approached when our Lille was proud to have paid her debt to her country by bravely holding on, notwithstanding her sorrows and trials. The white flag was hoisted, the city surrendered. The German General, full of admiration for the commander who had shown so much heroism, accepted his sword and saluted him the first. However, the enemy entered the city, singing their song of victory, and danced before the flaming houses, while the bombardment still continued in certain quarters of the city. Some of the defenders were able to conceal themselves in order not to be made prisoners, burning their clothes. Others less fortunate, left for captivity.

Tuesday morning, Oct. 13, the German Army made its entrance into our dear old Lille, where reigned the silence of death, a silence which accompanies the greatest grief, and what grief could be greater than this? It was the silence, the solitude, the calm, the majesty of a noble, of a heroic, defeat.

Not a citizen was in the street; every window, every door, was closed. The troops filed by an endlessly long time without provocation, I must admit it, without a cry of victory. My sister and I will never forget our suffering the morning of Oct. 13; it will be forever engraved on our hearts. I still tremble and suffer today, though more than three years have passed. The heavens were red, flames crackled, fire continued, certain streets seemed like a vast furnace, there seemed to be no help. The firemen were guarded by the Germans, the hydrants likewise. There were many houses which did not start to burn until Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday morning; if it had been their wish, they could have been saved. I myself saw a priest tear up the pavement of a street with a pickaxe in order to cut the pipes to aid the engine which he and other men had hastened to bring there in their great distress, and when they were so tired that they were obliged to stop a second the fire would burst forth anew in great flames. As soon as the firemen were set free they rushed madly to the scene, but the fire had reached such a magnitude that all help seemed useless. They cried with anguish: "Water, water; pump more and faster!"

Was the bombardment the cause of all these fires? Most certainly not. A person whom I knew intimately, and whom I could believe, said to me: "Opposite our house I saw a German take a pickaxe and break open a house which was not on fire; five minutes later the house was in flames."

Tuesday the Dean of the great church at Lille, St. Maurice, whose parish had been particularly ravaged by the fire, rushed through the streets crying to his dear parishioners: "Save what you can, bring it to the church, and place it there." St. Maurice, much ruined by the shells, had been saved from the fire. It was indeed a spectacle that I will never forget which I saw the following Sunday. The great naves, the chapels were filled with all kinds of objects; commodes, chairs, trunks, sewing machines, old statues, old frames, artificial flowers, which retained only the value of a souvenir, which showed dire poverty, were mingled with the richest furniture. The charity of this priest touched me, and the old church filled in this manner brought tears in my eyes.

From the first days placards appeared, indicating to us the orders of our masters, and also making to us lying promises. In fact, they declared that the commercial life would not be interrupted, that the wealth and the property of the citizens would be respected. A little later we had other placards, which did not declare the same things. We had all kinds and all colors—yellow, red, blue, green, orange—one after the other, touching our fortunes. They requisitioned horses, saddles, oils, grease, arms, leather, bicyclettes, flax, oxen, carriages, wines, grain, all the equipment for photography, telephones, dogs, chickens, rabbits, linen, wool, thread. I have friends from whom they have taken 600,000 francs. They have taken

all, a little at a time, even the old iron, and wooden shoes.

Very soon a placard appeared which announced to us that in order to keep a dog we would be obliged to pay a big tax, and also to submit to certain rules and regulations. There followed a veritable sacrifice of dogs, notwithstanding their great love for the faithful animals; but give money to the enemy? Oh, no. So the dogs were killed by thousands.

This country of the north of France, which is so rich, so fertile, is ruined. I heard one lady say: "They have taken 4,000,000 francs. It was the fortune of my children which I saw carried away." The Germans themselves are stupefied at the great wealth. It was said that they were heard to exclaim: "Les murs de Roubaix, transpirent de l'or." The finest materials have gone, the beautiful trees are destroyed, all is lost, but we still remain brave and French now and forever!

We were ordered to be in our houses by 5 o'clock in the evening. Every one said: "How kind they are, what good care of our health!" As these sarcastic exclamations were heard by the Germans, a new command was given, forbidding any one to criticise in any way the acts of the German Government. All these commands terminated with threats of fines and imprisonment. We suffered the punishment of entering the house at 5 o'clock three times during the thirty-two months.

I passed under the German domination. The first time was on the occasion of French prisoners passing. They had not only been saluted, the dear soldiers of France, but cigars and cakes had been thrown to them. The following day a placard appeared which informed us that we did not understand our position and we must be in our homes by 5 o'clock.

German policemen on bicycles appeared in the streets. No one was permitted to stand near a window; the children could not even play in a yard which opened on the street from 5 o'clock; the silence of death reigned, only broken by the heavy steps of the Germans, and they even confessed to each other at that time that such a solitude was not gay. The blinds on all the stores and houses were closed.

This punishment was again inflicted during the Summer, on our refusal to make bags and cordage for the German Army; it was hard to endure; the children grew pale and the workmen suffered. It was extremely hard on families who lived in the mansards. Did the air of the good God also belong to the conquerors? It was finally through the effort of our Bishop that the punishment was lessened. The affair of the making of the sacks was terrible: some women were imprisoned, they were told they could have their liberty as soon as they accepted the work. They were given only bread and water, and were forced to remain standing, not even a bed was given for the night. There was one of them who suffered cruelly, and no care was given to her. The courageous women continued to resist, refusing to work. After a week had passed some prominent persons went to them and advised them to work, for if they continued to refuse they would still be treated in the same way, and perhaps even worse. One woman who was imprisoned for refusing to work awakened in the night with a cry of horror, as rats were running all around! Others, who were rich, were obliged to pay heavy fines.

A brave peasant who had been exempted by France on account of an infirmity was ordered to work in the trenches. All the preceding night he and his wife wept bitterly. He wanted to run away, but where and for what good? He would only be captured, so he worked under the eyes of a German, who watched him with a revolver in his hand. All that he suffered on such days is indescribable; they paid him, saying: "We can afford to be generous, as the City of Lille gives the money." It was in the month of December, 1914, that we experienced for the first time a sorrow of which we had not dreamed. It was to hear our bells, mute since the 12th of October, by order of the conquerors—to hear them ring at their command to announce their victories. This, indeed, was suffering! It was endured three times during the following year. No one can

imagine how we suffered, what sorrow it was. We experienced at the same time shame and humiliation, a crushing of all the sentiments, both patriotic and religious, but we were too proud to show that we suffered..

In the Winter of 1916 I again heard the bells of Lille; it was to announce the taking of Bucharest; it was at 9 o'clock in the evening. For an hour the great city had been silent, though the obligatory entrance was at 8 o'clock. Suddenly the joyous tones burst forth in every quarter, all churches, save one, joining in this glorious outburst. Sacré Coeur was excepted, as the Germans injured the bells when announcing one of their victories.

Another torture which we had to endure was their music; every day there were "parades" on the "grand place," consequently music. As our population is a dignified one, each person continued on his way as if he heard nothing, but they heard only too well. A "monsieur" having put his hands to his ears when the "fanfare" commenced was put in prison for forty days. As for myself, I have stood more than once gazing into an empty window in order to avoid looking at the "parade." Many others did the same thing. Some one will ask, why an empty window; simply because our stores had been stripped for a long time of everything. Our material life was excessively painful. During some months the bread had been a grayish black or brown, the color of spices. At times it was miserable; at times the animals even refused to eat it. It stuck to the hands, to the teeth.

Fortunately, the American committee came to our relief and sent us some flour. What enthusiasm when once more we saw white bread! Many, many thanks to those who had pity on the poor invaded region! There was distribution of rations at fixed hours. Unfortunate, indeed, was the one who was detained by some occupation at the appointed time; then he was obliged to do without the precious food for two days until a new distribution.

During many months the rations were a demi livre—that is to say, 250 grams per person; it was not sufficient for the young people, nor for the workmen, as they were deprived of meat and vegetables. All food was obtained at an exorbitant price—meat $6, butter $5.20, sugar $2.40, chocolate $3, potatoes 38 cents, all sold at 1 kilo, (2 1-5 pounds.) The prices before the war for the same amount were as follows: Sugar 17 cents, potatoes 3 cents, chocolate 40 cents, butter 74 cents, meat 30 cents. A chicken costs $5.20 now instead of $1, a rabbit $5 in place of 60 cents. An egg reached the enormous price of 24 cents, a cabbage 25 cents. The Germans forced us to buy their flour; it made the bread grayish color. Not a milkman was to be seen. Some vegetables and fruits I did not even see during the second year of the occupation, and even the food, dear as it was, could not be found. It was only obtained by fraud. One woman paid a fine of $18.75 for having brought a rabbit to Lille. Another passed nine days in the citadel for taking some potatoes into his village. This the régime of the citadel: the bed is the hard earth, the food consists of bread, water, coffee, and soup. Rats are the companions of the prisoners. The food was so dear that we naturally had to do without it. Children could not live on such a miserable diet. The mortality among them increased frightfully. In March, 1916, it was more than double that in 1915; it became known abroad. Other nations were touched by it and sent commissions to inquire into the cause of the great mortality and to take steps to remedy it.

Oh, the Germans! How well they understand how to bring ruin, devastation, and death! The lightest of maladies became serious under such conditions, and the terrible tuberculosis found the ground all prepared for it.

We ate rice, and rice again; the leaves of rhubarb were used in place of spinach, the leaves of carrots and radishes in guise of salads, even in the wealthiest families.

[*The second installment will be printed next month.*]

Dogs trained for the British Army as dispatch bearers
(© Western Newspaper Union)

Kennels of French war dogs employed for dispatch carrying and Red Cross work
(French Pictorial Service)

Guns of the largest calibre, which can be transported only on special railroad tracks, in the positions where they helped to check the German drive on Paris

(Press Illus. Service)

Nieuport, City of Desolation

Described by an Eyewitness

A correspondent on the Belgian front, who visited the ruins of Nieuport in February, 1918, sent to the official journal, Informations Belges, this description of the city after three years of German bombardment:

OUR automobile has passed Furnes and Wulpen. It has crossed the canal between Furnes and Nieuport on a temporary bridge. It is jolted about on a road almost destroyed, with paving stones torn up, leaving great holes full of liquid mud. The Germans are firing heavy shells. One hears the jerky whistling of the projectiles, which seem to have difficulty in piercing the air, and in rotating on their own axes seem to advance by fits and starts. Then comes the explosion in a cloud of black smoke amid a rain of clods and brickbats from a farm already in ruins. As it is broad daylight, and as it is wiser to be modest and not attract attention, we continue our way on foot, splashing through puddles and miring our feet in the clay. One more bridge to cross and we are in Nieuport.

As you know, the city is very ancient. Baudoin-Bras-de-Fer, he of the iron arm, was born here in 820. Another Count of Flanders famous in history, Guy de Dampierre, built a lighthouse here which could still be seen before the war, and which was the only surviving example of the Belgian maritime architecture of the Middle Ages. Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries Nieuport was rich and prosperous. Then came decay and obscurity. In history its name survived in connection with the battle between Archduke Albert and Maurice of Nassau. The city led a quiet life, and its streets, fallen silent, showed animation only in Summer, when groups of seaside tourists came to visit its markets and its fourteenth century belfry, its church, remarkable for the lightness and beauty of its structure, and the famous Tower of the Templars.

The Germans came in 1914. The modern Vandals destroyed the monuments and art treasures that fell into their hands. After their departure they were furious. In the shadow of the ruins of the church could still be seen in 1915 the graves of the heroic soldiers who had died during the battles of the Yser. Today even this cemetery is devastated by German shells. Of the monuments of a glorious past there remain only formless fragments. The old houses have collapsed under the blows of the barbarians, and their shattered remains lie heaped in streets that are riddled with shell holes. The City Hall and High School are ruins. A place of desolation and sadness!

"My parents lived in Nieuport," says the commandant who is with me. "I attended the High School."

He looks for the house where his father and mother had lived in happiness. It no longer exists. He retraces the way over which he had so often trudged as a schoolboy with his books under his arm. He has to turn out for enormous shell holes, and climb over mountains of bricks and beams. It is a sad journey.

At a street corner is a disembowled store. The front has fallen into the highway. The roof is gone. A piece of ceiling remains by a miracle of equilibrium. A sign nailed to a piece of wall informs us: "Morgue." In a corner on a bier lies the body of a soldier who has just been killed, and who has been brought here to await burial.

Another sign further on: "Chapel." An arrow indicates a low entrance way. A staircase leads down through darkness, which must be lighted with one's pocket lamp. A mattressed door gives security against bursting shells. Another door leads into a cellar. The furniture consists of three pine benches, a velvet sofa of faded garnet color, and a few scattered chairs. At the back are a table and four candlesticks, no two alike, before a chromolithograph representing the Mother and Child. Here is where the chaplain will

say mass for the repose of the soul of the man who has just given his life for his country. "De Profundis Clamavi ad Te, Domine * * *"

To the east of the city is the new quarter, with its houses of brick veneer trimmed with white stone, its corbelled turrets and gabled roofs, in the Flemish "neo-Renaissance" style. Here, too, are only ruins and débris—in front of the railway station, which is pierced with shell holes and partly collapsed, and at the gas works, whose great tanks are now only a mass of scrap iron and plates riddled by projectiles.

By connecting trenches we reach the basin. Above the parapets of the trenches the carcases of wagons are silhouetted against the sky. Further on lies Nieuport-Bains, the former bathing beach on the English Channel, now the northern extremity of the western front.

Night has fallen now. The Germans continue to fire, and behind us the bursting of a volley of shell tears the ears. Through utter darkness we get back to Nieuport and cross the city again. It is a new sport this, of circulating among shell holes, heaps of débris, and large ponds of mud, when one cannot see a step ahead. And it is not merely a matter of clicking your pocket light upon the path. Instantly imperative voices come out of the blackness: "Put that light out! Do you want them to get our range?" The night is much more animated than was the day. One hears the tramp of relief parties and revictualing squads on the pavements, the dull rumble of trucks and cannon on the trails.

On the Belgian front among the "poilus"—who, by the way, are generally beardless and close shaven—a sixth sense is rapidly developed, namely, that of keeping their bearings at night. Thus we arrived without too much trouble at the place where we had left our automobile behind a piece of broken wall on a ruined farm.

Nieuport was in a terrible condition in 1915. Today it is an absolute ruin. Nothing can restore it. It will be necessary to remove the débris, make a clean sweep, and build anew. Better, perhaps, to preserve it just as it is, leaving the work of the modern Vandals permanently on exhibition for the edification of neutrals and of future generations.

Reconstructing the Life of France

By WINIFRED STEPHENS

FAR from "awaiting panic-stricken the conqueror's coming," as German newspapers assert, the French are devoting every particle of energy left over from the life-and-death struggle in which we are all engaged to vigorous attempts to reconstruct their national life on a better basis. Space forbids me even to indicate how vast and varied were the schemes I heard discussed round Paris dinner tables while "Bertha" was busy at work and the great offensive at its most desperate moment. But in the intervals of talk about the unity of command and the likelihood of the enemy taking Amiens or marching into Paris, I gathered that many plans for social betterment are already being executed, and that they affect all classes of men and of women, all districts of town and of country.

In urban districts one of the most promising is the opening of technical and commercial schools for the training of women who now play so prominent a part in French industrial life. Following England's example, and resulting from a deputation of French working women sent by the French Ministry of Munitions to England in 1916, a completely new branch of feminine activity has been opened up by the institution of factory welfare supervisors. In the Summer of 1917 a school was opened for their training. And already it has sent out to numerous factories and to the Ministry of War a band of well-equipped women, many of whom have

abandoned a brilliant professional career to devote themselves to this useful work.

French reformers are displaying an eager desire to benefit by the experience of allied countries. Constantly French deputations brave submarines and cross the Atlantic and the Channel in search of new ideas. It will not perhaps be divulging a secret if I say that the French Government is about to send a company of eminent French ladies to inspect certain war activities in England where they will be the guests of the Government. But it is over the fields of rural France that the fresh breeze of new life blows most vigorously. How little before the war France, the most completely agricultural of western countries, had done for her rural population must have struck all who in their French wanderings have strayed away from tourist beaten paths, away from the trim farms of the north, the cider orchards of Normandy, the rich vineyards of Touraine into the tumble-down hamlets, the untidy peasant holdings, and the depopulated villages of the south and of the eastern marches. Well might René Bazin entitle one of his novels "The Dying Countryside," (la terre qui meurt.)

This war is bringing home to Frenchmen how disastrous for their national life are the ignorance and materialism which too often prevail in the country. They began to realize it before the war, when in many rural districts the peasants' ignorant prejudice rendered impossible the administration of the Workmen's Annuity act. And now during these war days his readiness to give up his life for his country stands out in glaring contrast with his reluctance to give up his money for the same cause. He clings to his belief in the traditional stocking. In his own words, he thinks it safer to keep his francs in his pocket than to intrust them to a bank from which he may never live to take them out.

As well as the institution of land banks and the further development of co-operative farming I found that how to raise the rustic to a loftier and a wider view of life was being eagerly discussed in serious Paris drawing rooms. One remedy above all seemed to recommend itself to every mind, no matter of what cast of opinion—Catholic, Protestant or Agnostic, Conservative, Radical or Socialist. All agree that something must be done to rival the attractions of the tavern (where the peasant is too prone to find his only relaxation) and to continue and supplement the teaching of the school.

There is a movement coming from various directions toward the establishment in each village—by the State if possible—of centres of culture and amusement. Called by various names, according to the school of social reformers which advocates them, "Maisons pour Tous," "Maisons Communes," "Maisons du Peuple," they all, by whomsoever advocated, aim at the same thing, at continuing under one roof, or at any rate within one inclosure, the numerous activities of the technical school, the maternity centre and crêche, public baths and wash houses, a free library, and a recreation ground or sports club. One well-known French lady, the mistress of an influential political salon, has had designed and published in a charming booklet, which has been widely circulated among members of Parliament, plans and pictures, as well as the estimated cost of a series of such houses, each one adapted to some special part of France.

Another French lady, a novelist and social worker, has gone further. In the hope that the State will follow the example set by private initiative, she has, with the help of an influential committee, rented a house and land in the department of la Creuse, where next month will be opened the first "Maison du Peuple."

The starting of such enterprises at such a moment is surely only second to that indomitable heroism the French are displaying at the front. Never so forcibly as in Paris during the last few weeks have I realized that they are indeed an invincible nation.

Appalling Cruelty to Prisoners

Forty Men in One Group Done to Death by Torture and Freezing

A member of the Royal Naval Division of Great Britain who was captured at Antwerp in 1914 arrived in England June 6, 1918, after escaping to a neutral country; he narrates an appalling story of German cruelty to British prisoners, as follows:

ON Feb. 25, 1917, British prisoners at Libau were told to march to Kelsen, thirty-six kilometers away. Uhlans urged us forward through the snow. Often we came to drifts which were waist deep, and any one who halted was prodded on by the Uhlans with their lances. In the ordinary way the thirty-six kilometers were two days' march in Winter for the German troops, but we were told we had got to reach our destination by that night.

On we went without food and without a halt. One man—A. Sawyer, R. N. D.—stumbled in the snow, and was at once charged by a Uhlan, whose lance entered his head just behind the ear. The Germans took no notice of the incident, with the result that the frost got into Sawyer's wound. Ninety men out of 200 collapsed on that march, and many others were bleeding from lance pricks. If a man fell out he was left, and he had to take his chance of a humane transport driver coming by and giving him a lift.

At the end of our journey we discovered that we were to be employed in the lines. For an hour and a half we were kept standing in the snow while Russian shells were bursting in the district. We were then told to go into a large cavalry tent, and found no sleeping accommodation except pieces of wood across which was stretched wire meshing. Those who had managed to keep their blankets during the march had covering, but many threw these away in order to keep up with their comrades.

Early the next morning we were aroused by the guards prodding us with bayonets and crying, "Get up." We were kept on parade, while orders were read out to us, according to which any man found smoking would be shot, and disobedience of orders would meet with death. We were told that the reason we had been brought there was that the English had German prisoners working in their trenches and in the firing line, and it was intended that we should carry out the same work against the Russians until England had given a satisfactory reply about German prisoners. News had been brought to Germany by escaped prisoners that British sentries had foully murdered thirty-six German prisoners, and it had been decided that thirty-six out of the 500 men now there should die. Every man was given a prison number, and groups of three were formed, so that for the misdeeds of one of them all three were taken from the working parties at the end of the day, made to mount on a brick, were then tied to a pole, and the brick kicked away, leaving their feet a little way from the ground. In this position they were kept for two and a half hours each night for fourteen nights in intense cold.

Forty men died under this treatment, for when they were released they were like blocks of ice, and circulation had to be restored by their comrades. A man named Skit, Grenadier Guards, was shot in cold blood. He had collapsed in the snow, and the guard, making the remark, "You are no good any longer," shot him through the head. The body was left in the snow for three or four days. It was not until these forty men had died that we got any better treatment. During that time some men were found frozen in their beds. When men took their socks off their toes came away owing to frostbite. Our work necessitated our being in the most exposed portions of the German lines, and many were wounded by Russian snipers.

We were later transferred to a town in East Prussia, where I saw Rumanian prisoners who were eating grass and drinking water out of ditches. There were as many as forty deaths a day among them.

Switzerland an Oasis in Wartime

Cosmopolitan Life in Geneva

An English writer who was in Geneva and other Swiss cities in June, 1918, recorded his impressions in these words:

THIS pleasant oasis of peace and pastoral industry, surrounded on all sides by the tide of war, this uninvaded place of refuge for all its flotsam and jetsam, seems at first too good to be true. One's first few days at Geneva, in particular, are obsessed by a haunting sense of unreality. One almost resents the tranquillity of the splendid mis-en-scène, the even tenor of the neutral's day, the cheerful social amenities of his evenings, when the festooned lights twinkle gayly over the Kursaal and along the Pont du Mont Blanc, and all the world and his wife, overflowing the wide pavement, take their beer and ices at the Café du Nord. These brilliantly lighted streets, crowded with placid and apparently prosperous citizens, who can watch the moon's silvery path upon the wine-dark waters of the lake without ever a thought of air raids, long-distance guns, or curfew regulations; all the ordered Old World regularity of civilization's business and pleasure; the strange lack of men in khaki and hospital blue, the absence of all the sights and sounds of war, which we belligerents have come to regard as normal; these groups of young, able-bodied men, exempted in the very midst of Europe's conflagration from the universal business of slaughter, all combine to induce a curious sense of transient illusion. You surrender yourself to enjoyment of the oasis and its mirage of unwonted sensations as if you were watching some midsummer's eve play with the critical spectator's sense of detachment. Indeed, there are moments when it seems incredible that one should thus be translated, by the simple expedient of a night's journey in a railway carriage, to a land where people have slept quietly in their beds o' night all through these four years of world-wide strife.

On Sunday, June 9, there was a gayly flagged regatta on the waterfront off the Quai du Léman. Against the purple background of the Savoy shore little fleets of white sails were glancing and gleaming in the sun. Excursion steamers, crowded with good bourgeoisie en fête, came gliding past trim gardens and terraced hotels of the Quai du Mont Blanc, just as of old, with sounds of music and laughter. The most cosmopolitan and polyglot collection of humanity that Switzerland has ever entertained was taking its evening stroll and discussing its everlasting politics under the plane trees of the promenade. At the Café du Nord a remarkably good orchestra was playing light classical music, selected on strict principles of neutrality, to a crowd collected from all the four corners of the world at war—refugees, "macaques," deserters, réfractaires, men and women spies and political agents of various shades of respectability, Greeks, Turks, Russians, Rumanians, Armenians, and Poles, German Republicans and French pacifists, interned soldiers and civilians—and, over all, the Pax Helvetica, the strange peace of this neutral sanctuary.

An expert in local affairs counted thirty-two different races gathered around the little tables of the Café du Nord that evening: a very Cave of Adullam, a Parliament of rois en exil.

But these first impressions, this sense of blissful immunity from the chaos and devastation of war, wear off as one comes to look beneath the surface of things, to observe some of the many undercurrents that flow beneath its apparent placidity, to understand something of the dangers and difficulties with which Switzerland is confronted as the result of the conflict on her borders, and what it has cost her to preserve until now her neutrality, her means of subsistence, and her territory inviolate. The sense of immunity from the worst of war's horrors remains, and gradually one comes to accept it as a

grateful interlude of rational existence; but at the same time one realizes that the Swiss are bearing their share, and that no small one, of the world's heavy burden of trouble. This beautiful land that was Europe's playground of old, and is now her asylum and convalescent home, has fortunately escaped being drawn into the fray, but she has not escaped the worldwide menace of hunger, and she must face, like the belligerents, the necessity for reorganizing her national life and her principal industries to meet the new conditions that must arise when the world's armies cease from fighting and return to civil life. Indeed, being cut off from direct access to the sea, Switzerland's position has been, and still is, in some respects, one of peculiar difficulty and grave danger.

The lights and laughter of cosmopolitan Geneva and Lausanne are apt to obscure the newcomer's perception of the price which the Swiss people have paid, and are paying, for the maintenance of their pledges and principles and for the preservation of their humane and impartial neutrality. The part which the Swiss Government has had to play has frequently been misunderstood, because of failure to appreciate the risks and penalties involved in the maintenance of that neutrality, as well as its vital importance to Europe and to the future of civilization in its work of reconstruction. Similarly, the sacrifices which the Swiss people have made, not only at the call of patriotism, but from motives of humanity, have not been fully appreciated. The more closely one studies the actual situation in Switzerland and the forces which there determine public opinion (which has a far more potent influence on national policy than in most modern democracies) the more devoutly must one hope that the Swiss people will be able to remain neutral to the end, and eventually, in a reconstructed Europe, to achieve their complete independence from all political interference and influence from beyond their borders.

There is one outward and visible sign of Switzerland's beneficent neutrality, however, which the Anglo-Saxon finds it difficult to accept with equanimity, no matter how long he may have been in the country—namely, the presence of Germans, and their reception on a footing of equality, in decent society. Say what you will, this goes against the grain. After all that has happened, after all that the world has learned of the real nature of the German, from his own thoughts, words, and deeds; remembering the things that they have done in Northern France, in Serbia, in Rumania, and, above all, in would-be neutral Belgium—one feels that there must be something wrong with a political code or creed that asks one to treat Germans as if they were still within the pale of civilization, to jog elbows with them in public places and show no sign of aversion or disgust.

Gas Masks for American Army Horses

The United States War Department announced at the beginning of June, 1918, that approximately 5,000 gas masks for horses were being turned out daily by the Gas Defense Service and were being shipped to France. Every horse attached to the American Expeditionary Force was to be equipped with these masks as soon as possible. The new masks contain chemicals to neutralize all known gases that would affect horses, and can be placed securely on the heads of animals not wearing harness. This additional feature was made necessary by the fact that many horses had been lost because they were not wearing harness to which the masks could be attached when the gas came.

Poison Gas in Warfare

The Deadly Mustard Gas Now Employed—The Methods of Gas Training

By SHERWOOD EDDY

A cablegram was received July 12, 1918, by THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY, *announcing that the American Army in France was receiving and using mustard gas shells in large quantities. The Germans had begun using this deadly type of poison gas in November, 1917, and it was employed with serious results before the Allies discovered the secret of producing it in large quantities. The method was at length found, and gas shells of this type were used by the Americans west of Château-Thierry on June 9, 1918, with great success. The following description of the action of this gas and of the methods employed to resist it appears in Mr. Eddy's book, "With Our Soldiers in France":*

IN the training of the American soldiers in France, after the ceremonial parade, the men must pass through the deadly gas chambers, to be ready to meet the attack of the enemy fully prepared. More fatal than the prussic acid which the Prussian has occasionally employed is the deadly mixture of chlorine and phosgene which has been most commonly used. In a gentle favoring wind it is put over, invisible in the darkness, and if it catches the foe unprepared it can kill from ten to fifteen miles behind the lines. The mixture is squirted as a liquid from metal generators. It quickly forms a dense greenish-yellow cloud of poison vapor, which floats away in the darkness. Its success must depend on the element of surprise, taking the enemy unprepared and choking him, awake or asleep, in the first few moments before the horns, gongs, and whistles send the alarm for miles behind the trenches.

MUSTARD GAS

Recently a new so-called "mustard gas" has been used by the enemy with deadly effect, owing to the fact that it is both invisible and odorless. It is sent over in exploding shells, and sinks in a heavy invisible vapor about the sleeping men, creeping into their dugouts and trenches or enveloping them around the guns or in the shell holes. The effects do not manifest themselves for several hours. With stinging pain the man's eyes begin to close, and for a time he may go almost blind. He is then taken violently sick. The surface of the lungs and the entire body, especially where it is moist with perspiration, is burned. The skin may blister and come off. Many cases have proved fatal and many more suffer cruelly for weeks in hospital.

With the men we attended a lecture on the nature of the various gases used by the enemy and the proper methods of meeting them. The lecture throughout was unconsciously couched almost in theological language. The instructor first disposed of what he called superstitious "heresies" concerning the gas, in order to prevent the men from having panic and "getting the wind up." There is a foolish rumor which says, "One breath and you are ruptured for life, or you fall dead the next morning," &c., but he warns the men of its deadly nature and tells them they are to be saved from its fatal effects by knowing the truth.

The instructor explains that if they take four deep breaths it will prove fatal: "One breath and you catch the first spasm, two and you are mad, three and you are unconscious, four and you are dead. If you keep your presence of mind and hold your breath, you will have six seconds to get on your gas helmet or respirator." The attack, remember, is a surprise in the dark; brain-splitting gas shells are dropping on all sides, and it is hard to keep cool and hold one's breath in the moment of sudden surprise and panic. We are told that there are fifteen

mistakes which are easily possible in getting on this complicated helmet, or if there is one big blunder in the sudden surprise the man is done for.

HOW THE MASK WORKS

Before going through the death chamber helmets are inspected to see that they are sound and unpunctured, and the men are drilled in the open to practice putting them on quickly. Suddenly the warning whistle of an imaginary gas attack sounds. One backward fling of the head and the steel helmet falls off, for there is no time to lift it off. A dive into the bag carried on the chest, and the respirator is grasped, and with one skillful swoop it is drawn over the face. Your nose is pinched shut by a clamp, your teeth grip the rubber mouthpiece, and, like a diver, you must now get your one safe stream of pure air through the respirator. You draw in the air from a tube which rises from a tin of chemical on your chest. Then you can breathe in the dense, deadly, greenish chlorine vapor, for as it passes through the respirator filled with chemicals it is absorbed, neutralized, oxidized, and purified into a stream of pure air. All about you may be choking fumes of death which would kill you in four seconds, yet you will be completely immune, breathing a purified atmosphere.

The soldiers are now marched up to this chamber of horrors to walk through the poison gas. Many have "the wind up," (i. e., they are afraid inside, but are ashamed to show it.) Reliance on the guide, the expert who has been through it all, and the sense of companionship, the stronger ones unconsciously strengthening the weak, have a steadying effect upon all the men. The soldiers have had four hours' drill to prepare them, but the "padre" and I, who are now permitted to go through, have had but four minutes. I am trying to remember a number of things all at once. Above all, I must keep cool and assure myself that there is no danger if only I trust and obey what the expert has said.

IN THE GAS CHAMBER

I fling on the helmet and we start into the death chamber, but suddenly a string is loose—will the respirator work? There seems to be something the matter with my nosepiece, which should be clamped shut. I would like to ask the instructor just one question to make sure, but I can no more talk than a diver beneath the sea. It is too late; we are moving; I can only hope and trust the helmet will hold.

We have left the sunlight and are in a long, dark, covered chamber, like a trench, groping forward and looking at a distant point of light through the dim goggles. We are alone in these deadly fumes; the instructor is not here; there is a tense silence, and all about us is the poison of death. Oh, what was that fourth point that I was to remember? Why has the guide turned back? I thought we were to go out at the further end, where last week the poor fellow fell who lifted his helmet a moment too soon after he got out and caught one whiff which sent him to the hospital, but instead we seem to be turning around and going back.

But there is no time for explanations or questions now; we just plod on through the darkness, and soon we are out in the sunlight again—safe!—in God's pure air. Oh, why did man ever want to pollute it and poison his brother with these deadly fumes of hell!

As a special favor the instructor allows us, without a mask, to take one swift look into the fumes as we hold our breath. That yellow-green chlorine will corrode the lungs and fill them with pus and blood. The phosgene is much more deadly and will strike the man down with sudden failure of the heart.

We were also sent through a chamber of the invisible "tear gas" without a mask. The object of this is to take away the fear of the gas from the men. This particular gas has no effect upon the lungs, but sends a stinging pain through the eyes, so that one weeps blindly for some minutes, and could not possibly see to shoot or to defend himself.

TRUTH ABOUT THE GAS

We are now ready to return to another lecture with more understanding. No wonder these tired boys under the heavy, hot steel helmets, which absorb the heat

of the scorching sun, are listening with all their ears, yet one or two fall asleep for very weariness and may again be caught napping by the enemy's poison gas up the line. The instructor is in dead earnest, for the life of every man during the coming conflict may depend upon his message. His words are still in my ears, for they were strangely like a sermon:

> Men, I am going to tell you the truth about this deadly gas, and you must believe it, for your life will depend upon it. It can kill, and no doubt about it. But for every poison of the enemy there's an antidote, and we have found it. Your helmet is perfect, and you simply must believe in it, you must trust to it. We have made full provision for your safety. If you go under, it will be your own fault from one of four causes—unbelief, disobedience, carelessness, or fear. If you carelessly go without your helmet it means death. During an attack, after putting on the respirator, just stand and wait. There is nothing you can do for yourself except to keep your helmet on. Your skill, your strength are nothing. Now, if you are caught in an attack unawares, remember, if you're still alive at all, there's hope. Don't lose courage. If your confidence goes, you lose 90 per cent. of your defense, for the sole hope of the enemy in gas is surprise and panic. If you are gassed, don't move. Keep still, keep warm, don't worry, and wait. To move or try to save yourself will be fatal.
>
> The enemy will put over three or four waves with a break between. The gas may come for some hours. To remove your helmet before the attack is over will be fatal. Within a quarter of an hour after the gas has ceased the charge of the enemy will come, and you must never let him get past your barbed-wire entanglements. After exposure to gas, all food, water, and wells are poisonous. The heavy gas must be expelled from the trenches by fans before the charge comes. Only remember, you must believe what I say—keep your helmet on in time of danger, and you are perfectly safe.

There is a vast difference between the warning and the preparatory exposure to the gas by your guide and the deadly surprise of the enemy. The former is a trial to prepare you, the latter is an effort to destroy you. The whole experience was so obviously parallel to the deadly moral dangers which surround the soldier in wartime that it needs no comment. The one and only safety in the time of temptation is to put on the whole armor of God, especially the "helmet of salvation."

The writer has just come from a ward in the hospital filled with patients suffering from the new gas which the enemy has lately put over. It is, as we have said, invisible and odorless, so the men receive no warning and consequently do not put on their masks. They do not know that they are being gassed until hours afterward, when they find they are burned from head to foot.

Here are twenty men lying in this tent suffering from this new torture. This first boy, with a wan smile that goes right to your heart, can only whisper from his burned-out lungs and cannot tell us his story. The next man was taken with vomiting five hours after the gas shells exploded. Seven of his fourteen companions sleeping in the dugout were killed outright; the others were gassed. He lay unconscious for several days, and now his eyes and skin are burned as though he had passed through a fire.

The next boy is badly burned in his eyes and chest. Half the men of his battery were killed by gas while asleep at night. On the next cot is a boy who has been suffering for seventeen days; the burns on his body have been improving, his lungs also are better, but he is still blind and fears he may lose his sight. He asks me to write a letter for him to his mother. "Only," he says, "don't tell her about my eyes." Together we make up a cheerful letter, and the boy rests back on his cot to pray for his returning eyesight.

Methods of Using Mustard Gas

Major Gen. William L. Sibert was placed in charge of the Gas Division of the United States Army in May, 1918. Dr. Benjamin T. Brooks, Chief Chemist of a plant that is producing mustard gas under his supervision, describes its use and effects as follows:

The Germans are using two types of gas shells, those which explode by percussion and those which carry time fuses. Occasionally they drench a territory with shells, some of which have long-time

fuses and some short-time fuses, so as to effect the greatest possible concentration of gas in a given sector.

A question arises as to how the Germans can advance through territory they have subjected to this gas. If the territory is untenable for the Allies it is untenable for the Germans, too. That is why some persons wonder that they can make such great gains with it. We are likely to think of the battlefront as being a solid line, like the maps we see daily, with another line of trenches back of that. If the western front were a level plain, like an Illinois prairie, that would be fairly true of it, and gas would not be so useful for the Germans; but the situation actually is that there are certain strongly held posts, such as Kemmel Hill or Messines Ridge, around which the fighting centres. It is against such positions that the Germans have been using gas. They do not use it indiscriminately. And, once the Allies are forced by gas out of a strong position, they must fall back to others prepared in the rear. Maps are supplied to the German troops showing gassed areas, and in the advance they may avoid them until they are safe for occupancy.

One reason the mustard gas is so dangerous is that it seems so innocent. The smell is faint, and it is not especially disagreeable. The vapors from the liquid can be inhaled without any immediate discomfort. The effect has been called "chemical pneumonia." The symptoms are similar—high fever, stertorous breathing, and sometimes stupor. Autopsies have shown that the effect of the gas on the lung tissues has been such that they break down like wet paper.

The chief danger of mustard gas is from contact. A soldier walking along a trench which has had a sprinkling of it rubs his shoulder, for instance, against the side of the trench, and a tiny drop gets on his coat. It looks like a drop of oil. It does not hurt the cloth. He is likely to pay no attention to it. It penetrates to the flesh, but only causes a slight smarting. It is not until hours later that the effects are apparent. Then the flesh becomes puffy and red; the tissue swells enormously. The effect is similar to a very deep burn—a burn of the third or fourth degree.

When a mustard gas shell explodes it throws a fine mist over a wide area. If it gets into a soldier's eyes, it blinds him. But our experiments have shown that it is not necessary to touch the eyes directly to cause blindness. The poison can be communicated through the tissue.

How little of the stuff is effective is illustrated by an experience of my own. [Dr. Brooks lifted a scarred and reddened right hand.] Several months ago, when I was making an experiment, some mustard gas got between two of my fingers. It was so little that it escaped notice. It was not until 9 o'clock that night that my hand began to look puffy. The next morning it was badly blistered.

Chemists and Chemistry in the War

By DR. P. CARRE

Professor of Industrial Chemistry in the Paris College of Commerce

[By arrangement with the Revue Scientifique, Paris. Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE industrial struggle has become one of the principal factors of the war, exacting an ever-increasing production of war materials, and especially of munitions. Munitions are no longer limited, as in former times, to powder and other explosives; they include numerous chemical products with poisonous, asphyxiating, corrosive, tear-producing, and even sneeze-provoking qualities. Thus industrial chemistry has assumed a preponderating place in the conflict. Each belligerent is making continuous efforts to increase its chemical means of offensive warfare; each is constantly searching for some new substance more aggressive than those already in use, and the discovery of such a substance necessitates an immediate and rapid study on the opposing side for an

effective means of protection. Here is a vast field of action calling for the inventive faculties of the greatest chemists in both groups of warring nations.

GERMANY'S 30,000 CHEMISTS

The number of German chemists is estimated at about 30,000. This large number, along with the advanced status of chemical industry in Germany, has enabled the Central Empires to grapple with the gravest problems. Some of these problems, indeed, were of unquestioned importance for them. Such, for example, was the synthetic manufacture of nitric acid and of ammonia, which are important both for military and for agricultural purposes. Nitrates, which came, until a few years ago, solely from natural deposits in Chile, are indispensable in making explosives and very useful in agriculture; ammonia, largely used in farming, serves also in the manufacture of synthetic nitric acid.

In order to obtain a quick solution of such questions our enemies immediately placed all the necessary chemists at the disposition of their experts and factories. One German expert, the inventor of one of the processes for the synthetic manufacture of ammonia, has 200 chemists in his laboratory.

Results were not long in coming. In the midst of the war the Germans succeeded in manufacturing synthetic ammonia and nitric acid in enormous quantities, thus supplying the place of natural nitrates, which the blockade prevented their importing from Chile, and enabling them to continue the manufacture of high explosives. They expect to become masters of the world's nitrogen markets after the war.

POISON GAS AS A WEAPON

It was doubtless their confidence in their chemical superiority that led them to institute a new means of offensive, that of gas attacks, and of bombardment with toxic, lachrymal, and corrosive shells.

Without the development achieved by their chemical and metallurgical industries the Central Empires would have been unable to resist so long on the western front, nor could they have won so easy a success on the eastern front against an enemy much more numerous but less well armed; neither could Turkey and Bulgaria have played so effective a rôle in the war. It is no exaggeration to say that these results are due in large part to the German chemists.

The importance of chemistry is so great that Germany is trying to attract her ablest men to this field. In December, 1916, she created the Liebig prizes with a view to enabling young chemists, after their graduation from the high schools, to extend their knowledge in this field without pecuniary cares. These Liebig prizes, for which a first subscription among industrial concerns netted 1,020,000 marks, ($255,000,) are awarded to young chemists who, in the opinion of their professors, are above the average of ability.

Thanks to this careful selection and utilization of her chemists, Germany has been able to solve a great number of problems created by the blockade, and she hopes to preserve after the war the same chemical preponderance that she held before it began.

CHEMICAL RESOURCES OF ALLIES

Chemical industry in England seems to have been one of the first to command attention. Under the leadership of their learned societies, such as the Institute of Chemistry, the chemists were enrolled in the laboratories and factories of the State, especially in the arms and munitions factories. The chemists in this service have received the rank of officers. A special course of instruction for the preparation of specialists was also established.

The English example seems to have been followed by Italy. The principle adopted by the Italian Government since 1916 is very simple. All persons possessing certain university diplomas are compelled, under pain of imprisonment, to declare the fact. They then receive a rapid course of military instruction, after which they are commissioned as Sub-Lieutenants. Among the officers a class of technical specialists is being organized. The personal records of all the

chemical officers are sent to the Ministry of Armament, which assigns the officers to suitable service.

A central committee of industrial mobilization has been established at Rome; it is subdivided into regional committees, to which the technological and military inspectors are attached. There is established in each factory a technical hierarchy which adjusts the differences arising between the professional and military authorities; thus one does not find any head of a factory giving orders to an engineer of higher military rank.

WHAT AMERICA HAS DONE

In the United States the importance of chemistry in the war was so fully realized that in March, 1917, a month before the declaration of war, the enrolling and organizing of the nation's chemists was begun. This work was done by the great chemical societies—the American Chemical Society, the American Electro-Chemical Society, and the American Institute of Mining Engineers—under the direction of an eminent scientist, Charles Lathrop Parsons, Secretary of the American Chemical Society and Director of Chemical Service in the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior. Among the 16,000 chemists in the United States it thus became a simple matter to distinguish those who could be mobilized, and these were joined voluntarily by the nonmobilizable class.

Measures for assigning and utilizing these chemists were studied by a technical committee organized for that purpose. It was decided to create a civilian office of invention—the National Researches Council—divided into sections to correspond with the different branches of chemistry. Each section is headed by a specialist, who has at his disposal as many scientists as he needs; these are recruited from both the mobilizable and volunteer lists. A special gas service, with a military staff, was created in the Bureau of Mines; the chemists for this were recruited as above, and were given rank as officers in accordance with their titles and records. In like manner the chemical materials for the war were placed in the hands of a group headed by a staff of officers selected from the chemists.

War industries were allowed to keep all their chemists, except a few of the youngest; these were sent into the military chemical service and replaced by volunteers from Mr. Parsons's list. Shortly after the arrival of the first American contingents in France a new unit was attached to General Pershing's staff under the name of the Chemical Section of the National Army; this chemical unit is to serve the General in Chief in an advisory capacity regarding all chemical points relating to the war; it will transmit to the chemical section in America all information relating to chemical war problems.

In order that the section in France may most effectively aid the studies of experts in the United States, Dr. W. N. Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been placed, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, at the head of a service charged with the unification and co-ordination of questions to be examined. This service, with headquarters in France, has at its command vast laboratories and a large number of scientists. The wise division of labor just described, along with the rational utilization of the nation's technical personnel, has already enabled the United States to do effective work in the chemical war.*

Statistics from the period preceding the war show that there were in France only about 2,500 chemists. Many of these are still young men; not more than 1,000 have passed the age of 35 years. Of the total about 1,400 have been mobilized, 800 being employed in powder and munitions factories, or other war industries; 400 are in the army, and 200 have fallen on the field of honor.

*The most valuable result of the mobilization of chemical experts in the United States was the emancipation of the textile, paper, and cognate industries from the domination of German dyemakers. Such extraordinary progress was made in the dye industry that within the current year all demands, largely augmented by the war, for dyes have been met by domestic manufacturers, with a surplus for exportations, which has become a considerable factor in American foreign commerce.—EDITOR.

British Statesmen on War Problems

An Economic League of Twenty-four Nations to Govern Trade After the War

By LORD ROBERT CECIL

British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Minister of Blockade

I HAVE been much interested in the series of addresses and discussions at the recent meetings of commercial associations in the United States, such as the Chambers of Commerce and the Foreign Trade Council, regarding trade after the war. The tone of these discussions seems to show clearly a desire for settled arrangements for mutual help between all the nations now associated in the war against Germany. These are also our feelings in Britain, and I should like to make some acknowledgment of these recent utterances of prominent American commercial men by trying to describe roughly the state of British policy at this moment in regard to such matters.

The resolutions of the Paris Economic Conference have been much discussed during the last two years. When they were written we had an alliance of eight nations, six of whom had suffered the immediate ravages of war. The world outside, including the United States with its vast resources, was neutral, and nominally, at any rate, the neutral world at the conclusion of peace would have sold its products where they would have fetched most money. To borrow the plain words of the recent Interallied Labor Conference, all these vast resources would have gone to those who could pay most, not to those who would need most, so the Paris conference was a defensive agreement of those then engaged in the war to secure their own peoples against starvation and unemployment during the period of reconstruction, and to provide for the restoration to economic life of the ravaged territories of Belgium, Poland, Serbia, France, and Italy.

These objects retain all their old importance. They are simple measures of self-preservation. It is, for example, still essential that we should forestall the aggressive efforts of the Central Powers to use their money power to snatch on the morning after the war the raw materials needed for the reconstruction of the peoples in the western and eastern theatres of war whom they have themselves despoiled.

LEAGUE ALREADY FORMED

But, while the essential needs of ourselves and of the nations which are fighting with us the battle of liberty and justice remain unaltered, the alliance of eight has expanded into the association of twenty-four nations, of which President Wilson spoke in his recent address to the Red Cross. It is no longer a question of forming some narrow defensive alliance, but of laying down the economic principles of the association of nations which is already in existence, and to membership of which we are committed.

What are these principles to be? The President has stated them in memorable words. On Jan. 8 he advocated "the re-"moval so far as possible of all eco-"nomic barriers, and the establishment "of an equality of trade among all the "nations consenting to peace and asso-"ciating themselves for its maintenance."

On Dec. 4 he had already defined the qualifications for membership in this association of nations in words the wisdom and importance of which have been rendered doubly evident by all we know of the policy of domination, exploitation, and exclusiveness introduced by Germany into all her peace treaties and forced by her upon her allies. In that speech he considered what would be the situation if the German people "should still,

after the war was over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world," and pointed out that it might then be impossible to admit them either "to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace," or "to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace."

To these declarations we give our warmest assent. But do these declarations necessarily mean that we—the associated nations—are to have no protective tariffs and no international competition in trade after the war? No. Every one is agreed as to that. In the words of the program of the Interallied Labor Conference, "the right of each nation to the defense of its own economic interests, and, in face of the world shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation of a sufficiency of foodstuffs and materials, cannot be denied."

OBJECTS STATED

Each member of the association of nations may have to protect its citizens in one way or another after the war, but our aim must be a comprehensive arrangement of liberal intercourse with all members of the association by which each one of us, while preserving his own national security, may contribute to meet the needs and aid in the development of his fellow-members. Nor, of course, can our arrangement for mutual assistance exclude all competition, though we are most anxious that cooperation should be the keynote of our commercial relations. Our feelings in this matter cannot be better described than in the words of James A. Farrell to the Foreign Trade Council, namely:

> The sacrifices that are being cheerfully endured today by men engaged in foreign commerce in the necessary curtailment of their business through the conservation of shipping are an earnest of the elevation of method and of purpose which will control the conduct of our external trade in the future.

There is but one obstacle to this economic association of nations. That obstacle is Germany — the Germany described by President Wilson in the words which I have already quoted—a Germany living "under ambitious and intriguing masters." You have seen the provisions of her commercial treaties in the East, and with all the groups of peoples from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Her economic policy toward these groups is absolutely contrary to our principles. That policy began by systematic and lawless plundering in Poland, in the Ukraine, and elsewhere. Now everywhere she has legalized this plunder by placing the weaker nations under onerous commercial tribute to herself.

On Lithuania she has imposed her coinage. From Rumania and the Ukraine she has exacted a guarantee of supplies irrespective of their own needs, and at flagrantly unjust rates of compensation. She has appropriated the natural resources of Rumania in the form of a lease to German corporations. On Russia, Finland, and the Ukraine she has imposed unfair and one-sided tariff arrangements. The people of Finland, in fact, find now that their liberties have been bartered away in an agreement signed secretly in Berlin, and it is actually being proposed that thousands of Finns should be deported to work for German masters.

GERMANY EXCLUDED

Having established control over the Dardanelles and the Baltic, Germany has now brought under her own control the third great highway of European trade—the Danube—by destroying the International Commission which had long become an established organ of European polity, and now, in order that there may not be any mistake as to the significance of these acts, her Foreign Minister has declared that this Rumanian treaty in particular will be made the precedent and foundation for the economic terms to be demanded by the Central Powers at the general peace. The significance of this declaration is evident from Kühlmann's own words, that "the damages Rumania will have to pay will amount to very considerable sums in the long run, sums which perhaps do not very substantially differ

from that which might presumably have been obtained by officially demanding a war indemnity."

Economic independence and free choice are the last things which Germany will ever allow to the peoples within her reach. So long as this is the policy of Germany, how can we admit her to membership in the free association of nations to which we already belong? Before she can claim rights for herself she must convince us that she acknowledges and will respect the rights of others. Before we can offer her any participation in our resources she must release her victims from the economic slavery that she has imposed upon them. While the war continues we must take as measures of war all the steps required to destroy the economic basis of her military effort.

When peace is restored the place of Germany in the commonwealth of nations will be determined by the test established by President Wilson. If she abandons her old ways and her restless and aggressive policy, if she ceases to use economic policies as a preparation for further war, we shall not be slow to recognize the change. The sacrifices for which this war has called are too great and too bitter to permit of our neglecting the President's warning that a complete change of mind and purpose in her Government are the necessary preliminaries to her admission to participation in our economic partnerships.

Neither the United States nor the British Empire has pursued or will pursue any selfish policy. The preoccupations of our internal reconstruction will never blind us to the obligations which we owe to our associates or limit the fullness and frankness of our discussions with them. There must be no jealousy between us, and no suspicions. I hope the time is not far off when we shall meet round the council board to discuss in detail the economic association which will combine the resources of the civilized world in the joint work of reconstruction and the restoration of prosperity.

London, July 14, 1918.

Britain's Imperial Hopes Realized

One Result of the War

On the occasion of the Parliamentary reception to the Overseas Premiers in attendance on the Imperial Cabinet at London, June 21, 1918, the British Premier, Lloyd George, referred to the rally of the British Dominions to the Motherland as follows:

THERE are legends in history, striking legends, of children that turned on their parents in the hour of tribulation. One of the greatest stories of the ages henceforth will be the story of a motherland, "beset by cruel foes," whose children rushed from the ends of the earth to shield her with their sturdy strength. We are always glad to see our kinsmen from beyond the seas, but they must notice a special warmth in our greeting and reception since the war. For the old country is grateful to them, and the old country is proud of them. They have come here to take part in a great Council of Empire, of an empire which is the most wonderful federation of human beings that the world has ever seen.

I had the privilege of presiding over the first Imperial War Cabinet. Sitting around the table you found the representatives of over 400,000,000 human beings. Most of the great races and the great faiths of the world were represented. It was an aggregation of many great nations through their representatives to concert the best methods of establishing right and justice on the earth. A fine start for an imperial conference. In this war the British Empire has disappointed its foes, steadily, bitterly, angrily. Let us be quite candid. It has also surprised its friends. Think of what it has achieved.

Think of what would have happened had it not been there. It has held the seas for ourselves and for our allies. I am not in the least depreciating the value of the assistance we have had from the fleets of France, Italy, Japan, and America. But they will all admit that the main burden of the task has fallen on Britain. In the early days of the war the British fleet cleansed the seas of the craft of the foe, and when a new and more terrible danger assailed us, the deadlier and darker peril that glides under the surface of the water, the British fleet in the main dealt with that.

There is nothing in the history of sea warfare to compare with the resource, the skill, the daring, the way the British Navy, the British mariner, has fought and conquered these naval sharks who have infested the high seas. But we knew that we had a great navy. That is an old romance. It is true. Its last chapters have not yet been written. And not merely is the interest sustained, but the fascination of the tale grows from chapter to chapter. It is an old story, the story of the British fleet.

But what we have done on land as an empire is something new, not merely in the history of our own empire, but in the history of any empire that has ever existed. There has been nothing quite like the British Empire, and nothing in the least like what it has accomplished during the last four years. Britain had a small army. I think it was about the size of the Bulgarian Army. The dominions had hardly an army at all. The United Kingdom, including those in arms when war was declared, has raised nearly six millions of men for sea and land. The dominions, with nothing like the same population, the nearest of them thousands of miles away from the scene of the conflict, could not hear the guns throbbing as you can hear them from our shores—they have raised a million men. Germany expected to meet raw levies, brave enough, but easily swept and scattered away by her highly trained, highly disciplined legions. Instead of that they have encountered and defeated Germany's proudest warriors in a hundred fights, and have—for three months yesterday—baffled the carefully prepared plans of Prussia's greatest Generals, and held back the gigantic hordes of her most seasoned warriors. It is a great achievement.

Germany thought India was seething with discontent, and that when the hour of trouble came to the British Empire India would absorb and not add to our strength. India has raised, voluntarily, every man a volunteer, including the small force she had before the war, nearly 1,000,000 men, and she is about to raise another half million. They have been guarding the approaches to the British Empire. They are guarding them today, and they will continue to guard them to the end.

This war has taught us many lessons, and no lesson more striking than the lesson of the reality of the power of the British Empire. What would have happened to the world had the might of the British Empire not been a fact, and had it not been thrown into this conflict? Russia out of the conflict, America not in last year, and Germany commanding the seas, international right would have been trampled upon, and military despotism would have triumphed throughout the world. The Kaiser has proclaimed to the world that God gave Hindenburg and Ludendorff to him and to Germany. I wonder who gave the British Empire to his enemies. You can easily find it out if you will only ask some learned divine to tell you who planted in the heart of men wrath against injustice and love of freedom. It is these divine passions that have raised the British Empire from north to south, from the Far East to the Far West, in one brotherhood of arms against the deeds and the designs of Prussian despotism.

The reality and the strength of the bonds that unite the British Empire have been underestimated by every one. The Germans thought they were paper ties that would shrink and scorch into black dust at the first flash of the fires of war. They were mistaken. In life the most real, the most intimate ties are the invisible ones. Here you have the

ties of language, of race, of blood, of common origin. But the most potent ties of all were the ties of common aims, common sympathies, and common ideals. They have stood the strain, they have drawn us closer together, and it ought to be the purpose of all statesmanship to strengthen those bonds and defend and protect them against severance. All that is best in the world is safer today for the existence of the British Empire.

The Final Phases of the War

By HERBERT H. ASQUITH

Former Premier of Great Britain

[In an Address at a Luncheon Given in His Honor at London, June 14, 1918]

SINCE the last week in March the enemy has been making serious progress along the greater part of the whole of the western battlefront. Against superior numbers, and fighting for the most part under unfavorable conditions, both strategic and tactical, the allied troops have stubbornly contested every mile of the advance, and where they have been forced back their retirement has not been marked by a single trace of panic or demoralization. It has been conducted with a coolness and gallantry and with an unfailing readiness to take advantage of every opportunity of counterattack which have never been surpassed, if they have ever been equaled, in the annals of warfare. French, American, and British have shown the same tireless tenacity, the same spirit of loyal and helpful comradeship, rivals only in their devotion to the common cause and in their appreciation of one another's efforts and sacrifices. But the tide of invasion is not yet stemmed, and if we try, as we ought, to picture in imagination what our case would be if the enemy were as near to London as he is today to Paris we shall be better able to measure the perils and anxieties of our gallant allies, though nothing can measure our admiration for their steadfast tranquillity and their unshaken faith.

I do not attempt—it would be folly to do so—to make any forecast of the impending strategic developments. I will only remind you that we have seen once before, near the beginning of the war, a situation of equal gravity in which a threat, a most formidable threat, which seemed on the point of being realized, was turned aside and brought to nothing by a counterstroke of genius and audacity. But whatever may be the immediate issue of this phase of the campaign, I wish to say here and now, while it is still in doubt, I wish to say emphatically and decisively that it is not going in the faintest degree to weaken our allegiance to the great purposes for which we have been fighting or our determination, through foul as much as through fair weather, to press on to the final accomplishment. But I am not resorting when I say that to the rhetoric of bravado, as I will endeavor, if you will follow me for a few moments, to prove.

As the war has developed it has been realized by all thinking men that it has a far wider range of significance than could have been foreseen or even imagined when it first began. It arose, so far as we here are concerned, in the violation of treaty obligations and the contemptuous setting aside of the rights of the smaller nationalities in the European order. But it soon became apparent that higher and deeper issues than these were at stake, which, according as they were decided in one sense or the other, would affect the whole future of civilization. It took time, as the contest swayed this way and that, to discern through the smoke and the poisoned fumes of the battlefield the true character and the ultimate aims of the forces that are arrayed against one another.

The Germans have made it more and more clear, not only through their spokesmen in the press and elsewhere, but through the object lessons which they have given to the world in the

Ukraine and Rumania, that the triumph of their cause would be the deathknell of all democratic ideals. And at the same time their new methods of warfare, at first incredible and, indeed, inconceivable, have demonstrated that for the attainment of that end they hold themselves absolutely free to dispense with the old restraints, whether of honesty or of humanity. It was the realization of these things and of the consequences which followed from them—that not merely local but worldwide interests, moral as well as material, were in jeopardy—that led our American kinsmen to decide that they could not hold aloof from the struggle.

But that is still not a complete account of the case. The allied cause is now plainly seen by all men to have what by implication it had from the first—a positive as well as negative purpose. Its aim is not merely to repel aggression, to vindicate public faith, to clip the wings of militarism, to defeat the ambitions and frustrate the designs of what the Germans call their world polity. It recognizes that old diplomatic machinery, however honestly and skillfully worked, like chain armor and wooden battleships, has had its day, and that it must very soon take its place among the things which have an interest for collectors and dealers in antiquities. It is determined to provide against a recurrence of the horrors which are scourging mankind and devastating the world, not merely by repression and punishment, but by bringing into life and into effective action the corporate judgment, the sense of common interests and common duties, the reconciling, and, if need be, the restraining and constraining forces of the whole family of nations.

These, stripped of what is transient and superficial, are the features that, measured by the true scale of significance, show the real stature of the two causes now engaged in mortal strife. Was I not right when I said a few moments ago that their fortunes cannot hang on the result of a single battle or even of a single campaign? There is none of us in this room, in this country, in this empire, who does not pray for peace as the world's paramount need. But the only peace worth the making or the taking is one which will open a new road, free of toll, to all peoples, whether great or small, safeguarded by the common will, and, if need be, by the common power, for the further progress of humanity.

This is not the moment to enlarge on the contribution we here have made and are making for the common cause. I suppose that, from first to last, the British Empire has raised an army, including the labor units, of not less than 7,000,000 of men, and before many weeks are over the Parliament of the United Kingdom will have voted war credits which approach to £7,000,000,000. Figures like these, impressive and even astounding as they are, afford, as you know well, no real measure either of our efforts or of our sacrifices. What we have done and suffered has not been for selfish objects, or even, except very partially and indirectly, in self-defense. There is no one among us—and I suppose there are hardly any who have not contributed their share—who grudges what he has given. We owe it to those who were the real resources of the present and the hope and promise of the future that, so far as in us lies, we shall insure that when history comes to sum up the account its judgment will be that we have neither wasted without result what has been lost, nor diverted what still remains to less worthy and fruitful and honorable purposes.

What, then, is our duty at the present moment? What are the faculties that we most need? Courage, of course, and patience—the courage that can face facts and cannot only dare but endure; patience that cannot be driven from its equipoise by any alternations either of hope or of fear. These are, to quote Burke's epithet, "the inbred qualities of our race."

But let me suggest, before I conclude, one or two ways in which they may be helped and fortified. In the first place, let us be able to feel, whatever comes or goes, that we know the truth and the whole truth. No one realizes more clearly than I—who was answerable for the

country entering into the war, and for nearly two and a half years for its conduct—the delicacy of the task of determining what at any given moment ought to be disclosed and what ought to be kept back. The considerations which often make for economy and reserve of statement are obvious and manifold—the danger of giving useful knowledge to the enemy—perhaps we are rather apt to exaggerate it—the legitimate susceptibility of allies, the risks of alienating sympathy, or perhaps of arousing suspicion, in this or that neutral country. But in my judgment we have reached a stage of the war when far more is to be gained than is to be lost by laying before our own people all the actualities, be they favorable or adverse, of an unexampled situation. The British people, not only here at home but throughout the length and breadth of the empire, are ready to face, not only with a clean conscience but with clear eyes and with cool nerves, any and every conjuncture of circumstances.

There are, I know, those who think that the long strain of the war, despite its glorious and inspiring examples of heroism and devotion, has, in some quarters, impaired people's steadiness of judgment.

I do not believe this to be the least true of the nation as a whole or of any considerable section of it. The atmosphere of war always provides opportunities for the cruder and cheaper forms of sensation mongering, which find a ready market among people of low intelligence and high credulity. [Doubtless an allusion to the scandalous statement, at the trial of an actress, that the Germans had a list of 47,000 Englishmen addicted to private vices.] The danger, if there be danger, does not, believe me, lie in that direction. But there is a real risk which, in my opinion, we ought to guard against, in the stress of the daily and hourly bulletins regarding doubtful battles, and here and there, and now and again, the yielding of ground, that we may be tempted to lose our sense of proportion. We must take large views, backward and forward, and seek to measure events as they occur, not by the dust and noise which for the moment they create, but by their real and lasting significance. There is no reason, there never was less reason, why the voice of honest and patriotic criticism should be hushed into silence, but let us keep our eyes fixed and our hearts set on the great dominating purposes to which we have deliberately consecrated the resources and the energies of the empire, with an unwavering faith, both in the worthiness of our aims and in the certainty that they will be achieved.

The Basis of Peace

Address by ARTHUR J. BALFOUR

THE speech of Foreign Secretary Balfour referred to by the German Chancellor in the preceding pages was delivered in Parliament June 20, 1918, in reply to the demand of a Labor member that the Allies restate their war aims and explain the secret treaties among the Allies. In his speech the Foreign Secretary expressed the following views:

From beginning to end the animating motive of this country and of the Governments in which, from time to time, this country has placed its trust, has been to carry out those general principles the application of which moved us in the first days and hours of the war. If the honorable member goes further and says that had the nation at large realized in 1914 what the German passion for domination meant, had they studied German utterances, then I go some distance with him. There were, indeed, people in this country who warned the country of what the German desire for expansion really meant, but we, as a nation, are slow to believe that other nations can be animated by motives which are so widely separated from those which move our own people. Those writers were known, no doubt, to a few, but they were not even by those few regarded as always representative, and it was not until the matter had been studied in the light of events and with a

care which it was never thought worth while to give them before that it was brought home to the conviction of every student, except the honorable member and those who sit beside him, that this war is no accidental and unhappy episode, that it was the inevitable, or the almost inevitable, result of German ambitions, and that it was absolutely inevitable unless the development, economic and military, of Germany, in the course of years, did not enable her to get all the fruits of victory without bloodshed and war.

It is perfectly clear to any one who looks back on the history of the last thirty or forty years that the ambitions of the whole of the intelligent, military and governing, classes in Germany were of a kind which were directed to world domination, and that if world domination could not be got by peaceful means, it must be got by war, utterly indifferent to all the horrors which war produces.

Of course, they made a great miscalculation. They thought that the objects of the war—this European domination which was to carry with it other dominations—could be attained after a struggle which at the most would last a year. It might easily have been so, but happily for mankind it has not been so. How anybody can make the speech that the honorable member has made this afternoon and suggest that it is we who sit on this bench and those gentlemen who sit on the opposite bench who have by our stupidity, our blindness, our indifference to human suffering, and our imperialistic ambitions been the people who, if we did not start the contest, have at all events continued it, and are now responsible for its continuance—how any one can hold that view utterly passes my comprehension.

NO SERIOUS OFFERS

The honorable member has made his usual survey of the suggestions of peace which have from time to time been made by the Central Powers. Is there one of those cases in which the sober historian would ever see the basis of a possible peace? Is there any likelihood that these suggestions, such as the Emperor of Austria's letter and the other transactions to which the honorable member referred, were made with a view to obtaining that sort of peace which even the honorable gentleman himself could regard as a reasonable peace, carrying with it some prospect of security for the future liberties of the world? We have never rejected any proposals which we thought had the slightest probability of producing the sort of peace which most of us, and I hope all of us, desire. There is no evidence whatever that the German Government have ever been serious in making such offers of peace.

I have more than once referred to Belgium, though I always do so with some hesitation lest honorable gentlemen should run away with the idea that, in my judgment, the restoration of Belgium would by itself give all that we ought properly to ask for as a result of the war. The case for Belgium is merely an example. It is a good example of German methods. The treatment of Belgium is and remains the greatest blot upon German honor and German humanity. German honor and German humanity, I think, have been violated in many parts of the world, but Belgium stands out as the great and unanswerable proof of what it is that the German Government will do if they think that any military advantage is to be got by it. Have the German Government ever openly and plainly said in any document or in any speech that Belgium is to be given up, that Belgium is to be restored, that Belgium is to be placed in a position of absolute economic as well as political independence? I know of no such statement. It has been suggested that Belgian territory should be restored, and there have been other suggestions of one kind or another, but you will never find any frank avowal that Belgium, having been taken by one of the most iniquitous acts of which history has record, is to be put back so far as the perpetrators of the crime are concerned as far as possible in the position in which she was before the crime was committed. * * *

"SECRET TREATIES"

The Allies are prepared to listen collectively to all reasonable arrangements. Certainly his Majesty's Government are not going to shut their ears to anything that can be called a reasonable suggestion. If such a suggestion was made which met with the approval of the Allies collectively, does the honorable gentleman really suppose that the fact that three years ago, or whenever it may have been, they took a different view would stand in the way of accepting this reasonable suggestion? Of course it would not. Any proposal to the Allies will be considered by the Allies on its merits. The so-called secret treaties were entered into by this country with other members of the alliance, and to these treaties we stand. The national honor is bound up with them. * * *

So far as we are concerned, we are bound by the Italian treaty, and we mean to hold by it. But it is a profound error to suppose that the time will come when the British Government, surveying the whole situation, and the Italian Govern-

ment, surveying the whole situation, will find themselves in this position: The British Government saying, "I think you ought to make peace in spite of this treaty," and the Italian Government saying, "There is the treaty, and we mean to hold to every word of it." When the time comes the treaty may be a proper instrument to carry out in every detail. What I say is that, whatever judgment may be come to, when the time comes, by the British Government is probably the judgment which the Italian Government would share to the full, and the judgment made by the Italian Government is the judgment which the English Government would share to the full. I have no reason to think that in the future, any more than in the past, there will be any divergence between the Allies for carrying on this war. If it should turn out that, in the common interest of the Allies as a whole, treaties made some years ago should require modification, I do not know whether a modification will be made by the Italians themselves. It rests with them; they are our ally, and we are bound to them, and we mean to keep to the full to the bargain we have made. * * *

PEACE TRAPS

So far as I am able to judge, what the Central Powers mean to do in the way of peace is not to propose reasonable terms to the alliance as a whole, but to select some member of the alliance to offer terms which may prove extremely tempting to that member of the alliance, if it considers only its own obvious and immediate interests, and not to the alliance as a whole, and in that way to disintegrate the members of the alliance, some of whom would, of course, be perfectly helpless taken in isolation, but would be quite strong as long as they are united. I do not blame the Central Powers for making such attempts; the people I blame are those who fall into the trap, and the people I blame most of all are those who, like the honorable gentleman opposite, appear to think it almost criminal not to fall into the trap. As far as I can make it out, his criticism is that we went to war for Belgium and France, and that if Belgium and France are satisfied why should we think of Italy? That spirit is a fatal spirit, because you might change it round, and you might say to Italy, "You are bound by the alliance, very good terms are offered to you, why do you bother about anything else?" You cannot work an alliance on those terms. The only terms on which you can work an alliance are those of mutual confidence and mutual trust, and the only way you can have mutual confidence and mutual trust is by being open and above board with those with whom you are working. * * *

All of us (the Government) think that no conclusion can be honorable or satisfactory which makes it perfectly plain that the peace is only a truce. All of us are desirous of seeing, as far as may be, that the wishes of the populations of the world shall meet with their due satisfaction. All of us are anxious to see that whatever arrangements may be come to at the peace conference, whenever the peace conference takes place, shall be of such a kind as to leave as few of those eternal causes of friction and jealousy which divide small nations even more than they divide big nations, and shall by removing those causes of jealousy give greater security for the future peace of the world than any mere treaties can ever give. To that rearrangement of territory or of constitution, supplemented, as I hope it will be, by a league of nations for the enforcement of peace, to those two changes in the international constitution of the world I look forward as the real security of peace.

We shall never get that peace, and we shall never deserve to get that peace, if we listen to the counsels given to us by the honorable gentleman who has just sat down, if we fail to look facts in the face, if we fail to see what German ambitions really mean, what German statesmen are really driving at, and what it is they are determined to have. Unless we face that fact we are only deceiving ourselves and heaping up, if not for ourselves at least for our immediate successors, a repetition of horrors unequaled in the history of the world, and who feels the horrors of war more than those who are responsible for its conduct? On whom does the burden of this dreadful expenditure of blood and treasure weigh most heavily? How can it weigh more heavily on any man or set of men than those on this bench? We passionately desire an honorable peace, and as time goes on we are more and more convinced that that peace can only be attained by struggling to the end, to see that we do not leave it in the power of any nation such as Germany to cause a repetition of the evils under which the whole civilized community of nations, whether in the Old World or the New, is helplessly groaning.

Canada's War Achievements

By SIR ROBERT BORDEN

Prime Minister of Canada

[From an Address Delivered at the Parliamentary Supper to the Imperial War Cabinet, June 21, 1918]

A YEAR ago we had enlisted in Canada for this war something more than 400,000 men. Today we have enlisted considerably more than 500,000 men. During the past 12 or 14 months more than 100,000 men have joined the colors in Canada. Our forces in France—I may not tell you their number, but I may at least tell you this—that we have 35,000 more men in France today than we had when I left these shores last year. Today there are more than 385,000 men of the Canadian expeditionary force who have crossed the ocean, and they are still coming. In addition to that, we have sent into the air service during the past 3½ years of war 14,000 men, and to the naval services and the reserves of various nations we have contributed from the manhood of Canada at least 35,000 men. I am able to tell you tonight that the man power of Canada has furnished to the military and naval forces of the empire and the Allies not less than 425,000 men.

I am proud of what the Canadian forces have done in this war. I am proud of what all the forces of the empire have done. We in Canada are as proud of what Australia and New Zealand have done as we are of what the men of these islands and Canadians have done. I should tell you that of the 385,000 men who have sailed from Canada not less than 175,000 were born within these islands and had come to Canada. The effort has been great, but the sacrifice has been great as well. There had been 78,000 casualties when I left these shores last year.

The casualties are 152,000 today in the Canadian expeditionary force. I saw more than 2,000 of these men last Sunday at Epsom who had come back from the front wounded, and I do not believe that there was one man among them, fit in a military sense to go back and do his duty again, who was not keen and eager and desirous of standing at the earliest possible moment alongside his comrades in France. That is the spirit, first and last in this war, I have found among our men, and I know the same spirit has prevailed throughout the empire.

A great many important things have happened recently in Canada, and among other things the enactment of compulsory military service. Here, as elsewhere, the relatively trivial disturbances occasioned by the enforcement of that act have been very greatly exaggerated; from one end of Canada to the other that act was accepted, and the men are flocking to the colors. As a matter of fact, after the act was first proclaimed, some 10,000 or 12,000 men joined the colors at once without waiting for the call. There have been trifling disturbances here or there, not entirely confined to any one section of the country, and we have been obliged to enact certain amendments to the Military Service act with a view of preventing any attempt at forcible resistance.

One measure which the Canadian Parliament enacted, and which had a very happy effect, was a provision that any man forcibly resisting the Military Service act, or encouraging forcible resistance to it, should ipso facto become a member of the Canadian expeditionary force and be authorized to employ his warlike spirit against the enemies of England.

What has Canada done besides? Besides men we required food—the empire required food, the Allies required it. We required ships; we required munitions. Canada has tried to do its part in all those matters. There has been an active campaign for increased food production in Canada going on during the past year, and I desire to make acknowledgment to

the Prime Ministers of the Canadian Provinces for their splendid co-operation in the attempt to increase food supply. The acreage under cultivation for food purposes during this season is at least 10 per cent. greater than it was last year, and, taking wheat, oats, rye, and barley, Canada expects, unless weather conditions should prove unfavorable, a crop of about 900,000,000 bushels.

We have also helped in shipping. Recently fourteen shipyards have been completed and already 45,000 tons of shipping have been laid down. We expect to turn out 84,000 more tons this year, and 250,000 tons in 1919.

Premier Clemenceau's Speech of Defiance

IN CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for June appeared an abridged version of Premier Clemenceau's speech in the Chamber of Deputies June 5, 1918, when he defied the Socialist pacifists and was sustained by a vote of 377 to 110. The full text of this important speech is herewith given:

When I accepted the Premiership I knew that I was called upon to bear the burden of the most critical period of the war. I have told you from the outset that we should pass together through difficult and exacting times and cruel hours. These times are coming, and the only question is whether we can stand them. When the defection of Russia came about, when men who believed that it was only necessary to will peace in order to impose it upon the German Emperor had given up their country (unwittingly, I prefer to think) to the invasion of the enemy, who could believe then that a million German soldiers who had become available would not be turned against us? This and more is what happened.

For four years our effectives have been wearing themselves out; our front was held by a line of soldiers which was becoming thinner and thinner, with our allies, who had suffered enormous losses, and now arrives a fresh mass of German divisions in good condition. Is there any one who does not realize that under the weight of this tremendous wave our lines had to give way at some points? The extent of their recoil became great and dangerous. I say nothing more, and there is nothing in that to shake the confidence which we should have in our soldiers. Today these men are engaged in the battle. Our men fought, one against five, without sleep for three or four days together.

These great soldiers have good leaders, great leaders, who are worthy of them in every way. I have seen these leaders at work, and some of them struck me with admiration. Is that saying that there are nowhere mistakes? I cannot maintain that. My business is precisely to discover these mistakes and to punish them, and in this I am supported by two great soldiers named Foch and Pétain. General Foch enjoys to such a degree the confidence of the Allies that yesterday they wished that their unanimous confidence in him should be expressed in the communiqué. These men are at this moment fighting the hardest battle of the war with a heroism which I can find no words to express. I have come here in the desire to find simple, brief, and measured terms to express the sentiment of the French people both at the front and in the rear, and to show the world a state of mind which I cannot analyze but which is the admiration of all. It is my duty as leader of these men to punish them if they have not done their duty, but also to protect them if they are unjustly attacked.

The army is better than anything we could have expected from it, and when I speak of the army I speak of those who compose it, of whatever rank and whatever grade they may be. But that is not enough. The men must have faith and must die for their ideal if they wish to give us victory. Their leaders, also, have come from their ranks. Like them, they come back covered with wounds, when they do not remain, like them, on the field of battle.

We have yielded ground, much more ground than we should have wished. There are men who have paid for this retreat with their blood. I know some who have accomplished acts of heroism, like those Bretons who were surrounded in a wood all night and who, next day, found means of sending by carrier pigeon a message to say: "You may come and find us. We shall hold out for half a day yet." These men make the fatherland, they continue it and prolong it, that fatherland without which no reform is possible. They die for an ideal, for a history which is the foremost among all the histories of civilized peoples.

Our own duty is very simple and very tame. We are in no danger, and yet we are at our posts, where the capital interests of the country are defended. Be calm, confident, and determined to hold on to the end in this hard battle. The victory is to you, because the Germans, who are not so intelligent as they are told, have only one method—namely, to throw their whole weight into the

venture and to push it to the end. We saw them on the Yser, at Verdun, near Amiens, near Dunkirk and Calais, and then in Champagne. They broke our lines, but did you think you were going to make a war in which you would never retreat? The only thing that matters is final success.

You have before you a Government which, as it told you, did not enter into power ever to accept surrender. So long as we are here, the fatherland will be defended to the death, and no force will be spared to obtain success. We will never yield. That is the word of command of our Government. We will never yield at any moment. The Germans once more are staking everything on a coup which is meant to frighten us, so that we may abandon the struggle. For what was their great effort made on the Yser in 1914? In order to reach Calais, to separate us from the British, and to compel the latter to renounce the struggle. Why did they begin again, and why have they once more begun again? In order to obtain this effect of terror.

The effectives of the belligerents are being exhausted, those of the Germans as well as our own, but meanwhile the Americans are coming to play a hand in the deciding game. Once more, the events in Russia gave our enemies a million additional men on the Franco-British front, but we have allies who represent the foremost nations of the world, and who have pledged themselves to continue the war until the attainment of the success which we hold within our grasp if we put forth the necessary energy.

The people of France have accomplished its task, and those who have fallen have not fallen in vain, since they have made French history great. It remains for the living to complete the magnificent work of the dead.

Alsace-Lorraine: Its Relation to France

THE following protest was published in reply to a suggestion by The Manchester Guardian that in the peace settlements the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine become autonomous, buffer States:

There is no doubt that the French Nation, which is primarily interested, is the nation which must estimate what it considers just, and in this context the decision of the Government is to support French democracy in its efforts. There is nothing more just. The moment peace is concluded each of the Allies will have some particular and perfectly legitimate desires to put forward, and in order to realize them must be able to rely upon the full support of the other contracting parties.

From all appearances, however, the Alsace-Lorraine question has a much greater scope. It is not a question of simply giving to France the just return for the prodigious sacrifices to which she has agreed in order to save civilization from Germanic domination, but it is a question of repairing the grave wrong which has been done to international law, or, as Lloyd George said, of "removing an ulcer which has infected European peace for half a century." These are the brutal facts. The population of two provinces which had attached itself to France has been forcibly detached from France after a war of conquest. This population has never ceased to protest against its forcible incorporation in the German Empire. The occupiers of the country have for nearly half a century treated it with the violence which is customary with them. Neither France, who could not forget this attack upon her honor and national integrity, nor the people of Alsace-Lorraine have resigned themselves to sanction the act of force of which they were the victims. There is, therefore, in this case the flagrant violation by Prussia, who is used to such crimes as these, of the right of nationalities to dispose of themselves. The Allies are fighting for the freedom of Belgium, Poland, Bohemia, Serbia, Rumania, and the Irredentist provinces of Italy. On these lines they could not be disinterested in the fate of the people of Alsace-Lorraine, who not only do not wish to remain German, but who have on all possible occasions expressed their desire to become French again.

You seem to suggest an intermediate solution. Why should not Alsace-Lorraine become autonomous, a buffer State, as you say?

First, because the Alsace-Lorrainers do not constitute one nationality, as do the Poles, the Czechs, and the Jugoslavs, and it would be truly dangerous to create artificially a new nationality at a moment when the Allies will experience some difficulty in fixing the boundaries of the ancient States which will have to be revived.

Secondly, because the Alsace-Lorrainers who are principally interested in the question do not demand political autonomy and would for several reasons consider it extremely dangerous. It is a fact that Alsace-Lorraine is, as you remark, a country whose subsoil is very rich, (coal and iron mines, potassium deposits, and petroleum wells,) and whose industries, especially the textile industry, are very much developed. Consequently she would always provoke the covetousness of her powerful neighbors or would, at least, have to submit to their demands without being able to defend herself.

You tell us, it is true, that the League of Nations will be there to guarantee this autonomy against any future aggression. But supposing that this international institution can be created and has the power to impose

its decrees by force, it will be impossible for it to intervene effectively in economic problems. Alsace-Lorraine, which is a big producer of raw material and of manufactured goods, needs a very wide market into which to pour her superabundant wealth. On the hypothesis which we are putting forward she would have to make, under pain of death, close commercial agreements with one of the great neighboring powers, such as Luxemburg did before 1914. She would have, as a matter of necessity, to enter the German Zollverein or the Union Douanière Française, and that would bring her fatally into a political dependence which would be equivalent to annexation without guaranteeing her its advantages, for the other contracting State could always modify its tariffs and impose upon her worse servitude. Further, Alsace-Lorraine has been subjected to Germany for forty-seven years, and had become a field of colonization for her masters. Four hundred thousand German immigrants have established themselves there. They occupy all the administrative posts, and have secured to themselves economic preponderance in the country. Moreover, since the outbreak of war, the German authorities have arbitrarily "denationalized" several thousand Alsace-Lorrainians in order to seize their property and, by sales contrary to the law of nations, to pass it into the hands of subjects of the empire, just as they had already done to the property of hostile foreigners.

Thus, the day after the proclamation of complete autonomy of Alsace-Lorraine, this country would be entirely dependent on the German "colons," who have been exploiting and terrorizing it for so many long years. Could we speak of an independent country under such conditions? This is why those interested in this question deliberately repudiate this bastard solution. During recent months a little group of Alsace-Lorrainians who have taken refuge in Switzerland had begun a campaign in favor of autonomy. After having studied the problem attentively they themselves abandoned this propaganda, and declared that they were rallying to what almost all their compatriots ardently desire—that is to say, a return, pure and simple, of the two provinces to France.

You will not be surprised if, in conclusion, we mention yet another aspect of the question. France has suffered from the atrocious present war more than all the other allies. It is on her territory that the battle has been fought, and it is her richest towns and her most prosperous villages which are being devastated. Not to mention the innumerable young men that she has sacrificed to save the world, she has seen the civilian population of the invaded territories decimated, driven out, and ruined by the Germans, and it is with this sorely tried country, bleeding at every pore and attacked at the very sources of her wealth, that the Allies, who have all benefited by her prodigious sacrifice, would barter not only the price of victory, but the restoration of right!

(Signed) ABBE WETTERLE,
Former Reichstag Deputy.
ALFRED WEIL,
Formerly Judge at Metz.
PAUL WILMUTH,
President of Association Générale des Alsacien-Lorrains, 1 Rue de Staël, Paris.
CHAPLES GEROLD,
Editor of the Matin, son of the Vicar of Strassburg.
F. H. HELLMER,
Advocate in the Courts of Colmar.
F. ECCARD,
Advocate in Strassburg.
ANSELM LANGEL,
Formerly Deputy in the Alsace-Lorraine Diet.

Paris, May 14.

Fashions of the Firing Line

By LIEUTENANT R. S. H. STURGES
Author of "On the Remainder of Our Front"

ONE of the best things that have appeared in the pages of Punch since the beginning of the war was a drawing of two Tommies, just returned to London on leave from the front. The traces of trench life are still evident on their clothing, and they are slung about with pots and pans and all the impedimenta of active service. Across the street are two bandsmen in the uniforms often to be seen in London in the far-off days of peace. They are resplendent in scarlet tunics, pipe-clayed belts, and tall black bear skins. One of the men from France is watching them with an expression on his face of mingled interest, awe, and admiration. "Look, Bill," he says, nudging his companion; "soldiers!"

There is something very striking in this contrast between the soldier's appearance in peace and in war. The one seems to be the very antithesis of the other. Yet it is not so very many years since the soldier went to war in all his

finery. In those days a battle was a magnificent spectacle, with flying banners and flashing steel. But I cannot think that the brilliance of the soldier's apparel was particularly conducive to his personal comfort.

Necessity has changed all that in modern war. War is now hideous, there is no color in it, and if there were it would seem mere grim sarcasm. Comfort is not a noticeable characteristic of modern war, but at any rate the fashions of the firing line are all attempts to alleviate some of its discomfort.

Walk along a front-line trench in Winter, look at the first man you come across, and see what he is wearing. On his head is the now familiar steel helmet or "tin hat," like a shallow inverted bowl; it is covered with brown canvas, for flashing steel is out of date. Beneath his chin you will notice a square khaki bag which hangs upon his chest, suspended around his neck. In this bag is his gas mask, ready at a moment's notice to be slipped over his face. He is also wearing the belt, bayonet, brace straps, and ammunition pouches of his equipment; for he never moves about the trenches without his ammunition, or without the rifle which is slung upon his shoulder.

Even the rifle is dressed for its part. An old sock covers the muzzle and a strip of sandbag is wound around the breech—both necessary precautions against the all-pervading mud.

Under his equipment the soldier is wearing what looks like a large leather waistcoat with sleeves; but it is longer than a waistcoat, for it completely covers the tunic beneath. These leather jerkins have, to a large extent, supplanted the old goatskin coats. They are quite as warm, being lined with cloth; they protect the wearer more efficiently from the rain; they are easier to clean, and last, but not least, they are free from the somewhat strong and clinging scent of the goat.

The existence of the soldier's trousers you must assume, for they are invisible to the naked eye. His legs are completely encased in long rubber boots, the tops of which disappear under his leather jerkin. These boots are bound to his feet by straps passing around the ankle and under the sole. In them he can pass dryshod through water that rises above his knees; you will notice, perhaps, that they are coated from top to bottom with watery slime.

The gum boot is an inestimable boon to the dwellers in the mud and water of trench-land, but it has a few disadvantages. It is cold. Unless perfectly fitting its heel is inclined to rub, to the destruction of the sock or socks within. There is little or no ventilation for the foot. Most of these disadvantages can be overcome by the frequent removal of the boot, by a vigorous rubbing of the foot, and a change of socks before it is replaced.

On a cold, frosty night the soldier will wear his greatcoat in addition to the leather jerkin. It seems impossible to wear too much when standing motionless on sentry for two long hours. In such a case the equipment will be worn over the overcoat, and the gas mask over all, as before.

The greatcoat is not a suitable garment for the trenches, and, except in the coldest weather, it is to be avoided. It absorbs the rain and has a fatal attraction for every variety of mud, which clings to the cloth with loving embrace and defies removal.

The greatcoat's proper sphere is the billet, where, as a blanket or a mattress, it more than justifies its existence. Nevertheless, at times when the snow is on the ground, and when the water is freezing solid in his water bottle, the soldier is thankful that he has brought his greatcoat with him to the trenches. For, with its help, a cap comforter beneath his helmet and a pair of woolen gloves upon his hands, he can at least make a stand against the cold.

For finery you will look in vain among the fashions of the trenches. The nearest approach to it will be found, perhaps, in an aluminium ring upon the soldier's finger, rudely fashioned from the fuse of a German shell.

Germany's Attitude On Peace

Address by the Imperial Chancellor Outlining the Official View of the Berlin Government

COUNT GEORG VON HERTLING, the Imperial German Chancellor, expressed the German official attitude with regard to peace overtures in an address to the Reichstag on July 10, 1918. His references to peace were as follows:

I maintain the standpoint of the imperial reply to the peace note of Pope Benedict. The pacific spirit which inspired this reply has also inspired me. At the time, however, I added that this spirit must not give our enemies free conduct for an interminable continuation of the war.

What have we lived to see, however? While for years there can have been no doubt whatever of our willingness to hold out our hand toward an honorable peace, we have heard until these last few days inciting speeches delivered by enemy statesmen. President Wilson wants war until we are destroyed, and what Mr. Balfour, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has said must really drive the flush of anger to the cheeks of every German.

We feel for the honor of our Fatherland, and we cannot allow ourselves to be constantly and openly insulted in this manner, and behind these insults is the desire for our destruction. As long as this desire for our destruction exists we must endure together with our faithful nation.

I am also convinced—I know it—that in the widest circles of our nation the same serious feeling exists everywhere. As long as the desire for our destruction exists we must hold out, and we will hold out, with confidence in our troops, in our army administration and in our magnificent nation, which bears so wonderfully these difficult times, with their great privations and continuous sacrifices.

AN OFFER INVITED

In the direction of our policy nothing will be changed. If, in spite of these hostile statements by these statesmen, any serious efforts for a paving of the way to peace were to show themselves anywhere, then, quite certainly, we would not adopt a negative attitude from the very beginning, but we would examine these seriously meant—I say expressly seriously—efforts immediately with scrupulous care.

Naturally, it is not sufficient when some agent or other approaches us and says to us: "I can bring about peace negotiations, then and there." But it is necessary for the appointed representatives of the enemy powers, duly authorized by their Governments, to give us to understand that discussions are possible, discussions which for the time being naturally will be within a limited circle.

But the statesmen who have spoken up to the present time have not said a word about such possibilities. When such possibilities manifest themselves, and when serious inclinations toward peace show themselves on the other side, then we will immediately go into them. That is to say, we will not reject them—and we will speak, to begin, within a small circle.

I also can tell you that this standpoint is not merely my own standpoint, but that it is shared emphatically by the Chief of the Army Administration. The Chief of the Army Administration also does not conduct war for the sake of war, but has said to me that as soon as serious desire for peace manifests itself on the other side we must follow it up.

CONFERENCE WITH KAISER

You will be interested to know how we are working on this standpoint, and certain problems will appear which the present time forces upon us. Exhaustive discussions took place regarding these questions July 1 and 2 at General Headquarters, under the Presidency of the Kaiser.

Naturally, I can only announce here quite generally the lines which were laid down at that time. Regarding the east, we stand on the basis of the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and we wish to see this peace carried out in a loyal manner. That is the wish of the German Imperial Administration, and it is supported in this by the Chief of the Army Administration.

However, the difficulty of the execution of the peace of Brest-Litovsk does not lie on our side, but in the fact that conditions in Russia are still exceedingly uncertain. We are inclined to believe in the loyalty of the present Russian Government, and especially in the loyalty of the representative of the Russian Government in Berlin.

But we may not, and can not, assume unconditionally that the present Russian

Government has the power to carry through everywhere the loyal promises made to us. We do not at all wish to create difficulties for the present Russian Government, but as conditions now are there are incessant developments and endless frictions in the frontier region. However, our principle is that we stand on the basis of the peace made at Brest-Litovsk, and we will carry out this peace loyally and will deal loyally with the present Government.

They are still under the depressing influence of a terrible crime in Moscow. The murder of our Ambassador there was an act in violation of international law than which a worse could never cry to heaven.

All indications point to the fact that the accursed deed was instigated by the Entente Allies in order to involve us in fresh war with the present Russian Government—a state of things which we are most anxious to avoid. We do not want fresh war with Russia. The present Russian Government desires peace and needs peace, and we are giving it our support in this peaceful disposition and aim.

On the other hand, it is true that political currents of very varied tendencies are circulating in the Russian Empire, movements having the most diverse aims, including the monarchist movement of the Constitutional Democrats and the movement of the Social Revolutionaries. We will not commit ourselves to any political countercurrent, but are giving careful attention to the course Russia is steering.

BELGIUM AS A PAWN

The portions of the Chancellor's speech relating to Belgium were not given to the press, but on the following day Count Hertling made this statement before the Reichstag Main Committee:

The present possession of Belgium only means that we have a pawn for future negotiations. We have no intention to keep Belgium in any form whatever.

By the expression pawn is meant that one does not intend to keep what one has in one's hand as a pawn if negotiations bring a favorable result.

What we precisely want, as expressed by us on Feb. 24, is that after the war restored Belgium shall, as a self-dependent State, not be subject to anybody as a vassal and shall live with us in good friendly relations.

I have held this point of view from the beginning in regard to Belgium, and I still hold it today. This side of my policy is fully in conformity with the general lines, the direction of which I yesterday clearly laid before you.

We are waging the war as a war of defense, as we have done from the very beginning, and every imperialistic tendency and every tendency to world domination has been remote from our minds.

What we want is the inviolability of our territory, open air for the expansion of our people in the economic domain, and, naturally, also security in regard to the future. This is completely in conformity with my point of view in regard to Belgium, but how this point of view can be established in detail depends upon future negotiations, and on this point I am unable to give binding declarations.

A few days later the concluding portion of this supplementary speech concerning Belgium appeared in the North German Gazette with the explanation that members of the Reichstag had demanded its publication:

It was never our intention to keep Belgium except as a pledge by which to secure Germany against future perils, and until the danger is removed we cannot surrender our pledge.

In peace we must be guaranteed against Belgium being used for ground on which to deploy military forces, but also from the economic standpoint we must have guarantees against being isolated.

It must be made to the interest of Belgium to secure close economic relations with Germany. Should Germany succeed in attaining such an intimate commercial connection, this would bring about a political agreement with Germany in which we should secure the best guarantees against future perils from England and France by way of Belgium.

KUEHLMANN'S RESIGNATION

The Chancellor announced the resignation of Dr. von Kühlmann as Foreign Secretary and stated that Admiral von Hintze was appointed his successor. He then added:

Admiral von Hintze possesses a thorough knowledge of Russian affairs, which is a matter of great importance in the present situation. But it goes without saying that I will give my countersignature to the appointment of Admiral von Hintze only on condition that he follows my line of policy and not his own.

However, as far as I am concerned, I already have a sure guarantee, for this is Admiral von Hintze's promise. I will direct the line of foreign policy, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has merely to carry out my policy. The proposed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is absolutely clear on this point.

The course with which the great majority of the Reichstag declared itself to be in agreement in November of last year will still be followed.

[The text of the Reichstag address of Dr. von Kühlmann, which led to his resignation, is printed on Page 315.]

German Aims and Servile States

A Controversy Between the British War Secretary and the Austro-Hungarian War Secretary

VISCOUNT MILNER, British Secretary for War, in a speech delivered June 14, 1918, at the anniversary gathering of the Young Men's Christian Association in London, made the following reference to Germany's domination over her allies:

The military party has Germany under its heel and all her allies in its grip. Germany has safeguarded herself in the East by a ring of dependent States, and she is now turning with all her might to the West in order, by a supreme and desperate effort, to crush the remaining free nations, so as to dominate the world and form a Central European bloc of irresistible military strength, supported by giant industries, drawing their raw material from all the rest of the world on Germany's own terms, and leaving the supplying nations to enjoy just as much prosperity, freedom, and self-determination as Germany chooses to permit—a world of peaceful, servile States working for the profit of a great paramount empire.

That is the German peace as we see it illustrated today in the case of Russia and Rumania. That is the vision of the future of mankind which possesses the soul of the rulers of Germany today, for the attainment of which they are prepared to wade through further seas of blood. It is as certain as anything can be certain that that is an unattainable object, and that it will fail as every attempt to subjugate the world to a single will has failed from the time of the Roman Empire to the time of Napoleon. The liberty-loving nations of the world will fight on indefinitely for their ideal of a world commonwealth of free nations as opposed to the ideal of a new Roman Empire. So every fresh German success means not the fulfillment of German ambition, which is absolutely intolerable and unthinkable, but a further prolongation of the war.

This is the day and the hour of the climax of Germany's power; therefore we have to fight as we never fought before in all our history, as our great, noble French allies are fighting, with every ounce of their strength, until the great reserves which the cause of freedom still possesses have been fully mobilized. The German War Minister has been sneering at the reserves of the Allies. But he laughs best who laughs last. If I could tell you the number of men that we have put into the field since this great battle began, the number that we are putting in now, and that we are going to put in, I should astonish you. But not even those numbers are enough. No effort can be too great when everything in the world is at stake. Those numbers would show that if we feel absolute confidence in our gallant allies, they are justified in the confidence they place in us.

COUNT BURIAN REPLIES

Count Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, replied to Lord Milner as follows:

Lord Milner's speech once again affords a deep insight into the psychology of our enemies. In it expression is again given to our opponents' desire to represent the war aim of the Central Powers as an emanation of the intention ascribed to the Germans to obtain domination not only over their opponents, but also over their own allies. Our peace treaties with Russia and Rumania have in this latest case been represented as an illustration of this lust of domination. Have, then, Russians come under foreign domination by the conclusion of peace with the Soviet Republic? Or would, perhaps, a victorious Britain have treated any colony of our allies more mildly than we have acted toward Rumania? But our opponent does not dispute that, and by the portrayal of the awful consequences of this plan ascribed to us of enslaving the world, the peoples of the Entente are to be convinced of the necessity of battling desperately until they are completely exhausted.

The fact that reference is almost always made only to Germany and hardly at all to Austria-Hungary is sufficiently explained by the foregoing thesis. The complete unity of our group in the struggle and in our war aims is our strength, and, despite all their vain attempts, our

opponents will not cease their endeavors to undermine it. When Lord Milner refers to Germany and incidentally mentions us as her "victim" he is himself doing what he in his own words complains of when he says that "attempts are being made on the part of the Central Powers to incite one allied nation against another." Now with us he will not succeed.

The German "yoke" is for Austria-Hungary a "yoke" of mutual rocklike friendship and complete consideration for the interests of both parties. Otherwise the relationship between Austria-Hungary and Germany would not be possible for one moment. One might quote once more the oft-heard expression, "Only the stupidest calves themselves choose their own slaughterers." We have happily long had what Lord Milner praises in the Entente, "the valuable possession of the moral unity of allies devoted to one common cause." We will bear our burdens in common, and be considerate toward one another until a victorious end is achieved.

As regards the alleged efforts of the Central Powers to secure world dominion and their desire to wade through ever wider seas of blood, let Lord Milner then for once make a sincere attempt to obtain further enlightenment on this point. He will be astonished how tremendously far our aims are removed from those which our opponents again and again seek to misrepresent to the world as ours, and which they hold up as bogys.

I agree with Lord Milner straightaway that these aims ascribed to us are unattainable, but I can assure him there are no persons of sound common sense in the Central countries—and here, despite Lord Milner, Austria-Hungary may assuredly also speak in the name of Germany—who would have set before themselves such an aim even in the wildest of dreams.

The Acme of German Cruelty

Michel Jodin, writing in the Ame Belge, (Soul of Belgium,) one of the little Belgian papers that appear in spite of all attempts at suppression, tells the incident given below:

Executions by the enemy continue. On May 11 last the people of Charleroi were awakened with a start at 5 in the morning by a salvo of forty-eight shots, and soon after those living near the cavalry barracks saw six bodies carried out one after another. This horrible tragedy is the epilogue to a trial which lasted four days, April 10 to 13 inclusive, and where all kinds of people were tried in a body—two merchants, a priest of Tournai, Mme. de Cock, (wife of a policeman,) two Antwerp boatmen, a French soldier, two railway officials, a Brussels police officer, and many others. The prisoners were accused of having spied on the movements of German troops. The military representative demanded a certain number of heads. Judgment was passed only after a month of intolerable suspense, * * * and then began more diabolical cruelty. The sentence was not made known to the unfortunate nineteen. Their families were summoned by telegram to Charleroi, each was informed that six victims would be shot next morning, and that perhaps their relative would be one. In vain they begged and implored to know the certainty; they were allowed to visit the prisoners, and they wept and lamented. The bitter truth would be easier than this agonizing uncertainty. But it was refused; the butchers preferred that the cells should all echo to the sound of sobs and prayers. The blood to be shed in the morning was not enough; all could be made to suffer in anticipation. Those chosen for death could only prepare for it in doubt and anxiety, and those who were safe believed themselves in extremis. Wives and children stood all night at the gates of the prison alternating between infinite despair and senseless hope. Certainty came with the dawn, the fusillade did its work, and Delfosse, Vergeylen, Cool, Hofman, Van Hecke, and Merjay breathed their last sigh.

Von Kühlmann's Reichstag Address

German Foreign Secretary's Summary of War Situation and the Storm It Raised

DR. RICHARD VON KUHLMANN, the German Foreign Secretary, addressed the Reichstag June 24, 1918. In his speech he asserted that "the end of the war can hardly be expected through purely military decisions alone, and without recourse to diplomatic negotiations." This phrase, which flatly contradicted speeches by the German Emperor, who but a short time before had referred to peace being won by "the strong German sword," was received with consternation in the Reichstag and with sharp criticism by the press. It was reported later that Dr. von Kühlmann's words had been approved by General Ludendorff. This brought to notice rumors of friction between Ludendorff and the German Crown Prince and his coterie, who comprise the radical Pan-German elements in official circles. In the end the anger of the Junkers and Pan-Germans, due to this speech, forced Dr. von Kühlmann to resign his position as Foreign Secretary. His resignation was accepted by the Kaiser on July 9. The chief passages in the address are as follows:

I believe that one can say, without fear of contradiction, as the result of revelations, that the deeper we go into the causes of this war the clearer it becomes that the power which planned and desired the war was Russia; that France played the next worst rôle as instigator, and that England's policy has very dark pages to show.

England's attitude in the days before the outbreak of the war was bound to strengthen Russia's desire for war. Of this there are proofs enough in the documents already published.

On the other hand, Germany did not for an instant believe that this war could lead to the domination of Europe, much less to the domination of the world. On the contrary, the German policy before the war showed good prospects of being able satisfactorily to realize its essential aims, namely, the settlement of affairs in the East and Colonial problems by peaceful negotiation.

Referring to Germany's war aims, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

I consider it necessary to say quite simply, and in a way easy for all to understand, what our positive desires are. We wish for the German people and our allies a free, strong, independent existence within the boundaries drawn for us by history. We desire overseas possessions corresponding to our greatness and wealth; the freedom of the sea, carrying our trade to all parts of the world. These, in brief, are our roughly sketched aims, the realization of which is absolutely vital and necessary for Germany.

In view of the magnitude of this war and the number of powers, including those from overseas, that are engaged, its end can hardly be expected through purely military decisions alone and without recourse to diplomatic negotiations.

Dr. von Kühlmann paid tribute to the neutral States which had done everything to mitigate the suffering of wounded prisoners, and which had "offered, if need be, the hospitality of their countries for a discussion between the belligerents." He added:

Any fears that some change might occur in the strict observance of Spanish neutrality appear to be at present in no way justified. In America some small States, under the ever-increasing pressure of the United States, have joined the enemy ranks, but no substantial changes in the position have taken place. The Imperial Government's policy is to do everything that can be done to render impossible the entry of further neutral States into the ranks of our enemies.

CLAIMS AUSTRIAN SUCCESS

Speaking of the military situation, the Secretary said that victories had given the Germans the initiative in France. He continued:

We can hope that the Summer and Autumn will bring to our arms a new and great success. The Austro-Hungarian Army also has in a dashing onslaught attacked the Italian positions and achieved noteworthy successes and pinned down large and important enemy forces on that front.

When one makes a wide survey of events, one must ask whether the war,

according to human calculations, will last beyond the Autumn or the Winter, or beyond next year. There is a common idea among the people that the length of the war is something absolutely new, as if the authoritative quarters had in our time never reckoned on a very long war. This idea is incorrect.

Dr. von Kühlmann quoted von Moltke, who in 1890 in the Reichstag said that if war broke out, its duration and end could not be calculated.

Despite the brilliant successes of our arms there has been nowhere clearly recognizable among our enemies readiness for peace. The German Government has repeatedly laid down its standpoint in declarations intended for the widest publicity. Our enemies have nothing to show that can in any degree compare with the German peace offer, with the resolution of this House, or with the reply to the Papal note.

The declarations of our enemies, especially of English statesmen, allow as yet no peaceful ray of light to fall on the darkness of this war.

REPLIES TO BALFOUR

Referring to Mr. Balfour's speech, in which the British Foreign Secretary said that Germany had unchained the war to achieve world domination, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

I do not believe that any responsible man in Germany, not even the Kaiser or the members of the Imperial Government, ever for a moment believed they could win the domination in Europe by starting this war. The idea of world domination in Europe is a utopia, as proved by Napoleon. The nation which tried it would, as happened to France, bleed to death in useless battle and would be most grievously injured and lowered in her development. One may here apply von Moltke's phrase, "Woe to him who sets Europe afire."

At no moment of our later history was there less occasion for us to start or contribute to the starting of a conflagration than the moment in which it occurred.

In a former debate I pointed out that the absolute integrity of the German Empire and its allies formed the necessary prerequisite condition for entering into a peace discussion or negotiations. That is our position today.

From England the reproach is constantly made that we are not prepared on a hint from England to state our attitude publicly on the Belgian question. On this point the fundamental views of the Imperial Government differ from those ascribed to us by English statesmen. We regard Belgium as one question in the entire complex. We must, however, decline to make, as it were, a prior concession by giving a statement on the Belgian question which would bind us, without in the least binding the enemy.

Mr. Balfour, moreover, by way of precaution, has added that we must in no way imagine that any agreement on the Belgian question exhausts the stock of English or Entente wishes. He prudently abstained from describing those points in which he intends to announce more far-reaching claims or desires.

The supposition is not unjustified by previous experiences that while these words, on the one hand, were addressed to Paris, on the other hand covetous desires floated across the Mediterranean to the parts of Palestine and Mesopotamia at present occupied by the British troops.

I hear already the justification which will be duly given for such desires, namely, that England could not possibly make such sacrifices of blood and treasure without reserving for herself most of the gains.

As regards the probable course of events, the Imperial Chancellor and I have previously declared that in the present stage of development far-going advances on the road to peace can hardly any longer be expected from public statements which we shout to each other from the speaker's tribune. We, too, can adopt the words spoken by Mr. Asquith.

HOPES FOR PEACE OFFERS

Dr. von Kühlmann quoted from Mr. Asquith's speech of May 16, in which it was said that the British Government would not turn a deaf ear to a peace proposal if it was not couched in ambiguous terms.

We, likewise, [he added,] can make the same declaration, knowing that it is also our policy. Once the moment arrives—when, I cannot prophesy—that the nations which are at present locked in battle will exchange peace views, one of the preliminary conditions must be a certain degree of mutual confidence in each other's honesty and chivalry.

For so long as every overture is regarded by others as a peace offensive, as a trap, or as something false for the purpose of sowing disunion between allies, so long as every attempt at a rapprochement is at once violently denounced by the enemies of a rapprochement in the various countries, so long will it be impossible to see how any exchange of ideas leading to peace can be begun.

Our position on the battlefields, our enormous military resources, and the

Part of an actual battlefield photographed during the recent fighting in France

(Western Newspaper Union)

Different types of gas masks (from left to right): American, British, French, and German

A German gas attack photographed from an airplane. The gas is sweeping across the ground under a bank of clouds

situation and determination at home permit us to use such language. We hope that our enemies will perceive that in view of our resources the idea of victory for the Entente is a dream, an illusion, and that they will in due course find a way to approach us with peace offers which will correspond with the situation and satisfy Germany's vital needs.

"CAUTION" IN RUSSIA

With reference to Russia, Dr. von Kühlmann said:

It is impossible to believe that the great process of fermentation and the wild, irregular movement of conflicting forces, which the disappearance of the Czaristic power released, has reached permanent equilibrium. All conditions in the former empire of the Czar must to a certain extent be described as uncertain. Our policy, in view of this situation, is close observation and the utmost caution and, so far as purely internal affairs are concerned, correspondingly wise reserve.

The leaven of national fermentation within the Russian body politic led to the detachment and severance of a whole series of entities, which have partly attained full national status and are partly developing toward that end.

In Finland the battle has been decided in favor of the party which was striving for Finland's independence. The soil of Finland has been cleared of Red Guards and everything points to Finland being about to develop that high culture which is hers in the form of an independent State.

The Secretary said that the number of German troops which participated in the battles in Finland at the latter's request was small, but that they undoubtedly contributed their share in shaping events.

By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, [continued Dr. von Kühlmann,] Courland and Lithuania were severed from the Russian Empire. It was from the outset clear to the negotiators that the partition of the Baltic region by the line fixed in the peace treaty was bound to create an extraordinarily difficult situation. It was hard for the Lettish population to endure the prospect of being cut up.

The historical internal cohesion of the entire Baltic region suggested at that time objections against the possibility of a lasting separation between Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. But conditions arising from the difficult situation created, on the one part, by the complete dissolution of the Russian State, and, on the other, for us by the desire and necessity of arriving at a certain settlement in the east, involved for us the necessity of concluding peace as it was done.

In agreement with the entire German public we resolved to give ear to Livonia's appeal for help and replace the reign of terror carried on by the Red Guards by a reign of peace and order. The inhabitants of these provinces, mindful of the misgovernment and terrible sufferings which they must endure, turned to the German authorities.

The Imperial Government from the outset took the standpoint that it was highly desirable, before finally giving diplomatic recognition to the States which detached themselves from the former Russian Empire, to come to an understanding with Russia as to the form which the recognition of such States should take. This line of conduct will not be departed from.

After referring to the discussion which had taken place with the Soviet Government, Dr. von Kühlmann said that a conference was about to be held in Berlin, under his Presidency, at which an attempt would be made to bring about friendly agreement on all points still pending. He added:

I can express the hope that the discussions will completely correspond with the requirements and wishes of the populations there and the interests of the German people. I will not go more closely into the future of Courland and Lithuania, which lie mainly within the domain of the home department.

POLISH SETTLEMENT

Dealing with the question of Poland, Dr. von Kühlmann said that not only was the Polish question inherently a difficult one, but the almost inseparable connection between it and the solution of the economic questions existent between Austria-Hungary and Germany had so far prevented the attainment of a definite result. He continued:

I believe, however, that before there are general peace negotiations in Europe the zealous efforts of the statesmen concerned will result in their succeeding in finding a solution acceptable to all parties.

In South Russia our occupation of the Crimea gave rise to certain incidents respecting the Russian fleet, but these have been satisfactorily settled.

The Foreign Secretary said that an agreement had been reached by which the fortifications on the Aland Islands, in the Baltic, were to be removed, but that a final decision had not yet been reached regarding the future of the islands.

We hope and desire, however, [he said,] that this question will be so settled that the maximum guarantee can be given that to the advantage of all dwellers on the Baltic coast the nonemployment of the islands for military purposes may be assured for all time.

In Austria-Hungary that brilliant representative of her foreign policy, Count Czernin, retired because of internal political reasons. His successor, Baron Burian, is a well-tried diplomat, whose loyalty, friendship, and devotion to the alliance were assured from the outset. The personal and cordial collaboration which existed in the case of Count Czernin, and which contributed to the final settlement and solution of all questions, also exists in the case of Baron Burian.

THE EMPERORS' PACT

It is also to be reckoned among Baron Burian's services that an interview between the two Emperors occurred at main headquarters which history will record as momentous in shaping the relations between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Both the Emperors, in the presence of leading statesmen, assured each other solemnly that they would not only loyally abide by the existing alliance but that they also intended to strengthen, widen, and deepen it in political, military, and economic directions.

Pursuant to the expression of the will of these two august personages, responsible statesmen forthwith entered into corresponding negotiations. During his visit to Berlin Baron Burian discussed the fundamental questions thoroughly in conferences with the Chancellor, the exchange of views being carried on further in writing. They probably will be continued on the occasion of the Chancellor's return visit to Vienna.

With Bulgaria, too, recent events, especially the peace negotiations, have facilitated the drawing closer of many personal and political ties. It is a matter of regret, which the German public shares, that Premier Radoslavoff, who has been a pillar of our alliance, recently resigned for internal political reasons. The explicit assurances of his successor and the exalted personality of the great statesman who wears the Bulgarian crown are a guarantee to us that there will be no change in the policy hitherto followed.

Dr. von Kühlmann again went over the question of the Dobrudja, which is the subject of negotiations between Turkey and Bulgaria, and added: "But there does not exist any conflict in interest between us and Turkey."

He announced that within the next few days a conference would be held at Constantinople, where the questions that had arisen between the Quadruple Alliance and "the Caucasian people" would "find a settlement."

In her advance from territories falling to her under the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, [said Dr. von Kühlmann,] Turkey, for reasons of safety, pushed the left wing of her advancing troops into regions which indubitably could not be permanently occupied or annexed. The Chiefs of Staff have discussed this matter and the Turkish advance in the Caucasus has stopped.

Turkey found herself obliged quite recently by the strategic developments in Upper Mesopotamia to utilize the Batum-Tabriz-Julfa line of communication across the Aderbijan region of Persia to the Tigris Valley.

Following Dr. von Kühlmann's speech the Imperial Chancellor, Count von Hertling, addressed the Reichstag. "I said that the four points of President Wilson," the Chancellor asserted, "might possibly "form the basis of a general world peace. "No utterance of President Wilson what-"ever followed this, so that there is no "object in spinning any further the "threads there started. There is less "object after statements made since that "time have reached us, especially from "America."

Foreign Secretary Severely Criticised

Count Westarp, the leader of the Conservatives, in his reply to the Foreign Secretary spoke as follows:

What Herr von Kühlmann said concerning the causes of the war and the blame for the war appears to me open to criticism. Russia, he said, is to blame for the war; England only in the last days did not precisely stop it. He has thereby again dug up the already-buried hatchet. I consider it desirable in the highest degree to say this.

It is England who claims exclusive dominion over the world and the seas. She, therefore, years ago resolved to annihilate Germany at a given opportunity. Mr. Balfour has just declared this clearly enough. England willed that we should not receive the fruits of our up-

ward progress. She, therefore, incited the world against us. England was Loki, and Russia the blind Hoder. [Two demigods of Norse mythology; the former the personification of crafty evil; the latter the victim of his guile.] The struggle with England must be waged for the very end of existence or nonexistence, and in England's case it is certainly a matter of conflict of two world views, of a conflict against the idolatry of money. It is for us a struggle against the domination of Anglo-Saxon capital.

A simple agreement in the nature of a treaty with England is not sufficient to render possible existence for Germany in the future, but increase in German power is necessary to place us in a position to assert our standpoint, even against England.

For this, too, Belgium and the Flemish coast must come under German influence. I therefore am unable to agree in thinking that besides Germany's integrity there is no subject which can prevent negotiations. No, Herr Staatssekretär, we demand that. Together with that there are axioms which must be in no way departed from.

A declaration such as that of the Foreign Secretary is not calculated to strengthen the will for peace. I regard that as an illusion. I fear it will be regarded abroad as a new peace offer. If the aim is not rightly shown, neither is the way. An appeal to England's good-will is of no use whatever. It is a commonplace, moreover, that negotiations belong to a conclusion of peace and that arms alone do not bring peace; but the presupposition is that the parties also come to negotiations. If they do not wish to come, they must be compelled to come, and there comes in the victory of our arms.

Dr. von Kühlmann, in replying to his critics, said:

> Once legends have arisen they are difficult to destroy, but I must declare, with a view to counterattacking the growth of a legend, that there can be no question of my having bound myself to the idea of a long war.

The foregoing was evoked by a Deputy who referred to "Dr. von Kühlmann's expectation of a war of very long duration."

One of the most criticised points in the main speech of von Kühlmann was his reference to negotiations, not military decisions, ending the war. Dr. Gustav Stresemann, the National Liberal leader, Count von Westarp, and others protested warmly against this statement.

Dr. Stresemann said that the speech had a most depressing effect. It offered the German people, he added, stones for bread. The Deputy declared that not negotiations, but hammer blows, brought peace in the east, and that the reason the world refused to believe in German victories was because German statesmen were almost afraid to mention them.

In reply, the Foreign Secretary explained that what he meant was that military success must be followed by diplomatic negotiations. Chancellor von Hertling also emphasized the same point, saying that von Kühlmann's statement must not be regarded as weakening the German determination for victory.

Attacks by Socialist Leaders

Deputy Haase's answer to Foreign Secretary Kühlmann was extremely caustic. A full extract is given herewith as showing the attitude of the minority party of the German Socialists:

> This House has today witnessed a scene such as never before has been enacted within its walls. Herr von Kühlmann has obediently agreed to his execution and obediently allowed the halter to be placed round his neck. He has in no degree known how to die beautifully.
>
> The Chancellor has repudiated no word of Count Westarp's concrete expression of the conditions of power of our Imperial Government. We see now with amazing clearness that a military autocracy, for which Count Hertling and Herr von Kühlmann are but fig leaves, rules over it solely and alone.
>
> The man who really governs, namely, General Ludendorff, should be placed in the Chancellor's chair. The annexations must be completed, the conflict with England fought out to annihilation. That is Count Westarp's gospel. The conflict must be fought out, even though the German people go down in the process.
>
> Herr von Kühlmann should have looked through all the Pan-German literature if he thinks that no intelligent man in Germany thinks of world dominion. As he will now have leisure to occupy himself with it outside of office, I am ready to place the material at his disposal. * * *
>
> Herr Stresemann also has spoken of our victory. How often have we heard this

prophecy? Herr Helfferich and Admiral Capelle told us in committee in 1917 that America could not enter the war and that her military significance was equal to nil. Today 700,000 Americans stand on French soil, and one hears no more of the U-boat booty resulting from the hunt after American transport ships.

We can only, therefore, regard with the deepest distrust Westarp's and Stresemann's announcements that Kühlmann's speech of yesterday has been completely smashed down by the Chancellor's of today. Have the plans concerning Longwy and frontier adjustments in the Vosges been given up? We have no ground to assume that the Imperial Government has unconditionally rejected them.

REGARDING BELGIUM

No word has been uttered concerning Belgium. That attack was not to be justified, not even by Bethmann Hollweg's proclaimed "right of necessity." The declaration of the Council of Flanders is an imposture, [Machwerk.] Every intelligent Fleming turns away from it with contempt. [Great disturbance and cries of "Shame!"] This fact cannot be abolished by any cry of "Shame!"

The peace resolution was stillborn on July 19, 1918. [Laughter.] It has not lived. The Centre and the Progressives have openly declared their abandonment of it.

Has the Government done everything to win confidence in its respectability and chivalry from its adversaries? Russian prisoners of war are still treated as hostile foreigners, despite the Brest treaty. What has happened to atone for the unheard-of act of violence committed against the Ukraine Rada, and thereby against the conventions of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty?

Soul-stirring appeals for help for the Armenians against the brutal violence of the Turks, who are striving for their complete extinction, have passed unheeded. The victims are counted by hundreds of thousands. And no one has had the courage to redeliver the districts of Batum, Kars, and Ardahan to the Turks. The Turks have not only to discontinue their onward march into the Caucasus, they have to leave the Caucasus altogether.

ABUSES IN RUSSIA

In Livonia and Esthonia the German police power which wished to create order there dwells as in a conquered country and treats the people with the worst arbitrariness. Conditions which absolutely cry to heaven prevail in Riga. Boys 10 years old are condemned to severe punishment by imprisonment because they distributed proclamations to prisoners; and prisoners are tortured in a manner recalling the worst period of the Czar's rule. German military power has everywhere acted as the cutthroat of the Russian revolution, as the suppressor of freedom.

In Finland, the White Terror has raged furiously against the working population, and nothing pains us more than the fact that German workers have contributed thereto. Herr Svinhufvud has received his earned wage—he is decorated with the Iron Cross. Perhaps he has sought out in Berlin also an aspirant to the Finnish throne, if the resolution to introduce a monarchy in Finland, which has been forced through by him, is, indeed, to be realized.

The Germans have oppressed the Ukrainian people with a Government of frightful reaction personified in Skoropadski. What is desired respecting Baku? The Georgians declare that Baku does not belong to Georgia. Is it desired to shut off the Soviet Republic from its sources of help? Is it desired to shut it off from the White as from the Black Sea? Is it desired to throttle it economically?

We do not believe in miracles. If things go on according to the will of our military autocracy, Germany will be ruined, if the masses of the people do not comprehend at length that they themselves must take the business in hand. The capitalistic world order is collapsing. An end will only be made of it by the Socialist world order.

SCHEIDEMANN'S SPEECH

The position of the German Government was attacked again on July 3 by the Socialists, in a debate regarding the Rumanian treaty, during which the German Vice Chancellor, von Payer, asserted that Germany desired a "peace by understanding." Philipp Scheidemann, the Socialist leader, asserted that the Socialists objected to many stipulations of the treaty and reserved their attitude toward it. He asked that the Government take the initiative in stopping air raids on open towns.

Reverting to Secretary von Kühlmann's speech of June 24, Herr Scheidemann said that it had created a sensation because "it expressed in the form of a program what has long been known to be the Government's opinion." He added: "Unfortunately, Dr. von Kühl-
"mann was obliged the next day to
"obliterate the impression caused. His
"retreat before main headquarters opens
"unpleasant vistas." Attacking the

Government for not representing its views as a whole, Herr Scheidemann said:

> We want a Government which knows, like the army leaders, how to beat its adversary. To the present Government we are unable to vote even a budget.

Georg Ledebour, a Social Democratic leader, was called to order by the President of the Chamber for declaring that "it is the duty of the German proletariat everywhere to issue a summons for a revolution."

Friedrich von Payer, the Imperial Vice Chancellor, replied to Herr Scheidemann.

> It is well [he said] that the Socialists' rejection of the budget is merely a demonstration, for if the other parties acted likewise the cause of the Fatherland and freedom would not be served.

Herr Scheidemann's reference to peace, he added, did not call for a fresh Governmental declaration.

> What would result after our previous experiences? [he asked.] The usual result is to excite the people and cause a conflict of view in this country and abroad. One sees, indeed, something that looks like a tiny spark and that evokes hope of better insight on the part of our enemies, but it is in general so weak that the disadvantages abroad arising from such declarations cannot be outweighted by it.
>
> These disadvantages are that the enemy Governments, in order to maintain cohesion and incite their peoples, give a false meaning to our sincerely meant words, suggesting that they mean we are unable to bring the war to a victorious end.

Herr von Payer assented to Herr Scheidemann's declaration of the German peace terms, "The conclusion of peace with honor and without prejudicing Germany in the peace terms," declaring that the German Government had gone beyond this formula. "We must wait until the enemy's will to war and will to destruction are broken," he added. He defended the army command, and said:

> In a war of such duration and importance the civil leaders cannot proceed quite independently of the army leaders, nor vice versa. We cannot dispute the right of the army leaders if they lead us to victory and peace.

The Government, he asserted, would go its way, for that way did not lead to military despotism nor to a peace of conquest, but to a peace of understanding, for which the majority in the House and the entire Government were striving.

Rumanian Peace Treaty Ratified

King Ferdinand Accepts the Terms

THE Rumanian Peace Treaty was ratified by the German Reichstag on July 3, 1918, and by the Rumanian Senate on July 6. Ratification by Austria was postponed until the meeting of the Reichsrat in August. There was a bitter discussion in the German House before the treaty was agreed to. The Imperial Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Herr von Kühlmann, spoke as follows:

> As the question is by far the most thorny of the matters dealt with in the Rumanian Peace Treaty, and still offers considerable difficulties, I feel obliged once more formally to declare before this high House that it was never the intention of the negotiators, and never the intention of the Governments of the allied Central Powers, that the condominium in the Northern Dobrudja should be anything but a temporary measure, that there has never for a moment been any doubt on the subject among the allied Central Powers, and that, above all, we never desired to doubt the wishes and aspirations of our loyal and brave Bulgarian ally respecting this land, to which historical and national ties bind Bulgaria.
>
> We all take the standpoint that this provisional arrangement, which we desire shall be as short as possible, must find its natural solution in the union of the Northern Dobrudja with Bulgaria in accordance with the desires of the Bulgarian people. As in the present case it is a matter of differences of opinion between two of our allies, differences of opinion which we are all convinced can be bridged, and, with good-will on both sides, will be bridged, we must, as being bound by exactly equal ties to our two allies, Bulgaria and Turkey, carefully avoid everything which could evoke the impression abroad that German policy, that the substantial factors of German public life, favored the wishes and claims

of one at the expense of the other. Any such idea could only lead to delaying and rendering more difficult the speedy solution of the question which we all hope for.

DOBRUDJA PROBLEM

The question of the Dobrudja or that of the compensation which is due to our loyal Turkish ally, if this question be solved in the Bulgarian sense, has in a high degree excited the public opinion of both countries, and the public opinion of the two countries is still looking with keen attention for every expression of opinion from the great friendly States of the Central Powers, and from this point of view I would prefer not to oppose an opinion which has been expressed today in the House, but to interpret it.

The Deputy, Dr. Stresemann, used a phrase which might cause the impression that there was an inclination on our part in favor of Bulgarian wishes and to lay less weight on the just claims of our Turkish ally. I am convinced that this interpretation was very far from Dr. Stresemann's mind. There is nothing further from the minds both of the Imperial Government and the entire public, especially the big leading parties of this House, than to desire to favor the wishes and aspirations of one ally at the expense of the other.

One note sounded today in many speeches was a certain mistrust of Rumania, which persists even after the conclusion of peace. Certainly after the experiences of this war complete and undivided trust cannot return immediately. Policy and public opinion will necessarily continue to adopt a waiting attitude toward the development of things in that country, formerly a friend of ours, but this judgment must not be marked by open mistrust. In my opinion, the history of the events preceding the war, which I will not here go into, absolutely proves that the great majority of the Rumanian people were driven into this war against their will by a small number of partly selfish, partly light-minded, partly criminal politicians and business men.

Herr Ledebour here interjected, "just as in other countries, too," and a voice from the Right said, "Where then? In America, perhaps?" Herr von Kühlmann continuing, said:

The attitude hitherto adopted by the Rumanian Cabinet with which we concluded peace gives a guarantee, so far as I can see, that those persons whose guilt can be shown will be brought to account, and the fact that this comes from the Rumanian people of their own free will, without any attempt at pressure from outside, gives this action of national atonement its true worth for us also, and it will depend on the carrying out of this action of national atonement how the further course of Rumanian policy is judged by our public opinion at large.

Herr von Kühlmann combated Herr Ledebour's closing remarks in the most emphatic and decided manner, saying that not only the house of Hohenzollern but also all the German princely houses had always worked, striven, and conquered in exemplary intimate union with the people. "I believe," he concluded, "that in these hard times no German "looks up to his Kaiser otherwise than "with a feeling of respect and gratitude. "The German Princes, especially the "Hohenzollerns, stand too high for utter-"ances such as that to which we have "just listened with great regret to be "able even to soil their boots."

DYNASTIES DENOUNCED

Herr Grober (Centre Party) praised the Rumanian Treaty, and expressed the hope of a speedy settlement of the question of the Northern Dobrudja and of the Bulgaro-Turkish frontier dispute about the territory near Adrianople, and said that the Southern Dobrudja must fall to Bulgaria.

Count Westarp (Conservative) said the peace treaty safeguarded the Hungarian frontier by acquisitions of territory, and the same course must be taken to safeguard the frontiers of Germany. States which disregarded their obligations toward Germany must not go unpunished; they should remember this when the British rule of violence demanded that they should participate in the destruction of Germany.

According to the Rheinisch Westfälische Zeitung, Herr Stresemann (National Liberal) said: "We might have wished that the Rumanian dynasty had disappeared. There is ever the danger that Bucharest remains an Entente nest where threads can be spun against Germany."

According to the Vorwärts Herr Ledebour, Independent Socialist, said:

The demand is made for the punishment of the tormentors of German prisoners in Rumania. We approve of that, but we demand the same also respecting similar

occurrences in Germany. Count Westarp regrets that his treaty was concluded with the Hohenzollern dynasty in Rumania. We are of opinion that dynasties are everywhere doing mischief. Accounts will be settled in the Reichstag with the dynasties which have driven their people to destruction by a wrong policy. A beginning is made with the Hohenzollerns in Rumania, and the turn of the others will come later. We desire no punishment of foreign peoples, no introduction of a spirit of revenge into peace treaties, but the establishment of peace and friendship with all peoples. The peace treaties so far concluded are only armistice treaties containing the germs of later wars.

KING FERDINAND'S SPEECH

The following was the speech from the throne delivered by King Ferdinand at the opening of the Rumanian Parliament in Jassy, June 18, 1918:

Senators and Deputies: Now, as ever, it gives me lively satisfaction to be in the midst of the nation's representatives. Coming from the recent general election, you bring me the real feelings of the country concerning the hard decisions which are under our careful examination.

Thrown on its own resources, our country with noble and high-minded patriotism has sacrificed the flower of its brave sons, but the prolongation of armed resistance would have exhausted its strength to the point of destruction, and Rumania has concluded a peace which was forced upon her as a necessary condition of her existence. In accordance with the prescription of the Constitution, the terms of the peace treaty will forthwith be submitted to the Legislature for approval. This treaty manifestly imposes painful sacrifices upon the nation, but the Rumanian people will examine it with that manliness which exact comprehension of the State's interests in face of the real position lends.

Meanwhile, let us thank Heaven that precisely in the hour of these trials the feeling of belonging to a common race has brought back to the mother country the beautiful Moldavian land which was torn from the soil of our fathers, and has thrown the Bessarabian people into her arms in order to enhance her strength for labor and her faith in the future. The good reception which this great event met with on the part of the powers with whom we have been negotiating concerning peace has paved the way for the restoration of our friendship as it existed in the past. While maintaining good relations with other countries, we will endeavor to resume normal relations with the new States which are in the course of formation.

Senators and Deputies, the Finance Minister is unable as yet to submit to you the normal Budget, for which the country will assuredly consent to make the requisite sacrifices. He will, however, lay before you a series of measures to enable the National Treasury to reduce the burden upon it and to satisfy the extraordinary requirements with which we are faced.

The crowning point of your work will be the fixing of the points of our Constitution, which we must revise so that in the shortest period and before any other constitutional change we may carry out agrarian reform and awaken the lower classes of the nation to real political life.

FORMER PREMIER'S VIEWS

Take Jonescu, the Rumanian ex-Premier, in a statement made July 4, asserted that Marghiloman, the present Premier, was simply a tool of the Germans, and that 99 per cent. of the Rumanian people were sympathetic with the Entente Allies. He said:

Germany is despoiling us of everything. Our grain, petroleum, wool, timber, and horses are being ruthlessly carried off to the Central Empires. According to the treaty the Germans should pay us for the grain, whereas, as a matter of fact, we have to turn it over to them at a price of $395 the truckload, which is four times less than the cost price, while their Ukrainian grain costs them $2,780. The German Government knows that in these conditions the farmers will have no laborers available for agriculture, and so has to reintroduce slavery, obliging the Marghiloman Cabinet to pass a law forcing work upon all up to 60 years of age.

The German General Bank of Bucharest is issuing paper money to the value of milliards and will continue to do so till the conclusion of a European peace. Meantime the treaty constrains us to pass these enormous quantities of notes.

Our liabilities in compensation for damages to the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish interests from the outset of the war are estimated at over three billions. We are further forced to pay all requisitions without anybody having the slightest approximate idea of what they amount to. We have also to maintain six divisions of Austro-German troops. The 3,650 square miles of territory of which we have been robbed, with its 170 towns and villages, has left Rumania without mountains and without natural frontiers.

The Germans have the great petroleum wells in working order again, have seized all the lands in their neighborhood, and have confiscated all the property belonging to foreign companies. Through-

out the oil region and along the Danube hundreds of motor lorries and wherries painted with the inscription "Kaiserliche Deutsche Marine" are busy landing and bearing off petrol for the enemy's submarines.

Germany's Control of the Danube

THE full text of the treaty known as the Peace of Bucharest, which was signed by Rumania and the Central Powers May 7, 1918, places the navigation of the Danube practically in the control of the Central Powers. The Entente Powers have informed the Rumanian Government that they do not recognize the treaty. The text of the chapter relating to the Danube follows:

CHAPTER VI.—REGULATION OF THE DANUBE NAVIGATION

Article XXIV.—Rumania shall conclude a new Danube Navigation act with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey regulating the legal position on the Danube from the point where it becomes navigable, with due regard to the provisions subsequently set forth under A to D, and on condition that the provisions under B shall apply equally for all parties to the Danube act. Negotiations regarding the new Danube Navigation act shall begin in Münich as soon as possible after the ratification of the peace treaty.

A. Under the name of the Danube Mouth Commission, the European Danube Commission shall be maintained as a permanent institution with the powers, privileges, and obligations hitherto appertaining to it, for the river from Braila downward, inclusive of this port.

(1) The commission shall henceforth consist only of representatives of the States situated on the Danube or the European coasts of the Black Sea.

(2) The commission's authority extends from Braila downward to the whole of the arms and mouths of the Danube and the adjoining parts of the Black Sea. The orders issued by the Commissioner for the Sulina arm of the river shall be correspondingly applied to those arms, or parts of an arm, with which the commission has hitherto not been competent or exclusively competent to deal.

B. Rumania guarantees to the ships of the other contracting parties free navigation on the Rumanian Danube, including its harbors. Rumania shall levy no tolls on the ships or rafts of the contracting parties and their cargoes, merely for the navigation of the river. Neither shall Rumania in future levy on the river any dues or imposts save those permitted by the new Danube Navigation act.

C. The Rumanian ad valorem duty of one-half of 1 per cent. on goods imported into and exported from that country's ports shall be abolished when the new Danube Navigation act comes into force and as soon as Rumania shall have introduced duties, in conformity with the new Danube Navigation act, for the use of public institutions which serve to develop shipping and the transport of goods, at the latest, five years after the ratification of the present peace treaty. The goods and rafts arriving on the Danube for expedition will not be subject to a traffic tax in Rumania on account of this expedition.

D. The cataract and Iron Gates sections to which the provisions of Article VI. of the Treaty of London of March 13, 1871, and Article LVII. of the Treaty of Berlin of July 13, 1878, relate, comprise the sections of the river from O, in Moldavia, [referring to the map used by the contracting parties, which is not yet available,] to Turno-Severin, in their whole breadth from one bank to the other, including all the arms of the river and islands lying between them.

Consequently the obligations with regard to maintenance of the navigability of the cataract and Iron Gates sections, which were taken over by Austria-Hungary on the ground of the provisions of Paragraph 1 referred to, and were transferred to Hungary to carry out, as also the special privileges which accrued to Hungary from this, pass henceforth to the sections of the Danube more closely described in Paragraph 1. The States bordering this part of the river shall grant Hungary all the facilities which should be required of this State in the interest of the works to be carried out there by it.

Article XXV.—Until the Danube Mouth Commission meets, Rumania shall regularly administer the whole of the property of the European Danube Commission in its possession, and protect it from damage. Immediately after the signature of the peace treaty, a commission, consisting of at least two representatives of each of the contracting parties, shall satisfy itself as to the condition of the material held in custody by Rumania. A special agreement shall be concluded with regard to Rumania's obligation to immediate temporary surrender of this material.

Article XXVI. — Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Rumania have the right to maintain warships on the Danube. These may navigate downstream as far as the sea, and upstream as far as the upper frontier of the territory of their respective States. They must not, however, enter into communication with the shore of another State, or put in there except in case of force

majeure, or unless the consent of the State in question be obtained through diplomatic channels. The powers represented on the Danube Mouth Commission have the right to maintain two light warships each, as guardships, at the mouth of the Danube. These may put in as far up as Braila without special authority.

All rights and privileges appertaining to warships are preserved to the warships mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 2, in the harbors and waters of the Danube.

Protest of Rumanians in Exile Against the Treaty of Bucharest

THE Rumanian people has been struck out of the ranks of free nations. The peace which the Central Powers have imposed upon Rumania is the very negation of the political and economic independence of our native country. The treaty which embodies it is an instrument of hatred and vengeance wielded by a violent hand in contempt of the most elementary principles of justice. The Rumanian people cannot accept it. Rumania entered the war and took her place beside the powers of the Entente for the sake of liberty and democracy. Inspired by the hope of the unity and independence of the whole Rumanian people, she sprang to arms and for this ideal hundreds and thousands of Rumanians have poured out their blood. The Rumanian people can never consent to renounce their own national raison d'être.

Rumania's destruction has been brought about by a threefold treason, in which the Czar, the Bolsheviki, and, finally, the Ukraine Rada, have played their part. Surrounded, completely cut off from her allies, forced to renounce all hope of receiving even the least military assistance, and deprived of every means of supply and exhausted by her own strenuous efforts, and stricken by wounds and diseases, Rumania capitulated. But her valiant spirit has not lost confidence in the justice of the Rumanian cause or in the certainty of the final victory of right. Her enemies have imposed upon her what they call a peace of German friendship. It is in reality a most cruel and insulting enslavement; military enslavement through the loss of the Carpathian chain; political enslavement by the introduction of German overseers in all the great departments of State; commercial enslavement through the rape of the Dobrudja, the only maritime province in Rumania, and by enemy control of the navigation of the Danube; industrial enslavement by the seizure of the oil wells, which constitute the principal mineral wealth of the country; financial enslavement by control of our whole export trade and especially of our principal product, grain. Such is the condition of political and economic serfdom to which the Germano-Turanians desire to reduce Rumania. Might has vanquished right. Germany has trodden under foot the sacred principles of liberty and justice in defense of which the friendly nations of the west are now fighting in alliance. We Rumanians living in freedom, though in exile, in the noble and hospitable land of France, raise our voices in protest against this monstrous crime, and the sound of our protest is but an echo of the sentiments of the entire Rumanian Nation. The Act of Bucharest is no treaty of peace, it is a flagrant contradiction of the notions of peace, for it is not based upon the consent of those upon whom it is imposed. Indeed, the clauses of the treaty exclude the free consent of Rumania—in a word, the treaty is an act of violence committed by a pitiless enemy.

The Rumanian people disarmed and at the mercy of German bayonets, having neither freedom of action nor of opinion, is thus deprived of all liberty to record its protest against this despoiling peace, but it turns in mute appeal toward its great allies, full of confidence and hope. The interests of the Rumanian Nation are one with the interests of the great western democracies. Rumania

standing at the gates of the Balkan Peninsula forms a bulwark against the German advance southward toward Asia.

In the name of the Rumanian people we openly declare ourselves the allies of the Entente Powers and we proclaim the Treaty of Bucharest in every respect null and void. And in the very act of recording our protest we appeal to the allied Governments in the name of the Rumanian people, praying them not to abandon Rumania but to recognize her just claims. In the twentieth century the liberty of nations, like the liberty of the individual citizen, should be sacred. Neither force nor the written word of the treaty can destroy the inalienable right of every people to national unity and independence. History will not recognize any convention which is based upon a denial of these elementary rights.

As interpreters of the sentiments of our race, we address this protest to the Governments and to the peoples who are now fighting and enduring sacrifices for a generous ideal. We ask from you all justice and liberty.

Signed on behalf of the Committee of the Rumanian Colony in Paris, the Committee of Rumanians from Transylvania and Bukovina, and the Rumanian Delegates to the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities:

C. Olanesco, former Minister, President of the Rumanian Chamber of Deputies; E. A. Pangrati, former Minister, Rector of Bucharest University; C. Angekesco, former Minister, Professor of Bucharest University; Paul Bratashano, Vice President of the Chamber and the Senate, member of the Editorial Board of La Rumanie; V. Atanasovici, Senator; George Cavadia, Senator; D. Draghicesco, Senator; J. Gavanesco, Senator, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Jassy; Dr. Thoma Jonnesco, Senator, Rector of Bucharest University; Emile Miclesco, Senator, Director General of Railways; G. G. Mironesco, Senator, Professor of Bucharest University; St. Popp, Senator; St. S. Russenesco, Senator; R. Zmeureanu, Senator; A. Alexandresco, Deputy; E. Antonesco, Deputy, Professor of Bucharest University; D. Apostolu, Deputy; E. Canano, Deputy, President of the Order of Rumanian Advocates; Léon Cantacuzène, Deputy; Jean Th. Floresco, Vice President of the Rumanian Chamber; N. P. Guran, Deputy, President of the Order of Rumanian Advocates; Spiru D. Lalu, Deputy; Dr. N. Lupu, Deputy; D. G. Many, Deputy, Professor of L'Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées, Secretary General of the Ministry of Finance; Const. Mille, Deputy, member of the Editorial Board of La Rumanie, Director of the journals Adeverul and Dimineatza; C. L. Patzouri, Deputy; Pascal Tonesco, Deputy; P. Vasilesco, Deputy; St. Hépites, member of the Rumanian Academy; V. Dimitriu, Professor of Jassy Universty; D. Hurmuzesco, Professor of Bucharest University, Secretary General of the Ministry of Public Instruction; Trajan Lalesco, Professor of Bucharest University; C. Sipsom, Professor of Bucharest University; O. Tafrali, Professor of Jassy University; J. Ursu, Professor of Jassy University; D. Voinov, Professor of Bucharest University; A. Atanasiu, professor; A. Bagdad; P. Barozzi, Commissioner; General Cocea; C. Cretzu, lawyer; M. Dancovici, lawyer; Emile D. Fagure, Chief Editor of the journals Adeverul and Dimineatza, member of the Editorial Board of La Rumanie; J. Fermo, publicist; Z. Florian, professor; C. Jancoulesco, engineer; Léon Lahovary; St. Moraresco Adria; A. Nicolesco, architect; I. Paraschivesco, lawyer; R. Pleshoyano, engineer; S. Popini; G. Raut; N. S. Russenesco, agriculturist; A. Zeuceano, lawyer; Traian Vuia, President of the National Committee of Rumanians from Transylvania and Bukovina; Dionisie Axentie, Jean Bortes, Moga, Joseph Mureseano, Nicoara, Patruca, Jean Tisca, Joseph Tisca, members of the National Committee of Rumanians from Transylvania and Bukovina.

Paris, 10-23 May, 1918.

Rumania and Bessarabia

By A. RUBIN

[Attaché to the Rumanian Legation at Washington]

AS an article published in the June issue of your very interesting magazine, under the heading, "The Rumanian Nation," (Page 385,) gives rather an inadequate view of the Bessarabian question, I send you this so as to vindicate a point of history. The Principality of Wallachia—also known in the fourteenth century as "Bessarabia," from the name of her sovereigns of the House of Bessarab—conquered during that epoch the southern part of the region lying between the Pruth, the Dniester, and the Danube, the northern part being

under the Moldavian crown; that region thus became a province of "Bessarabia." Later, the name of Bessarabia fell into disuse for Wallachia proper, and was preserved only by that part of the country which had been more closely connected with the Princes of that name, being their conquest and, one might say, their creation, as before their time it was little better than a "steppe" of roving Tartars.

The earliest historical origins of Bessarabia are thus purely Rumanian-Wallachian in the south, Moldavian in the north. In the succeeding centuries Wallachia declined and the entire region between the Pruth, the Danube, and the Dniester came under Moldavian rule. Save for Turkish encroachments on the southern border, this situation lasted until 1812, when the Russians annexed the province. As the decadence of the Principality of Moldavia had then reached its worst stage, Moldavia protested in vain, and the Turks, availing themselves of their right of suzerainty, consented to the grievous mutilation by which Moldavia lost half its territory, and which brought its capital within fifteen miles of the border. The Russians extended to the whole of their newly acquired possession the appellation of "Bessarabia."

After the Crimean war, the southern part of Bessarabia was restored to the Principality of Moldavia, which, still nominally under Turkish suzerainty, was really, now, under the joint protection of the great powers and virtually independent. When the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia united in 1859 to form Rumania, Bessarabia naturally became also a Rumanian province.

When Russia declared war against Turkey in 1877, she did not at that time announce to Rumania that she sought the restoration of that strip of land. On the contary, as the Rumanian Government felt some misgivings because of information received from Vienna and other capitals which seemed to point that way, the Rumanian Delegate, during the discussion of the terms of the Military Convention with Russia, insisted that Russia should pledge herself to respect, not only "the integrity of the Rumanian territory," as the first draft was worded, but "the integrity of the present Rumanian territory"; in the French text, "l'intégrité actuelle * * * " (Art. 2 of that convention,) and the correction was accepted by the Russian Government; the treaty accordingly modified was signed on April 16, 1877.

Rumania was thus entitled to believe that the question was settled once for all, and her gallant soldiers gave most precious help to the Russians before Plevna and elsewhere. Unfortunately, Russia was not true to her word, signed peace without even consulting her ally—an anticipation of 1918—and informed Rumania that she was to give up Bessarabia. As Rumanian public opinion protested hotly against this unwarrantable breach of faith, Russia tried to suppress the protests of the country through terror, and threatened to disarm the army that had just been fighting alongside of her own soldiers. To this menace Prince Charles replied fittingly that the Rumanian Army might be crushed, but never disarmed. (Spring of 1878.)

The dispute went up before the Berlin Congress, but while the justice of Rumania's cause was recognized, circumstances were against her, for Austria had been bribed by the cession of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the other great powers were loath to come to a break with Russia on a question that was not vital for their interests. Rumania had thus to agree to exchange Bessarabia for Dobrudja, a Turkish province which had also belonged to Rumania in the Middle Ages.

During the time Bessarabia remained in Russian hands little civilizing work was done. Although it was one of the richest agricultural provinces of Southern Russia, it lacked roads and railways, and as the Rumanian language was persecuted and its use forbidden in Church and School, the result was that the population was left in the blackest ignorance. Now that Bessarabia is again a part of the mother country it is to be hoped that she will soon be able to efface the sad traces left by Russian tyranny, anarchy, and general misrule.

Bessarabia's Historical Background

[By D. N. Ciotori in The New Europe]

FOR more than five centuries (fourteenth to nineteenth) Bessarabia was an integral part of the Rumanian Principalities. Even before 1300 the dynasty of the Bessarabs, the builders of Wallachia, extended their power on both sides of the Danube as far as the sea; and on the death of Mircea the Old (1418) the Dobrudja of our days as well as the fortresses of Chilia and Cetatea Alba, or the southern part of Bessarabia, were among the Wallachian dominions. The name itself is a reminder of the dominating power of the Bessarabs over the southern districts of that country, the extent of which is revealed in the words of the Polish chronicler, Broniovius, in 1579: "Moldaviae et Valachiae inferioris pars quae olim Bessarabia dicta fuit." Today Bessarabia comprises the territory bordered by the Pruth, the Dniester, and the Black Sea, covering an area of about 17,620 square miles.

At the opening of the nineteenth century Bessarabia was still under the domination of the Moldavian crown, but in 1812 Russia proposed to annex the whole of Moldavia as the price of her victories against the Turks. Napoleon, however, who was then preparing his great campaign against the Russians, urged the Turks not to conclude peace on that basis; and doubtless they would have continued to resist the Russians had it not been that Moruzzi, the Dragoman of the Porte, sold Napoleon's secret to the Russians, who then hastened to sign peace, contenting themselves with Bessarabia as the spoil of war. Thus the Rumanians of Bessarabia were severed from their kinsmen of the two Danubian Principalities; and the injustice was only partially repaired in the Crimean War in 1856, when the southern districts of Cahul, Ismail, and Bolgrad were restored to Rumania. But at the Berlin Congress (1878) Bismarck and Andrássy, in their anxiety to prevent a rapprochement between Russia and Rumania, prompted the Russian Government to lay hands upon Bessarabia once more—the land and home of the very Rumanian soldiers who had been fighting faithfully shoulder to shoulder with the Russians at Plevna.

After this annexation the commercial importance of Bessarabia waned, and her territory became an asylum for all kinds of political adventurers, strange religious sects, and the ragtag and bobtail of all East European nationalities. But beneath this frothy cosmopolitan surface the main current of Bessarabian life remained true, and never lost its essential Rumanian character. Despite all the efforts of the Russian Government to denationalize the population by the influence of the clergy, a bureaucracy, and an apostate nobility, the "Moldavians," as they call themselves, have clung tenaciously to their Rumanian nationality and have never forsaken the Rumanian language. Only in one or two cases, such as the great families of Purishkievitch and Krupenski, do we find any successful instance of this Russian policy of denationalization.

Throughout the nineteenth century Bessarabia retained her Rumanian character. In 1812, according to the reports of the Rumanian Academy in 1889, there were 350,000 Rumanians and 30,000 of other nationalities. Fifty years later an officer of the Russian General Staff, in a report on the Bessarabian Government, concluded that three-quarters of the whole population of the province were Rumanian. The Russian official statistics of 1890 and 1900 bear much the same witness, while an authentic and authoritative ethnographical chart published by the French historian, Rambaud, shows clearly that the Rumanians form an absolute majority of the population.

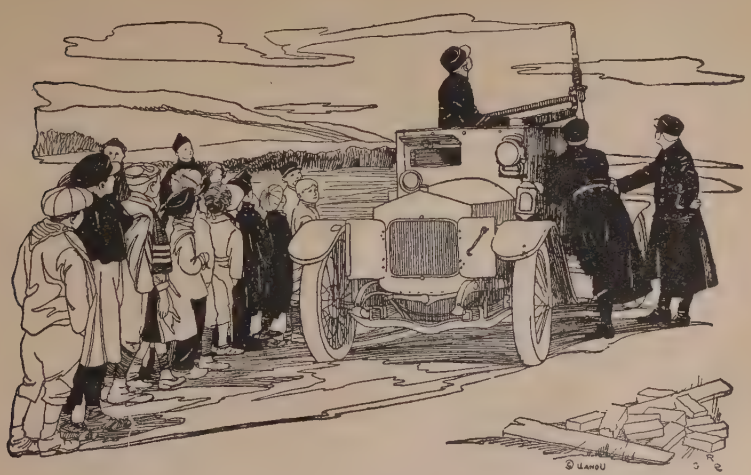
It is particularly important at this moment to remember that the Rumanian claim to Bessarabia rests on a firm foundation of history and upon the indisputable Rumanian character of the

present population. It is therefore unjust and untrue to say that Rumania receives the offer of Bessarabia from the blood-stained hand of Germany as compensation for the humiliating peace imposed upon her. Robbing Peter to pay Paul is not honest commerce; and no one who knows the facts can admit that it is only as a matter of grace that Rumania can be allowed to annex Bessarabia. Revolutionary Russia, at all events, has recognized the right of the Bessarabian population to choose their own destiny, and by the self-determination thus accorded to them they elected a national assembly, which, by eighty-six votes to three, asked for re-union with Rumania. Thus an old injustice has been undone by New Russia, while a new and even more flagrant wrong has been committed by Germany. When Rumania emerges from her present nightmare, we may well believe that she will turn to the free Russian people, emancipated both from tyranny and from anarchy, in the hope of finding with them a friendly and peaceful basis for a new international co-operation.

Pershing at the Tomb of Lafayette

By AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR

They knew they were fighting our war. As the months grew to years
Their men and their women had watched through their blood and their tears
For a sign that we knew, we who could not have come to be free
Without France, long ago. And at last from the threatening sea
The stars of our strength on the eyes of their weariness rose,
And he stood among them, the sorrow-strong hero we chose
To carry our flag to the tomb of that Frenchman whose name
A man of our country could once more pronounce without shame.
What crown of rich words would he set for all time on this day?
The past and the future were listening what he would say—
Only this, from the white-flaming heart of a passion austere,
Only this—ah, but France understood! "Lafayette, we are here."



Bombing Hospitals

Testimony of Army Chaplains—Description of the Horrors

The bombing of hospitals by German airplanes in Flanders and Northern France is established on unquestioned evidence. In every instance proof was furnished that the hospitals were conspicuously marked, and there could not have been any doubt of their character. Colonel G. H. Andrews, Chaplain of a Canadian regiment, who arrived in New York on June 28, 1918, after three years' service overseas, described a German air attack on a hospital which took place May 29, 1918.

THE building bombed was one of three large Red Cross hospitals at Boulenes and was filled with allied wounded. A hospital in which were a number of wounded German prisoners stood not very far away.

"The Germans could not possibly have mistaken the building they bombed for anything else but a hospital," said Colonel Andrews. "There were flags with a red cross flying, and lights were turned on them so that they would show prominently. And the windows were brilliantly lighted. Those inside heard the buzz of the advancing airplanes, but did not give them a thought.

"The machines came right on, ignoring the hospital with the German wounded, indicating they had full knowledge of their objective, until they were over a wing of the Red Cross hospital that contained the operating room on the ground floor. In the operating room a man was on the table for a most difficult surgical feat. Around him were gathered the staff of the hospital and its brilliant surgeons. Lieutenant Sage of New York had just given him the anaesthetic when one of the airplanes let the bomb drop. It was a big fellow. It must have been all of 250 pounds of high explosive.

WOUNDED FALL THROUGH FLOORS

"It hurtled downward, carrying the two floors before it. Through the gap thus made wounded men, the beds in which they lay, convalescents, and all on the floors came crashing down to the ground. The bomb's force extended itself to wreck the operating room, where the man on the table, Lieutenant Sage, and all in the room were killed. In all there were thirty-seven lives lost, including three Red Cross nurses.

"The building caught fire. The concussion had blown the stairs down, so that escape from the upper floors seemed impossible. But the convalescents and the soldiers, who had run to the scene of the bombing, let the very ill ones out of the windows, and escape was made that way.

"And then, to cap the climax, the German airplanes returned over the spot of their ghastly triumph and fired on the rescuers with machine guns. God will never forgive the Huns for that act alone. Nor will our comrades ever forget it."

The statement of Colonel Andrews was corroborated by a number of other officers.

DESCRIBED TO THE KING

The following first-hand account was given to King George of England by a Chaplain of the army on June 6, 1918, of an aerial attack upon a hospital in France by the Germans:

The hospital was a very large one, which received and evacuated something like 30,000 patients in thirty days. The particular section attacked was the Canadian section. The institution was situated near a railway and a small town, and while the Germans had a gun permanently trained on the town and had done much damage there, and had, moreover, consistently raided the neighborhood, the hospital had never previously been attacked, thus supplying proof positive that the nature of the place was well known, and that the German gunners and airmen had deliberately left it alone in accordance with the common practice of international law, the requirements of the Treaty of Berne, and the ordinary dictates of humanity.

The outrageous departure from this practice took place at about 12:30, (midnight.) Two machines appeared on the scene and

dropped three bombs. Two of the missiles fell on the outer wards, but one, a large incendiary bomb, fell plumb into the centre of the hospital, and caused a large conflagration. Forty-five nurses were in the hospital at the time, and all behaved with splendid heroism and self-sacrifice. An operation was actually in progress, and all concerned —surgeons, nurses, and patient—were killed.

On the second floor were a great many officers who were to have been evacuated two days later and to have gone home. Many fatalities occurred among them, and all the Sergeants on this floor were either killed or wounded. Three nurses and an American surgeon were among the killed, and many were badly maimed.

Although the fire lighted up the whole scene, one Hun machine returned and dropped two bombs, after which the enemy turned his machine gun upon the staff, nurses, and patients who were striving to get the occupants into the open.

During the attack the nurses steadfastly refused to take cover or avail themselves of such protection as would have been afforded by getting beneath the beds. On the contrary, they did their utmost to cheer and comfort the patients, gave them pillows with which to cover up their heads, and did for them everything that was possible. Even so, patients were killed or wounded, and many of these devoted women paid for their pluck and resource by cruel maiming from the brutal and deliberate savagery to which they were subjected.

PROTEST BY CONAN DOYLE

The following protest was issued in May by the author, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, against the bombing of hospitals:

It is our own nerveless policy which exposes us to the outrages of the Huns. They will do what they think they can do with impunity, and they will avoid that which entails punishment. When Miss Cavell was shot we should at once have shot our three leading prisoners. When Captain Fryatt was murdered we should have executed two submarine Captains. These are the arguments which the German mentality can understand. Two years ago you allowed me to plead in your columns for the bombing of the Rhine towns, and now, when at last it is partly done, we at once hear the cry for a truce in such warfare—the very result which I had predicted. But alas for the two wasted years! Now we have to deal with the bombing of hospitals. German prisoners should at once be picketed among the tents, and the airman captured should be shot, with a notice that such will be the fate of all airmen who are captured in such attempts. We have law and justice on our side. If they attempt a reprisal, then our own counter-reprisals must be sharp, stern, and relentless. If we are to have war to the knife then let it at least be equal for both parties.

ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE.

Windlesham, Crowborough, Sussex, May 24

PROTEST TO THE PRUSSIAN ORDER OF ST. JOHN

The Special Chapter of the Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem held a meeting at London May 14, 1918, the Duke of Connaught (Grand Prior) presiding, and resolved that the following communication be sent to the Grand Master of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg and members of the Johanniter Orden in Germany—which is the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Prussia—protesting against the sinking of hospital ships, the ill-treatment of sick and wounded prisoners of war, and continued breaches of the Geneva Convention:

14th May, 1918.

We, Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, Prince of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and the Knights of Justice, Knights of Grace, and other members of the said Order in Chapter-General solemnly assembled, desire to approach the most illustrious Grand Master of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, and the Knights of Justice, Knights of Honor, and other members of the Johanniter Orden, with regard to certain belligerent acts committed by the Imperial German Government during the present war, which appear to us to be opposed to the declarations, maxims, and professions of our ancient and illustrious Order of Christian Chivalry. Strongly imbued with the spirit of our order, we would beg of the noble members of the Johanniter Orden to petition his Imperial Majesty the German Emperor and exercise their influence with the Imperial German Government to prevent henceforth the sinking of hospital ships, to foster in all camps the humane treatment of sick and wounded prisoners of war, and to observe scrupulously all the provisions of the Geneva Convention. We regret to record our opinion that in these respects the Government of his Imperial Majesty has not always acted up to the ideals and laws of our Christian brotherhood. These objects are so much the purpose and goal for which our ancient order has continually striven that we appeal with the more confidence to its eminent members in Germany, in the hope and belief that they will unite with us in endeavoring to uphold our historic mottoes, " Pro Fide "

and "Pro Utilitate Hominum," and to maintain the highest standard of Christian generosity, chivalry, mercy, and honor.

To the Most Illustrious Grand Master of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg of the Johanniter Orden and Knights and Members of the Orden.

The communication is signed by the Duke of Connaught, (Grand Prior,) the Earl of Plymouth, (Sub-Prior,) Colonel Sir Herbert Jekyll, (Chancellor,) and the Right Hon. Evelyn Cecil, (Secretary General.)

HORRORS OF PRISON CAMPS

In the June number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *was printed a full extract of the report of Sir Robert Younger's committee on the treatment of British prisoners in German camps. Since that report was issued (April 11, 1918) other evidence of maltreatment of prisoners was obtained by the Government. The following are typical instances:*

One man, who was captured on the morning of March 28, 1918, was made to work for two hours, immediately after he was taken prisoner, serving a German field gun with ammunition and digging out a position for it under British fire. A witness was captured on March 21, 1918, and with about twenty others was taken to a German battery in action and made to carry shells and make a dump of them beside the road near Quéant. At Villers (near Cagnicourt) he was with a party, including warrant officers, N. C. O.'s, and men of the R. A. M. C., who were made to work on roads and light railways. If they did not work hard for eight hours a day they were knocked about with rifle butts or sticks. After a week at Villers they were marched to Ecourt (five miles from the front line) and put in a cage which was within range of the British guns. Here they worked under shell fire and the treatment was worse than they had previously experienced. The witness saw four men set to carry a marquee—a six-man job. Owing to the weight and the state of the ground they fell, whereupon a German Corporal and another man hit them with sticks. One man was thrashed till he lay on the ground groaning. One working party had a Corporal killed and three men wounded by shell fire.

BEATEN, STARVED, AND UNDER FIRE

A third man reports that after being captured with ten others after dusk on March 24, 1918, they were questioned and marched from place to place for a long time, and he adds: "We were under artillery fire when we rested. This was about 1 P. M. on the 26th, and we had had no food since we were captured on the 24th, and nothing to drink except shell-hole water." This was their fate till dusk, when they tried to escape. One was shot, but the witness arrived in the British lines about 1 o'clock on the afternoon of the 27th. Since dusk on the 24th he had been given no food at all and had had only three hours' sleep.

Another witness says: "I met one man who had been working behind the German lines. He said they were very badly treated * * * many died of weakness. When fresh batches were captured the Germans kept them working in the lines instead of sending them to the registered camps. Either this man or another that I met told me that a man died in his hut and his body was there three days before it was removed."

Further testimony: "Four of our prisoners were brought to Meschede while I was there who had been working behind the German lines. It was pitiful to see them; they were nothing but skin and bone. We could hardly recognize them as Englishmen. * * * They were in a terrible state." Though noncombatants, two men of the R. A. M. C. were made by the Germans to work in labor companies at Sagnicourt, Rumancourt, and Ecoust. One was hit in the back with the butt of a rifle by the guard. He saw two men knocked down and one who fainted from weakness, due to overwork and underfeeding.

Another witness was placed in one of the four prisoners' cages outside Cagnicourt, (about eight miles from the firing line.) "There was," he says, "no shelter for two days, and the Germans then put up two huts, which accommodated about 400, sitting down between each other's knees. There were 1,200 in the camp. After being captured they got no food for twenty-four hours." He was told that 200 prisoners had gone to hospital with dysentery, and on the morning he escaped 400 were reported sick.

The new British type of tank, which is much faster and lighter than the original model. It is known as the "whippet"
(*British Official from Underwood*)

Armored man-power tank, used by the French, for cutting barbed wire entanglements
(*Inter. Film Service*)

PANORAMIC VIEW OF CAMP JACKSON, NEAR COLUMBIA, S. C.

(Photo, Sargeant)

Belgian Courts Superseded

All Civil Trials in Flanders Conducted by German Judges in the German Language

[OFFICIAL]

The following account of the arbitrary measures taken by the German authorities in occupied Belgium in matters relating to courts of justice was issued by the Belgian Government in June, 1918:

EVER since the beginning of the invasion the Belgian court, conscious of its high social mission and of the duties which it entails, has never ceased to render justice with complete independence in spite of the difficulties created by the enemy occupation and the rigorous measures taken by the German authorities at the instance of several of its members.

This situation has come to an end; German jurisdiction has been established in Belgium, following upon acts which constitute on the part of the occupying authority an interference in the exercise of the judiciary power, a blow at its independence, and a flagrant disregard of the provinces of the Fourth Hague Convention, signed by Germany.

Guarantees of independence had been solemnly given to the Belgian court by the chief of the German administration, who in a letter dated March 21, 1916, addressed to the Court of Cassation in the name of Governor General von Bissing, wrote as follows:

> Any fears which might be entertained in the Belgian court as to the danger to which it was exposed by the German administration—in regard to the independence of the Judge in the exercise of justice, which independence has been guaranteed by the Constitution as well as by the law of nations—are quite without foundation.

As was set forth by M. Terlinden, Procurator General, at the Court of Cassation of Belgium, in his charge Feb. 11, 1918, the Court of Appeals of Brussels was convoked on Feb. 7, in joint session of all the chambers, on the initiative of two of its members, to consider certain acts, discourses, and denunciations emanating from a group of persons, all of Belgian nationality, which took the title of "Raad van Vlanderen," and which had decreed the independence and autonomy of one part of the Belgian territory. Referring to Article 11 of the law of April 20, 1810, it summoned the Procurator General to cause a search to be made and to seize the authors, coauthors, and accomplices of the acts denounced in conformity with Articles 104, 105, and 110 of the Penal Code, 2 and 3 of the decree of July 20, 1831, and 1 of the law of March 25, 1891.

The next day, Feb. 8, a Counselor of Justice in uniform, alleging that he was acting in the name of the German Governor General, seized the memorandum of this meeting in the Palace of Justice in the private office of the Procurator General, and set at liberty Borms and Tack, arrested that same morning by the presiding Justice.

The next day, Feb. 9, toward evening, the German police arrested at their homes the Judges, Lovy-Morelle, Jamar, Ernst, and Carez, who were interned in the camp of Celle Schloss in Germany. Mr. Jamar, because of the condition of his health, was almost immediately given his liberty.

On Feb. 10 the German authority announced to the Counselors of the Court of Appeals of Brussels that in participating at the meeting of Feb. 7 they had associated themselves with a political manifestation, and that as a consequence it forbade them any further practice of their profession.

On Feb. 11, after having listened to the charge of the Procurator General, Terlinden, the Court of Cassation recalled that the Court of Appeals, sitting in accordance with Article 11 of the law of April 20, 1810, had confined itself to charging its Procurator General to pur-

sue offenders against Belgian nationality under laws still in force, which no decree of the occupying enemy had deprived of their validity; it declared further that the interference of the governing authority was not compatible with the absolute independence of judicial functions nor with the laws which still govern them.

It added that, above all, the arrest of Messrs. Levy-Morelle, Ernst, and Carez, and the suspension of the Counselors of the Brussels Court of Appeals for legally performing their functions of judicature were in direct opposition to the fundamental rules of the law of nations and with the solemn promises made to the court by the Government of the occupying authority; that they constituted a denial of the complete liberty and independence of the Judge in the exercise of his duties, depriving his decisions of the authority which ought to be inherent in judgments.

The Court of Cassation announced as a consequence that, without abdicating its functions, it would suspend its hearings. On Feb. 12 the civil tribunal of the first instance in Brussels, considering especially that, according to the Constitution and laws of the Belgian people, it could exercise its functions only conjointly with the Court of Appeals of the same city, unanimously decided to suspend its activity without abdicating its functions. The commercial tribunal of Brussels declared itself in the same sense in a general assembly on Feb. 13. Successively, the judiciary bodies of the whole country adopted the same line of conduct.

All the attempts made by neutral powers to induce the German authorities to recall the measures taken in regard to the Belgian magistrates—who had done nothing but carry out the obligations which inhered in their position—were in vain.

Under the fallacious pretext of assuring the maintenance of public order and security by the application of Article 43 of The Hague Convention, which he had violated so brazenly, the Governor General in Belgium published on March 26, 1918, a notice announcing the creation of German tribunals: "Until these tribu-" nals enter upon their duties," he added, " the military commandants are charged " with the duty of repressing crimes and " delinquencies according to Section 18, " third paragraph, of the 'Kaiserliche " Verordnung' of Dec. 28, 1899."

A few days later an ordinance dated April 7 appointed German tribunals for repressive measures. According to its terms repressive justice is to be rendered in Belgium by imperial district courts with no duties but to administer the law, (Article 1.) The judiciary language is German, (Article 6;) these tribunals will apply the Penal Code in force in Belgium, and in all cases they will adjudge only such penalties as are listed in the Penal Code of the German Empire, (Article 11.) The procedure will be regulated as to its principles by the code of criminal law for the German Empire, (Article 14.) The decisions rendered are not subject to appeal, (Article 15.)

An ordinance bearing the same date created German tribunals for civil matters. According to this ordinance civil justice will be rendered in the first instance by the imperial district courts; in the second instance by the superior imperial court. Tribunals for arbitration may not be instituted except with the authorization of the chief of the civil administration, (Article 1;) the judiciary language is German, (Article 6.) These tribunals will consider only cases in which the parties, whether as plaintiff or defendant, appellant or witness, guarantee (a) one who is under German jurisdiction, one who is under the jurisdiction of one of the countries allied to the German Empire or of a neutral State; (b) a sequestrated German, (Article 10.) The convention which is to be the basis of debate will determine the legislation which the tribunal must apply, (Article 15.) The forms of procedure are in principle those of the code of civil procedure of the German Empire, (Article 16.) Any judgment capable of execution in Germany is likewise capable of it in Belgium, (Article 19.)

Thus, in spite of Article 43 of the rules annexed to the Fourth Convention at The

Hague, foreign jurisdictions are established in Belgium in opposition to the laws and the traditions of the country. The occupant, as a deterrent measure, causes the courts of assizes to disappear; also the guarantee of a double degree of jurisdiction, and of appeal in cassation in case of a violation of the law. Disregarding the most elementary rights of appellants, it prescribes that, throughout the country in the districts where Flemish is the language of intercourse, as well as in those in which French is the language, the judiciary language is to be German. It subjects Belgian citizens to penalties prescribed by the German Penal Code; it regulates the procedure in conformity with German codes.

In civil cases it fixes the competence of these tribunals exclusively where the litigants are under German jurisdiction or under that of a German ally or a neutral State as plaintiff or defendant, or a third party. It concerns itself only with the interests of a subject of the German Empire and of its allies. It subjects the Belgians dragged before these tribunals to a German procedure, regulated by German legislation. In rendering decisions on Belgian territory under forms legal in Germany it again violates a principle of international law already contravened by the ordinance of June 16, 1915. Belgian sovereignty has not disappeared by the fact of the occupation. Foreign decisions can have no legal force unless they conform to the legislation of the country where they are to be carried out.

The Government of the King considers that it is its duty to protest against the measures which have been taken by the occupying authority in regard to the judiciary bodies of Belgium, against the deportation of Belgian magistrates to Germany, against the setting up of foreign jurisdictions under conditions which constitute a flagrant violation, especially serious, of international conventions, and against the application of German laws in Belgium. It also believes that it is its duty to call the attention of the neutral States to the fact that the decisions rendered by the German courts established in Belgium in repressive or in civil matters cannot in accordance with the laws of nations serve as a basis for a single act of procedure or of execution abroad.

Worldwide Celebration of July 4

Many Nations, Including Great Britain, Observe American Independence Day

To a degree entirely unprecedented, the allied and neutral nations of both hemispheres in 1918 celebrated the Fourth of July as a holiday, thus tendering a friendly tribute to the United States in recognition of its unselfish part in the war. Great Britain, the nation for which the day might be supposed to have the least pleasant associations, celebrated it with a wholeheartedness seldom shown for its own national festivals. All over France the Stars and Stripes waved with the Tricolor, and Paris observed the day as earnestly as any American city. Throughout Algeria and the African provinces of France the Fourth was made a holiday and the American colors waved amid the tropical foliage. All South America celebrated the day in an unprecedented manner, and it was proclaimed a national holiday in Brazil, Uruguay, and Peru. Australia sent messages of fraternal esteem, and the Ambassador from Japan delivered a speech in which he said: "We trust you, we love you, and, if you will let us, we will walk at your side in loyal good-fellowship down all the coming years."

In London American flags were everywhere in evidence—and so were American soldiers and sailors. The bells of St. Paul's rang a greeting to flags and men, and special celebrations of holy com-

munion were held throughout the diocese of London in honor of the day. The Stars and Stripes flew alongside the Union Jack from the Victoria Tower at Westminster, from the Prime Minister's residence in Downing Street, and from the principal Government offices.

Premier Lloyd George sent the following message of felicitation to General Pershing:

> We join with our whole heart in your Fourth of July celebrations. Once a bitter memory, we now know that the events to which you dedicate these rejoicings forced the British Empire back to the path of freedom from which in a moment of evil counsel it had departed.
>
> The entry of the United States Army into this great struggle for human liberty, side by side with the Allies, is sure proof that the mistakes and misunderstandings which formerly estranged our two countries are being transformed into a genuine friendship in the fiery furnace of common sacrifice.

HISTORIC MEETING

The chief function of the day in London was the Anglo-Saxon fellowship meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, under the shadow of the historic Abbey and close to Parliament House. Americans and British together filled the great hall to the doors to proclaim their unity of sentiment and resolution. The Stars and Stripes were everywhere, and copies of President Wilson's speech at the opening of Congress last year were distributed as "a new declaration of freedom, a charter for humanity and world peace." The band of the Coldstream Guards played American airs, and cheers broke out as men known on both sides of the Atlantic took their places on the platform. Viscount Bryce presided and Winston Spencer Churchill was the chief orator. The American speakers were George Haven Putnam, Professor Canby of Yale, General Biddle, and Admiral Sims. Viscount Bryce said in his speech:

> For many a year, today was celebrated in the United States with hostility and defiance. By us in Britain it was remembered with sorrow as marking the severance of precious ties. And now, after 142 years, it is being celebrated by both peoples with like enthusiasm—by the children of those who revolted against the British Crown, as by the children of those who sadly admitted the loss of one of that Crown's choicest jewels. What has been a day of anger on one side and grief on the other has become for both a day of affection and rejoicing.

Englishmen, he remarked, scarcely yet realized the new departure that America took when she entered the war. He continued:

> The New World has come to redress the balance of the Old. Its fresh and fiery spirit has the promise of victory. This spirit, this zeal to serve the cause of right, this sense of common duty and common purpose, these perils which the American and British soldiers—citizen armies drawn from the people—are facing side by side—all this has brought Great Britain and America closer than ever they were under one Government before that far-off day of independence which we are celebrating here.
>
> Now, these things will be the surest pledge of affection and co-operation in the future stretching before us as far as human thought can reach. Britain and America, to quote and adapt the famous words of Pitt, have altogether led the world of freedom by their example. Together they will save it, will save it for freedom by their exertions.

CHURCHILL'S TRIBUTE

Winston Spencer Churchill, Minister of Munitions, said:

> Great harmony exists between the spirit and language of the Declaration of Independence and all we are fighting for now. The Declaration is not only an American document. By it we lost an empire, but by it we also saved the empire. By applying its principles and learning its lessons we preserved our communion with the powerful Commonwealth our children established beyond the seas. * * *
>
> We desire to express to our American kith and kin our joy and gratitude for the mighty aid they are bringing to the allied cause. When we have seen the splendor of American manhood striding forward along the roads of France and Flanders we have experienced an emotion that words cannot describe. * * *
>
> I am persuaded that the finest and worthiest moment of British history was reached on the night we declared war upon Germany. Like the people of the United States, we entered the war without counting the cost or thought of reward. The cost will be in the end far more terrible than the darkest expectation, but the reward that is coming is beyond our dearest hopes.
>
> What is the reward? Deep in the hearts of the people of these islands is the desire to be truly reconciled to their kindred across the Atlantic, to blot out the re-

proaches and redeem the blunders of a bygone age and dwell once more in spirit with them. That was the heart's desire which seemed utterly unattainable, but which has been granted.

Be the years of the struggle never so long, never so cruel, that will make amends for all. That is Great Britain's reward. The presence at this moment in Europe of a million American soldiers, awaiting side by side with their French and British comrades the utmost fury of the common enemy, is an event that seems to transcend the limits of purely mundane things and fills us with the deepest awe.

ROYALTY SEES BASEBALL

In the afternoon there was a baseball game at the Stamford Bridge grounds between the army and navy, the first at which royalty was officially present. King George, Queen Alexandra, and Princess Mary were ushered quietly into the royal box by Admiral Sims and were in their seats before the navy enthusiasts near by had realized it. Then their irregular shouts broke into a measured chant of "What's the matter with King George? He's all right!" The King heard it, knew that it was a true democratic welcome, and flushed with pleasure. Later he appeared on the diamond and was the centre of a cheering crowd.

The Dean of Westminster and the Archbishop of Canterbury conducted special service in honor of American Independence Day, and the evening was crowded with entertainments. As in London, so in all the chief cities of England the day was observed with special exercises. Both Oxford and Cambridge paid friendly tribute with the aid of American military forces. Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield made much of the day, and there were special observances at Stratford-on-Avon, Plymouth, Bristol, and other places of historic interest to Americans.

The newspapers of the United Kingdom were filled with matter relating to these unprecedented celebrations, with cordial interchanges of sentiment by officials and prominent men of both nations, and with the record of our effort in the war. America's disinterested entry into the struggle, the thoroughness of her preparations, the speedy and successful transportation of 1,000,000 soldiers, and the valuable co-operation of the navy were prominent editorial topics of the day. The historic change in American and British relations was commented upon with special emphasis as a foundation for a lasting and true friendship between the two peoples.

HONORED BY FRANCE

American Independence Day was celebrated throughout France, from the little villages of Lorraine and the Vosges, where French children joined American soldiers in honoring the Stars and Stripes, to the streets of Paris, where millions turned out to celebrate as almost never before in the city's history. [Ten days later the United States reciprocated with an unprecedented celebration of Bastile Day.]

President Poincaré sent the following message to President Wilson:

The Government of the Republic, at one with all the national representatives and the whole country, ordained that tomorrow, the Independence Day of the United States, shall also be a French holiday. Paris will give your glorious name to one of its handsomest avenues and acclaim to the skies the parade of the valiant American soldier. In every department, in every town, large and small, these manifestations of fraternity will be echoed.

Two peoples in communion of thought will, one and all, remember the fights of old that won liberty for America and hope for the forthcoming victories which will secure for the world a just and fruitful peace based on the law of nations and fortified by the approval of human conscience.

Permit me, Mr. President, cordially to extend to you on the eve of that great day of union and confidence the wishes and felicitations of France for the United States and yourself.

President Wilson replied:

With a full heart I welcome your message of congratulation upon the American day of independence. It is fitting that this glorious anniversary should witness the fraternity of free peoples in the cause of national self-determination. The happy fruitage of the ancient association of our lands in the common cause of liberty is today fitly seen in the union of our countries in the splendid task of upholding their rights in the face of barbaric aggression.

My countrymen are alike gratified and filled with pride at the tribute of brother-

ly affection which the French people are offering them so generously at every point of intercourse. I most hopefully reciprocate your prayerful wish that this may all presage the ultimate triumph of the rights of France and America not only, but also the rights of humanity.

CELEBRATION IN PARIS

The notable event in the morning in Paris was the ceremony opening the newly dedicated Avenue du President Wilson, (formerly the Avenue du Trocadero.) This took place in the presence of President Poincaré and an immense throng. Speeches were delivered by the President of the Municipal Council, the President of the Senate, Antonin Dubost; the President of the Chamber of Deputies, Paul Deschanel, as well as Stephen Pichon, the Foreign Minister, and William G. Sharp, the American Ambassador. The speakers dwelt upon the significance of the intervention of America in the war and of the unity established among the Allies.

Enthusiasm reached a climax when several thousand American and French soldiers marched through the newly dedicated avenue and on down through famous streets to the Strasbourg Monument in the Place de la Concorde. Crowds of people that jammed every available inch of space and every window in the buildings along the line of march, on roofs, and even in trees, cheered themselves hoarse as company after company of khaki-clad Americans swung past to the stirring tunes played by a double band. The enthusiasm became uncontrollable when the regiments came into view, for the exploits of the Americans in their recent offensive on the Marne front had endeared them to the French.

LORD DERBY'S BON MOT

There was an impressive scene at the luncheon of the American Chamber of Commerce when the Earl of Derby, the British Ambassador, and William G. Sharp, the American Ambassador, clasped hands in celebration of America's Independence Day. It was the first time since the United States became a nation that the British Ambassador had attended a commemoration of the event. "Even if we had not been allies," said Lord Derby in commenting on his appearance at the function, "I should have come."

Ambassador Sharp thanked France briefly for the great manifestation in honor of Independence Day, and continued:

> Lord Derby, representing England, has broken an unwritten rule which has lasted from time immemorial with respect to an English Ambassador attending the celebration of our independence. I congratulate him. I congratulate the great country which he represents. It is in keeping with the British spirit of fairness. We know now why England is so great. I welcome Lord Derby here in the name of America.

The audience arose, cheering Lord Derby and shouting for a speech. The Ambassador demurred at first, but the cheers would not down. Finally he said:

> I had always thought that America meant fair play, but it is hardly fair to call on me on such short notice to reply to such an eloquent tribute as has been paid me by Ambassador Sharp. As in the days of my youth a teacher spanked me, saying, "You will thank me later for this," I say now that I wish to thank America for the best licking we ever got. It has done us both a lot of good. We are grateful to you because that licking taught us how to treat our children; it is the reason why we now have Australia and Canada, and even South Africa, fighting beside us today.

ELSEWHERE IN FRANCE

Great enthusiasm marked the celebration in Nice. All the shops were closed, as is usual on the occasion of a national fête, and the Stars and Stripes, entwined with French flags, fluttered in the Mediterranean breeze. The city assumed the holiday spirit of the days long since forgotten—the happy days of peace. A popular concert was given in the public gardens, the audience numbering many thousands. A solemn high mass was held in the American church. This was followed by the blessing of an American flag presented to the American Army by the citizens of Nice.

The City of Marseilles changed the name of its largest dock to "Bassin Président Wilson" as part of its celebration of the day.

In French villages where there were

Americans the French soldiers and civilians joined them in celebrating the Fourth and making it the holiday of both nations. Civil and military buildings, business places, and private residences were decorated with American and French flags and the colors of the other Allies. Children in the streets waved small flags in honor of the Americans, many of the boys and girls throwing wild flowers at passing American automobiles and motor trucks. Hundreds of French automobiles moving back and forth at the fronts were adorned with American and French flags.

Many villages were enlivened by athletic games, participated in by American soldiers, while impressive ceremonies were held at some of the army posts. Women and children living in the vicinity of American cemeteries covered the graves of America's dead with fresh flowers.

One of the impressive sights along the country roads was that of groups of children parading and hurrahing with American, French, British, and Italian flags. French and American hospitals were decorated and occasional ambulances, bearing a few wounded, were cheered along the roadways, girls throwing kisses and wild flowers.

BELGIUM'S MESSAGES

As a part of the Belgian celebration of American Independence Day, the Stars and Stripes were raised over the free corner of Belgium in the presence of high Government officials and units of the Belgian Army. King Albert sent this message to President Wilson:

> On the occasion of the memorable anniversary occurring on the Fourth of July, I wish to thank once more the great American Nation for its untiring efforts toward ameliorating the unfortunate condition of my fellow-countrymen and to express to it my admiration for the bravery displayed by its great army on the battlefields of France. Be pleased, Mr. President, to accept the ardent wishes I make for the greatness and prosperity of the United States of America.

The determination of President Wilson not to "finish the war before seeing Belgium restored to the plenitude of her rights and her liberties" was the Independence Day message delivered to the Belgian people at Havre by Brand Whitlock, the American Minister. The societies of Havre addressed the Minister with these eloquent words:

> Toward President Wilson, toward the citizens of the United States, goes up the greatest hymn that human gratitude can breathe. Every day we see your fine American soldiers marching toward the battlefeld, where our fates will be decided. At sight of them so grave and calm, defying death for the salvation and fraternity of the world, we are profoundly moved. Tell them that the tombs of your dead will be altars before which our children will kneel to learn the most sublime lesson which a great people has given to the world in rising as one man for the defense of justice.

The Belgian Minister of War sent the following telegram to General Pershing:

> On this memorable day I send you the cordial greetings and respectful sympathy of the Belgian Army, which associates itself with your national fête with elan and fervor. On this occasion detachments of all arms defiled before the American colors floating over the Flanders plain. All hearts are united in the same wish—success to the allied armies—and look forward to the glorious day when your troops, in their turn, will defile before our tri-colored flag hoisted in our reconquered cities.

IN ITALY—ALSO AFRICA

Across the Mediterranean in Northern Africa the Fourth of July was celebrated throughout Algeria and the French colonial possessions. In Algiers on the evening of the 3d there was a torchlight procession of all the troops in the garrison, with regimental bands playing American airs. A reproduction of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty was set up in one of the large squares. On the Fourth the Governor General reviewed the troops and, with other notables, paid a formal visit to the American Consul General. The day was observed as a complete holiday, and the American Consul reported that the celebration was an unprecedented homage to a foreign nation. Similar exercises took place at Tangier.

The celebration of the Fourth of July throughout Italy surpassed all expectations and was described by those who

saw it as the greatest manifestation of friendship and affection ever offered to any foreign country. In Rome many speeches were delivered from the Victor Emmanuel Monument by prominent men before the highest State officials and a vast crowd. The smaller cities and even the villages vied with each other in showing esteem for America. At Ancona a reception was given in the Town Hall and the city inaugurated a new avenue named after President Wilson. Gabriele d'Annunzio wrote an ode "To America in Arms" for the Fourth of July, containing the expression, "No more shall we divide with the brute the earth's bread." From all parts of Italy civic authorities, associations, and individuals sent messages to the American Ambassador, Thomas Nelson Page, expressing fraternal greetings and kindly sentiments for Italy's ally across the sea.

At noon Ambassador Page in Rome received a deputation of citizens from the Italian provinces still subject to Austria, who set forth the claims of their provinces to be reunited with the Italian mother country and expressed the hope that President Wilson would espouse their cause. The Ambassador replied that he would convey their wishes to the President.

Numerous processions marched through the city bearing mediaeval and heraldic devices, recalling the glories of each war. Prince Colonna, Mayor of Rome, delivered an address, greeting America in the name of Rome. Senator Ruffini, for the Italo-American Union, said: "President Wilson will remain in history as the most glorious champion of the fraternity of man."

King Victor Emmanuel sent the following message to President Wilson (and received a cordial reply):

> Even in proclaiming their independence the American people affirmed that their mission in the world was one of liberty and justice. They have nobly kept faith with that supreme ideal, always and more than ever in this ruthless conflict of all the nations, by spontaneously intervening in the defense of right and against violence. Wherefore this anniversary is today celebrated by all the free peoples, as if it were their own gladsome holiday, as a rite portending the victory of liberty and justice.
>
> Italy, unshakable in her resolution to bear and do everything in the great common cause, sends to the people of the United States her expressions of brotherly sympathy at the very moment when she enthusiastically and proudly welcomes the sons of America who have come to fight by the side of her own sons. To you, Mr. President, who with enlightened wisdom and unswerving decision worthily preside over the destinies of your great nation, I am glad to manifest those sentiments, those purposes, and that confidence of the Italian people.

Florence conferred the freedom of the city on President Wilson. The exercises were witnessed by an enormous part of the population of Florence, as well as many people from neighboring cities. The Mayor read from a parchment granting citizenship to the American President, and Peter Jay, Counselor of the American Embassy at Rome, representing Ambassador Page, expressed the thanks of the United States.

Ambassador Page addressed the following message to the Italian people:

> It is absolutely impossible completely to express to Italy and its people how deeply we Americans appreciate Italy's commemoration of Independence Day, the enthusiasm of which could not be surpassed in the United States.
>
> As the representative of President Wilson and the American people, I must, however, express their satisfaction and mine at such a fine manifestation. Every American will be touched by its sincerity and will interpret it as evidence of a solidarity which guarantees the triumph of our sacred common cause.
>
> May the ideal nobly expressed by President Wilson soon find its realization, to which the sacrifices, courage, and devotion of Italy will have contributed.

MESSAGES FROM GREECE

Both King Alexander of Greece and Premier Venizelos honored our Independence Day by sending cordial messages to the President. The King's was as follows:

> On this memorable day, on which the great Republic celebrates the anniversary of its independence, I join the Hellenic peoples in expressing to you, Mr. President, and to the American Nation, my cordial felicitations and the ardent wishes I make for the happiness and prosperity of the American people. The Republic's participation in the world war constitutes all the more valuable a factor in the allied struggle, as it has for its sole aim the defense of the imprescriptible rights

of the oppressed peoples and the restitution of their spoliated property.

This was Premier Venizelos's message:

Mr. President, on this day, in which the great American Nation celebrates the proclamation of its independence, I wish to pay homage to the United States of America, which, finding in the principle in whose name it had achieved its Revolution a command to crush the arrogance of a power that spurned all law and humane sentiments, that aimed to force despotism upon the world, has in a magnificent effort thrown into the world conflict all its physical and moral forces. So the United States nobly took the position of a belligerent and, with admirable unanimity and dash, succeeded in organizing the valiant troops that are now fighting in defense of the French land. Greece is tensely watching their success, for a peace will spring from the defeat of Germany that will rest on the respect of all rights. I also salute with respectful admiration him who successfully led his country in the path of duty and of sacrifice for the liberties of mankind.

President Wilson's response was:

Your message of congratulation on America's natal day of freedom comes to blend the glorious traditions of our own struggle to conserve for our own lan and people the priceless heritage of freedom with the splendid history of the great Greek people, whose indomitable aspirations for national self-government have reawakened and inspired their sons from of old to renewed endeavor in the great work of worldwide regeneration and enfranchisement. It is fitting that Greeks and Americans should stand side by side and strive for the triumph of their common cause, to the end that the spirit of freedom shall not perish among them. In the name of the Government and people of America I extend the hand of fellowship to your land and its people.

IN SOUTH AMERICA

The Fourth of July was celebrated throughout South America to an unprecedented extent. The day had been declared a national holiday by Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay, and it was observed as fully as their own independence days. The streets of Rio de Janeiro were decorated and there was a parade of Brazilian naval, military, and volunteer forces during the afternoon and a torchlight procession in the evening. All the newspapers published sympathetic articles appreciative of President Wilson and America's fight for democracy.

The Argentine Government gave special permission for the display of the American flag, and a dispatch from Buenos Aires stated that the business district of the city was displaying more of these flags than were usually to be seen in peace times in American cities on the Fourth of July. All the provinces of Chile observed the American anniversary with enthusiasm. Chilean newspapers without exception paid cordial tributes to the position taken by the United States in the war and to the progress made since entering the conflict. Venezuela and other South American States sent greetings.

Mexico celebrated the day with elaborate exercises in Mexico City, attended by Government officials and a large number of Mexican Army officers in uniform. All stores except those of Germans were closed. A telegram from Saltillo, Mexico, announced that the same was true of that city. President Carranza sent this message to President Wilson:

It is very gratifying to me to send your Excellency and the American people on this glorious anniversary that you are today celebrating the most cordial congratulations from the Mexican people and Government. At the same time I am pleased to express to your Excellency my most sincere, strong wishes for the prosperity of the United States, wishing that peace and justice will reign soon forever in both continents.

President Menocal of Cuba sent this greeting to the President of the United States:

I send to your Excellency my most cordial congratulations on the occasion of the Fourth of July, always a glorious day for all the free peoples, but now more revered than ever for its significance in the supreme conflict which is to decide the future of liberty and democracy in the world. I take pleasure in informing your Excellency that it has afforded me patriotic satisfaction to approve the law enacted by the Congress which makes the Fourth of July a holiday in Cuba.

CANADA AND AUSTRALIA

Canada gave various marks of recognition to our Independence Day, and Toronto for the first time in its history raised the Stars and Stripes over its City Hall.

Among the cablegrams that poured into the State Department at Washing-

ton from all parts of the world—except those under German control—was the following from the Commonwealth of Australia, communicated through Mr. Balfour and Lord Reading:

> Australia warmly greets America on its natal day. It notes with pride and gratitude that although only fourteen months have elapsed since the memorable declaration of war by the peace-loving, non-military United States against the enemies of civilization and small nations the brave armies and illimitable resources of the great English-speaking democracy are already a powerful factor in the world fateful struggle against militarism; springing from common family stock, Australia looks to the day when America will clasp hands across the ocean with Australia as a brother, thus making real the family tie and securing the destiny of the liberty-loving peoples of the Pacific.

Similar telegrams came from the Mayor and Council of Brisbane, Australia, and from the Governor of West Australia.

PARADE OF NATIONALITIES

A wonderful epitome of this worldwide appreciation of American ideals was afforded by the pageant parade of Independence Day in New York City, arranged by the Mayor's Committee of National Defense as a demonstration of the loyalty of Americans of foreign birth. More than forty nationalities were represented in the unique parade and pageant of floats that swept up Fifth Avenue unceasingly for ten hours. Estimates of the number of marchers agreed on a minimum of about 75,000. The first division presented a complete picture of the war activities of the nation; the second, the division of nationalities, was a picture of the nation itself, infinite in its variety, yet one in its unity of devotion to democratic ideals. The crackle of the wireless and the roar of twenty-two airplanes in squadron formation in the sky above added the last touch of modernity.

Regarded purely as a pageant, the parade was remarkable in bringing out a greater variety of display of national spirit and national costume than the city had ever seen before. Many of these displays were a surprise. The brilliant pagentry of the Slav races had been to some extent anticipated, but what had not been expected, by the public, at least, were the remarkable exhibitions put forward by Armenia, Syria, Switzerland, Spain, Venezuela, and other nations whose floats and marchers were on a plane of artistic effect seldom found in a street parade.

There were men and women of the white, the black, the brown, and the yellow races. In the serried ranks that tramped to the rhythm of American music from early morn until the dusk of evening were mustered Jew and Gentile, Mohammedan, Confucian and Buddhist; Christians of the Roman and the Greek orthodoxies, followers of the religious dogmas of Calvin, Wesley, Martin Luther, Swedenborg, Roger Williams, Billy Sunday, and those of no religion at all.

There were men of wealth and men of poverty, men famous and men obscure. But, one and all, they paid homage to the land, whether of their birth or their adoption, which was the first to declare that "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

The World's Independence Day

By SIR HALL CAINE

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SEVEN score years ago the American people brought forth on their great continent a nation consecrated to liberty and dedicated to the principle that all men were created equal. Then they had many enemies, and only one friend. Now they have many friends, and only one enemy. Then they were a little handful among the peoples of the earth. Now they are a hundred millions, and their mighty country is the half brother of the world, and today

their kindred, as represented by the sovereigns and statesmen, the soldiers and sailors, the speakers and teachers and writers of many lands, are stretching hands to them from across the sea.

Why are they doing so? Because the principle on which the American Nation was founded has been found to be true, and has prevailed because the nation so founded has passed through times of fierce testing and has endured, first, her time of separation from the motherland from which she sprang, when ties had been broken which might never be renewed, then her time of civil war with its million of dead, (all her own dead,) when friend was against friend, brother against brother, and father against son, and now her time of tragic choice between peaceful security on her own continent and the perilous call of justice and humanity on ours.

America came into the war two years after it began. The first intoxication of the war fever had not touched her. The delirious exaltation earlier had left her cold. She had watched the struggle in the Old World and seen the bitter fruits of it. She knew how the nations of Europe had suffered and how the iron had entered into our souls. She had no illusion about the bloody business upon which she was embarking, no mistaken estimate of the price she would have to pay, and yet she came in calmly, deliberately, without qualm or fear.

Why did she come in? She had no old score to settle, no bad peace to readjust, no territorial or economic advantage to gain. Autocracies may go to war for a little earth, but democracies have only the lives, honor, and welfare of their subjects to fight for, and American subjects on their far-off shores were secure. But liberty had been violated, civilization had been outraged, the right had been wronged, the weak had been oppressed, the helpless had been injured, and before the iron arm of a merciless tyranny justice and mercy and charity and humanity were being wiped out of the world.

If America was to be true to the principle to which she had consecrated her State, she had to resist these crimes. Not to resist them was to become accessory before the fact to them. Therefore, America had to fight or the spirit on which she had founded her own nation had to die.

Only for a little while did she hesitate about her duty to step beyond the limits of her own continent. Moral law knows nothing about frontiers. The boundaries of the human heart are wider than the widest empire.

At the foot of Calvary there is only one country. The cause of liberty, of justice, and of mercy is the cause of humanity. A wrong done to the least of nations is a wrong done to all. So America could not shrink in the face of her right and of her duty.

"A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity." On the common ground of adversity America is now standing by the side of all that is highest and best among the free nations of Europe. In that fact and in its sequel lies the supreme spiritual compensation of this awful war.

Again and again in the agony of our sorrow and loss and deep unfathomable mystery of it we have cried out of our bruised and wounded hearts, "What is God doing in this world of His children?"

But now we see. In His inscrutable way He is healing all the old wounds of the nations. He is drawing together the races of men who have been too long asunder. Out of the storm of battle He is bringing forth a great brotherhood of His scattered peoples, such as the world has never seen before.

Just as war, notwithstanding all its brutalities, is creating a new comradeship among the men who are fighting at the front, so that, coming out of every class and condition, all distinctions have disappeared with the civilian clothes they have taken off and the soldiers' uniforms they have put on, and nothing remains to the well-to-do man and the workman, the highly born and the lowly born, the educated and the illiterate, perhaps the ex-convict and the ex-clergyman, except the brotherhood in which they daily face sudden and untimely death, standing shoulder to shoulder in the same trenches,

sleeping side by side in the same dugouts, and thus sharing together the biggest things they can do and give their duty and their lives—even so, the organized barbarity we call war is binding together the civilized nations into a great new spiritual fellowship.

"The friendships that are born in misfortune last longer than those that are born in happiness." Let us pray that the fellowship of free peoples which the war has brought to pass may not end until it has laid the foundations of a lasting peace. With no lower hope than that could we keep our souls alive in the midst of all this suffering.

If we had to believe that what we ourselves are going through would have to be gone through again by our children and our grandchildren who are now living in the fullness of their childish joy, the whole world would be brokenhearted.

But our hope is sure, and our expectation will not fail. The night has been long and dark and echoing with cries of pain, but on the forehead of the future we think we see the light of dawn, and when that day comes we know what it will be.

It will be yet a greater day than that of sevenscore years ago, when America was founded on her far-off continent, a nation that was consecrated to liberty and dedicated to the equal rights of all. It will be a day of freedom from the shadow of the sword which has darkened the sleep of man for more than a thousand years. It will be a day of liberation from the tyranny of the strong, from the enslavement of the weak, from the subjugation of the silent masses that have shed their blood age after age at the feet of crowned criminals who have sought for nothing but their selfish dominion and gained nothing but their guilty glory.

It will be the independence day of the world.

Another Cross for Belgium to Bear

Emile Cammaerts, the Belgian poet and essayist, marked the passing of Easter Sunday, 1918, with this poignant and picturesque bit of description:

The Germans are seizing the bells and organ pipes in the churches of Belgium. It must be admitted that they have reserved this blow for the last. They had already requisitioned leather, copper, including the humblest household utensils, and wool, even to that in mattresses and comforters; so it was the turn of the bells. The Belgians have learned patience. The women have taken up the spinning of wool again as in the good old days, on antique, rickety wheels. The children sleep on mattresses filled with newspapers—newspapers given over to German censorship—and now the sweet chimes and church organs are going to cease sounding the praises of God. After meatless meals, lightless nights, and coalless fires, the Belgians will have silent churches. Candles are unobtainable, communion wine is lacking in some places, and many persons have to go to church in wooden shoes, while there are no new clothes for communicants.

A Happy Easter! The bells will leave on Good Friday, but they will not return this year sowing thousands of multi-colored eggs along the way. They will not go to Rome, as the old tradition has it, and the little folk will wait in vain for their return, which in happier days was the signal for Easter rejoicings. Besides, eggs cost 25 cents apiece; this precious food is reserved for the sick, and there are few eggs and many who are ill.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Project Discussed From Various Viewpoints by Leading Allied Statesmen and Publicists

By VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODEN
Former British Foreign Secretary

The idea of forming a league of nations to enforce peace, first brought into prominence in the United States by the organization headed by ex-President Taft, has become a theme of international discussion since President Wilson gave it his official indorsement. The early Summer months of 1918 brought forth many noteworthy utterances on the subject from English leaders of thought. The following pages contain contributions from Viscount Grey, Premier Lloyd George, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Arnold Bennett, and others.

THERE are projects that exist in shadowy form in an atmosphere of tepid idealism, admired by those who see that, if possible, they would be desirable. From time to time an attempt is made to embody them in material form and make them of practical use in national or international politics. It is then discovered that what appeared as an ideal to be wholly desirable and amiable cannot be of practical use unless we are ready to subject ourselves to some limitations or discipline that may be inconvenient, and unless we are prepared to overcome some difficulties that were not at first sight apparent.

The ideal is found to have in fact a stern and disagreeable as well as an easy and amiable side to it. Thereupon the storm beats against it. Those who never thought it desirable, for there are intelligences to which most ideals seem dangerous and temperaments to which they are offensive, and who had previously treated it only with contempt in the abstract, offer the fiercest opposition to it as a practical proposal. Many of its supporters are paralyzed by difficult aspects which they had not previously considered, and the project recedes again into a region of shadows or abstract resolutions.

This, or something like this, has hitherto been the history of the ideal that has now become associated with the phrase, "League of Nations," but it does not follow that the history of this or of other ideals will be the same after the war as before it. There is more at stake in this war than the existence of individual States or empires or the fate of the Continent. The whole of modern civilization is at stake, and whether it will perish, be submerged, as has happened to previous civilizations of older types, or whether it will live and progress, depends upon whether the nations engaged in this war, and even those that are onlookers, learn the lessons that the experience of the war may teach them. It must be with nations as with individuals. In the great trials of life they must become better or worse, they cannot stand still. They must learn to profit by experience and rise to greater heights, or else sink lower and drop eventually into an abyss. And this war is the greatest trial of which there is any record in history. If the war does not teach mankind new lessons that will so dominate the thought and feeling of those who survive it and those who succeed the survivors as to make new things possible, then the war will be the greatest catastrophe, as well as the most grievous trial and suffering, of which mankind has any record.

Therefore, it does not follow that a league of nations to secure the peace of the world will remain impossible because it has not been possible hitherto, and I propose in this paper to consider shortly, to state rather than examine, for it would take a long time to examine thoroughly conditions that have not been present be-

fore, and that are present now, or may soon be present, and that are essential if a league of nations is to become effective.

NECESSARY CONDITIONS

These conditions appear to me to be as follows:

First, the idea must be adopted with earnestness and conviction by the executive heads of States. It must become an essential part of their practical policy, one of their chief reasons for being, or continuing to be, responsible for the policy of their States. They must not adopt it only to render lip service to other persons whom it is inconvenient or ungracious to displease. They must lead and not follow; they must compel, if necessary, and not be compelled.

This condition was not present before the war. To what extent is it present now? It is not possible to answer this question fully, but it can be answered certainly and affirmatively as regards President Wilson, the executive head of the United States, and this alone is sufficient to give new life and purpose to the idea of a league of nations. President Wilson and his country have had in this matter the great advantage of having been for more than two years and a half, before April, 1917, able to observe the war as neutrals, free from the intense anxiety and effort that absorb all the thought and energy of the belligerents. They were able not only to observe but to reflect and to draw conclusions.

One of the conclusions has been that if the world, of which they form an important part, is to be saved from what they consider disaster, they must enter the war against Germany. Another has been that if national liberty and peace are to be secure in the future there must be a league of nations to secure them.

It must not be supposed from this that the Governments of the Allies are less ready to draw or have not already drawn the same conclusion from the experience of the war, but their countries have been at war all the time. They have been fighting, it is true, for the same ideal of national human liberty as the United States, but fighting also for the immediate preservation of national existence in Europe, and all their thought and energy has been concentrated upon resistance to imminent peril. Nevertheless, in this country, at any rate, the project of a league of nations has met with widespread, cordial acceptance.

GERMANY'S OPPOSITION

On the other hand, the military party in Germany is, and must remain, opposed to it. It resents any limitation upon the use of force by Germany as fatal to German interests, for it can conceive no development, and even no security, except one based solely upon force. Any other conception is fatal, and this exclusive conception is essential to the maintenance of the power of the military party in Germany. As long, therefore, as this rule in Germany continues, Germany will oppose the league of nations. Nothing will change this except the conviction among the German people that the use of force causes at least as much suffering to themselves as to others, and that the security based upon law and treaty and the sense of mutual advantage is better than the risks, dangers, and sufferings of the will to supreme power and the efforts to obtain it, and this conviction must so work upon them as to displace the military party and its policy and ideals from power in Germany.

The situation, therefore, of this first condition essential to make the league of nations practical may be summed up as follows:

It is present certainly as regards the executive head of the United States, which is potentially the strongest and actually the least exhausted of all belligerent States. It either is, or will at the end of the war be found to be, present as regards the Governments of the countries fighting on the same side as the United States. Even among their enemies Austria has publicly shown a disposition to accept the proposal, and probably welcomes it genuinely, though secretly, as a safeguard for her future, not only against old enemies but against Prussian domination. All small States,

belligerent or neutral, must naturally desire in their own interest everything that will safeguard the small States as well as the great from aggression and war.

There remains the opposition of Germany, where the recent military success and ascendency of Prussian militarism have reduced the advocates of anything but force to silence. Germany has to be convinced that force does not pay, that the aims and policy of her military rulers inflict intolerable and also unnecessary suffering upon her, and that when the world is free from the menace of these military rulers, with their sharp swords, shining armor, and mailed fists, Germany will find peaceful development assured and preferable to expansion by war and will realize that the condition of true security for one nation is the sense of security on the part of all nations.

Till Germany feels this to be true there can be no league of nations in the sense intended by President Wilson. A league such as he desires must include Germany, and should include no nation that is not thoroughly convinced of the advantages, of the necessity, of such a league, and is, therefore, not prepared to make the efforts, and, if need be, the sacrifices necessary to maintain it.

OBLIGATIONS INVOLVED

The second condition essential to the foundation of the league of nations is that the Governments and peoples of the States willing to found it understand clearly that it will impose some limitations upon the national action of each, and may entail some inconvenient obligation. Smaller and weaker nations will have rights that must be respected and upheld by the league. Stronger nations must forego the right to make their interests prevail against the weaker by force, and all States must forego the right in any dispute to resort to force before other methods of settlement by conference, conciliation, or if need be arbitration, have been tried. This is the limitation. The obligation is that if any nation will not observe this limitation upon its national actions, if it breaks the agreement which is the basis of the league, rejects all peaceful methods of settlement and resorts to force against another nation, they must one and all use their combined force against it.

The economic pressure that such a league could use would in itself be very powerful, and the action of some of the smaller States composing the league could not perhaps go beyond the economic pressure, but those States that have the power must be ready to use all the force, economic, military, or naval, they possess. It must be clearly understood and accepted that deflection from or violation of the agreement by one or more States does not absolve all or any of the others from the obligation to enforce the agreement.

Anything less than this is of no value. How worthless it may be can be seen by reading the debate in the House of Lords in 1867 upon the Treaty Guaranteeing the Neutrality of Luxemburg. It was there explained that we entered only into a collective guarantee. By this it was apparently meant that if any one of the guaranteeing powers violated the neutrality of Luxemburg, or even if any one of them declined to take active steps to defend it, Great Britain and the other guarantors were thereby absolved from taking any action whatever. This was contrasted at the time with the Belgian treaty, which entailed a separate guarantee. Hitherto the nations of the world had made reserves in arbitration or conciliation agreements, showing that they were not prepared to accept the limitations upon national action that are essential to secure an effective league of nations. An exception is the conciliation treaty between Great Britain and the United States negotiated before the war. But the statement made above is generally true. The nations also carefully abstained from undertaking any obligation to use force to uphold the benevolent rules of agreements of general application that had been recorded at The Hague Conferences. Such obligation had been confined to local objects like the neutrality of Belgium or to alliances between particular powers, made to protect or serve their special interests.

ARE THE NATIONS READY?

Are the nations of the world prepared now, or will they be ready after the war, to look steadily and clearly at this aspect of the league of nations; at the limitations and obligations that it will impose, and to say whole-heartedly and convincedly, as they have never done before, "We will accept and undertake them"? Individuals in civilized States have long ago accepted analogous limitations and obligations as regards disputes between individuals. These are settled by law, and any individual who, instead of appealing to law, resorts to force to give effect to what he considers his rights, finds himself at once opposed and restrained by the force of the State—that is, in democratic countries, by the combined force of other individuals. And we not only accept this arrangement, but uphold it as essential to prevent the oppression of one by another, to secure each person in quiet life, and to guarantee to each the greatest liberty that is consistent with the equal liberty of his neighbors. That at any rate is part of the theory and object of democratic government, and if it is not perfectly attained, most of the proposals for improving it look rather to increased than to diminished State control.

But in less civilized parts of the world individuals have not reached the point of view from which this order of things seems desirable. There is the story of the native chief in Africa who protested to the British official against having to pay any taxes. The British official explained, no doubt in the best modern manner, that these taxes were used to keep order in the country, with the result that men and women and the flocks and herds in the possession of every tribe were safe, and each could live in its own territory without fear of disturbance, and that the payment of taxes was for the good of all. The effect of this explanation was to make the chief very angry. Before the British came he said he could raid the neighborhood, return with captives and captures of all sorts, and be received in triumph by the women and the rest of the tribe when he returned. The protection of his own tribe from similar raids he was willing to undertake himself. "Now," he said, "you come here and tell me that I ought to like to pay taxes to be prevented from doing this, and that makes me mad."

The analogy between States and individuals, or groups of individuals, is not perfect, but there is sufficient analogy to make it not quite irrelevant to ask whether after this war the view held by the great States of the relations desirable between themselves will be that of the African chief or that of individuals in what we call civilized nations.

Nothing but experience convinced individuals that law was better than anarchy to settle relations between themselves. And the sanction that maintains law is the application of force with the support of the great majority of individuals behind it. Is it possible that the experience of this war will produce a settled opinion of the same sort to regulate the relations of States with one another and to safeguard the world from that which is in fact anarchy? What does the experience of this war amount to?

Our minds cannot grasp it. Thought is crushed by the accumulated suffering that the war has caused and is still causing. We cannot utter all we feel, and if it were not that our feelings are in a way stunned by the very violence of the catastrophe, as physical nerves are, to some extent, numbed by great blows, the human heart could not bear up and live under the trial of this war. Great must be the effect of all this; greater after, even, than during the war, on the working of men's minds and on human nature itself, but this is not what I intend to urge here.

INHUMANE METHODS

I will urge only one point, and one that is for the head rather than the heart. We are now in the fourth year of the war. The application of scientific knowledge and the inventions of science during the war have made it more terrible and destructive each year. The Germans have abrogated all previously accepted rules of warfare. The use of poisonous gas, the firing from the sea

upon open, undefended towns, and the indiscriminate bombing of big cities from the air were all introduced into the war by Germany.

It was long before the Allies adopted any of these practices even as reprisals, but the Germans have forced a ruthless, unlimited application of scientific discovery to the destruction of human life, combatant and noncombatant. They have shown the world that now and henceforth war means this, and nothing less than this.

If there is to be another war in twenty or thirty years' time, what will it be like? If there is to be concentrated preparation for more war, the researches of science will be devoted henceforth to discovering methods by which the human race can be destroyed. These discoveries cannot be confined to one nation, and their object of wholesale destruction will be much more completely achieved hereafter even than in this war. The Germans are not blind to this, but, as far as I can see, their rulers propose to avoid future wars by establishing domination by Germany forever.

Peace can never be secured by the domination of one country, securing its power and prosperity by submission and disadvantage to others; and the German idea of a world peace secured by the power of German militarism is impracticable as well as unfair and abhorrent to other nations. It is as intolerable and impossible in the world as despotism would be here or in the United States.

In opposition to this idea of Germany, the Allies should set forth, as President Wilson has already set forth, an idea of peace secured by mutual regard between States for the rights of each, and the determination to stamp out any attempt at war as they would a plague that threatened the destruction of all. When those who accept this idea and this sort of peace can in word and deed speak for Germany we shall be within sight of a good peace.

FATAL TO MILITARISM

The establishment and maintenance of a league of nations such as President Wilson had advocated is more important and essential to secure peace than any of the actual terms of peace that may conclude the war. It will transcend them all. The best of them will be worth little unless the future relations of States are to be on a basis that will prevent a recurrence of militarism in any State.

"Learn by experience or suffer" is the rule of life. We have all of us seen individuals becoming more and more a misery to themselves and others because they cannot understand or will not accept this rule. Is it not applicable to nations as well? And, if so, have not nations come to the great crisis in which for them the rule "learn or perish" will prove inexorable? All must learn the lesson of this war. The United States and the Allies cannot save the world from militarism unless Germany learns her lesson thoroughly and completely, and they will not save the world or even themselves by a complete victory over Germany until they, too, have learned and can apply the lesson that militarism has become the deadly enemy of mankind.

France Unfavorable to Grey's Views

[By the Paris Correspondent of The New York Times]

THE article published by Viscount Grey, formerly Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, on the necessity for the constitution of a league of nations was received badly by the press in France, where the idea of anything in the way of an international organization which will include Germany or anything German is scouted by all classes except a mere handful of the more extreme Socialists.

Not that Frenchmen as a nation have any rooted objections to a society of nations as such. On the contrary, there are no people in the world who are more anxious than the French to live in peace with their neighbors and give an opportunity for the free development of art, science, industry, and social evolution of every nation in close co-operation with all others.

But they are convinced in their bones that it is impossible to regard as anything but absolutely farcical the idea of endeavoring to persuade Germany to enter into a mutual arrangement such as the proposed society of nations involves. Germany has by her own acts declared herself an outcast and a pariah among nations, the French argue, and must in the nature of things remain so.

That a league of nations for mutual protection against Germany and to crush Germany till she is powerless to do further harm for all time is not only feasible but eminently desirable in the interest of all other peoples, every Frenchman agrees, but a league with Germany—never, they say.

"What head of a State," says Premier Clemenceau's paper, L'Homme Libre, "would ever consent to put his name at the foot of a treaty with that of the criminal and lying Hohenzollern? Can such a possibility be imagined as the loyal President Wilson accepting from the hand of the Hohenzollern the pen with which to sign a pact of the reconciliation of their peoples? Never."

A Parliamentary committee was created some twelve months ago under the Presidency of Léon Bourgeois to consider the conditions under which a society of nations might be realized. It is significant that, although the committee finished its work six months ago and transmitted its report to M. Clemenceau, as the head of the Government, on Jan. 17, 1918, the report has not yet been laid before the Chamber. Efforts have been made more than once by Socialist members to obtain the publication of the report, but so far, although M. Clemenceau himself made half a promise on one occasion, the report is still held back.

So far as can be gathered there is practically no support for the proposal here except among professional pacifists. It is not surprising, therefore, that Viscount Grey's utterance is very freely handled by the majority of the newspapers here. The Journal des Débats, in an article which it entitles "Reveries of a Country Gentleman," dismisses his arguments as the impossible and childish ideas of a man who, it suggests, is unable to realize the practical things of public life.

The Temps, more moderate, is equally condemnatory of the principle enunciated by the British statesman. It says:

> So long as Germany remains what she is, she excludes herself by her own act from any society of nations which she cannot herself control after the Prussian manner. To try to convince her by argument of the necessity of giving up the religion of force and relinquishing the spirit of war is illusory. A society of free nations, inveterately allied against the powers of prey, is a reality which may be foreshadowed with confidence as a normal stage in evolution, but to try to create a league in which would be found alike freemen and serfs, victim and executioners, those who have suffered and those who have not expiated their crimes, would be a blunder.

The pacifist Pays alone pleads for the acceptance of Viscount Grey's ideas and regrets that he and Léon Bourgeois are not in the places occupied by Lloyd George and Clemenceau, and that the latter do not echo the words of the American President.

A Real League of Nations

By David Lloyd George

Premier of Great Britain

[From an Address Delivered in the City Temple, London, to the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches.]

I HAVE stated—so have all the political leaders of this country—what our aims are: Vindication of international rights, restoration of conquered and trodden territories, the freeing of oppressed populations wherever they are, whether in Europe, in Africa, or in Asia, from the thralldom of alien despots, and, above all, making sure that war shall henceforth be treated as a crime, punishable by the law of nations.

As society is banded together for the punishment and repression of murder, theft, fraud, and all kinds of wrong and injustice inflicted by one individual upon another, so nations shall be banded together for the protection of each other and the world as a whole against the force, fraud, and greed of the mighty. To falter ere all this be achieved would be to doubt the justice of the Ruler of the world. To carry the war on a single hour after those aims can be attained would be to abandon the world to the spirit of evil.

With reference to the league of nations, the Bolsheviki have taught us one lesson at any rate, that a real league of nations does not come by talking about it. They forgot something which was essential—that once you have begun you have got to fight for it. The result was that while they were writing dispatches and making speeches about the league of nations they were left with barely half a nation to enter into a league with anybody. While they were talking about the rights of self-determination and allowing their armies to fall to pieces the Germans were stripping Russia of province after province, and while they still went on talking the Germans added Reval to Riga, and were on their way to make Odessa a German port. That is not the way to get a league of nations.

I would warn you in all sincerity not to mistake phrases for facts. There is nothing more deadly even in peace; it is disastrous in war. I could frame—any man could—declarations of the most resounding equity as a basis for peace, every one of which would be accepted with a loud tongue by the Prussian war lords, and yet you would find, exactly as the Bolsheviki did, when these phrases came to be interpreted, that they were resounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

No man had discoursed so eloquently on the league of nations as the Kaiser. He would have satisfied the most exacting critic in the Free Church Council. His reply to the Pope breathed the spirit of brotherhood and Christian kindliness. There was never a word about giving up Belgium, but there were whole passages on disarmament. Not a syllable about surrendering Lithuania and Courland, but on the league of nations he was absolutely sound.

He said he would not only accept the league of nations, but Germany was prepared to place herself at the head of it. When I saw that I knew what he really meant. Then you found the spirit of dominancy still there—a dagger wrapped in the Sermon on the Mount.

We have had treaties before; we must now know that we can give them reality. Millions of young men from the British Empire, from France and Italy—and in due time there will be millions from America—are engaged in demonstrating at the risk of their lives to the Prussian war lords that the world has reached that stage of civilization where justice can be enforced against the most powerful nations that trample upon its decrees. These are the true apostles of the league of nations. If they fail all leagues will be shams, and all treaties will continue to be nothing but scraps of paper. If they succeed—and they will—the league of nations will be an established fact.

Then you may beat your swords into plowshares, not until then. * * *

You cannot half wage a war. You must give the whole of your strength or not at all. That great Old Nonconformist who waged many wars and faced many misunderstandings, Oliver Cromwell, said: "Prosecute it vigorously, or don't do it at all." That is sound. If any man here or elsewhere can show me any way by which we can make peace without betraying the great and sacred cause for which we entered the war, and for which so many millions have sacrificed their lives, to him will I listen gladly, gratefully, and thank God for the light which is given me.

Short of that, mere peace talk is undermining fibre and morale. I confidently ask my fellow Free Churchmen to use their potent influence in this land to sustain the heart of this great people to enable them to carry through to a triumphant end the greatest task that Providence has ever yet intrusted to their hands.

Earl Curzon's Proposal in Parliament

The House of Lords on June 26, 1918, discussed the proposed plans of a league of nations after the war. Viscount Bryce urged the Government to open an inquiry into the subject and to let the world know that it was doing so.

Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Government leader in the House of Lords, agreed with Viscount Bryce that there was no reason why, without waiting for the termination of the war, the Government should not discuss the proposal for a league of nations, which, he said, ought to be called into existence immediately after the war was ended. To a large extent, he said, leagues of nations existed already, as, for instance, the league of the British Empire and the league of over twenty nations allied to resist German militarism. There was also in existence in Paris machinery representing Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States for unity in naval, military, and economic matters.

These leagues, Earl Curzon continued, represented two-fifths of the human race and formed at least a nucleus from which it was possible to proceed. In outlining the duties of such a league as was proposed, Earl Curzon said that in order to be effective it ought to embrace all States, certainly all great States, but it was difficult to contemplate Germany being admitted.

Describing the inherent difficulties involved in the idea, Earl Curzon said that he desired the House to assent to two propositions:

First, that it was desirable to prevent wars, or, if that was too Utopian, to limit them and diminish their horrors, to which end general concurrence and the ultimate admission of all the important States of the world was necessary.

Second, he said that he believed opinion in England was rather in advance of the opinion among the Allies, except possibly the United States. It was therefore advisable not to proceed too quickly and thus avoid rebuff.

The admission of Germany to a league of nations, Earl Curzon continued, was impossible until she was compelled by force of arms to abandon her world dream.

Therefore, in the first place, he suggested that there be two leagues, one friendly league of allied nations and another league of enemy nations. In the friendly league he suggested that refusal to submit a quarrel to arbitration should, by the very fact itself, place the refusing nation in a state of war with the others, and they should support each other without the need of any international police.

These were the lines the Government considered desirable and was earnestly investigating with the idea before long of exchanging views with the Allies, Earl Curzon said.

The Death Knell of Empire

By H. G. WELLS

H. G. Wells holds that a league of free nations would be the death knell of all empires. Its primary function, he maintains, would be the establishment of a supreme court whose decisions would be final, before which every sovereign power would appear as plaintiff against any other sovereign power or group of powers.

THE plea, I take it, will always be upon the line that the defendant power or group of powers is engaged in proceedings "calculated to lead to a breach of the peace," and calling upon the league for an injunction against such proceedings.

I suppose the proceedings that can be brought into court in this way fall under such headings as these that follow: Restraint of trade by injurious tariffs or such like differentiations, or by interference with through traffic; improper treatment of the subjects or their property (here I put a query) of the plaintiff nation in the defendant State; aggressive military or naval preparation; disorder spreading over the frontier; trespass, (as, for instance, by airships;) propaganda; espionage; permitting the organization of injurious activities, such as raids or piracy. Clearly all such actions would come within the purview of any world supreme court organized to prevent war.

But, in addition, there is a more doubtful and delicate class of case, arising out of the discontent of patches of one race or religion in the dominions of another. How far may the supreme court of the world attend to grievances between subject and sovereign? Such cases are highly probable, and no large, vague propositions about the "self-determination" of peoples can meet all the cases.

In Macedonia, for instance, there is a jumble of Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Rumanian villages always jostling one another and maintaining an intense irritation between the kindred nations at hand. Quite a large number of areas and cities in the world, it has to be remembered, are not homogeneous at all. Will the great nations of the world have the self-abnegation to permit a scattered subject population to appeal against the treatment of its ruling power to the supreme court?

SOVEREIGNTY CURTAILED

This, it seems to me, is a much more serious interference with sovereignty. Could a Greek village in Bulgarian Macedonia plead in the supreme court of the league of nations? Could the Armenians in Constantinople, or the Jews in Rumania, or the Poles in West Prussia, or the negroes in Georgia, or the Indians in the Transvaal make such an appeal?

Personally, I should like to see the power of the supreme court extend as far as this. I do not see how we can possibly prevent a kindred nation pleading for the scattered people of its own race and culture, or any nation presenting a case on behalf of some otherwise unrepresented people—the United States, for example, presenting a case on behalf of the Armenians.

But I doubt if many people have made up their minds yet to see the powers of the supreme court of the league of free nations go as far as this. I doubt if, to begin with, it will be possible to provide for all such particular cases. I would like to see it done, but I doubt if the majority of the sovereign peoples concerned will reconcile their national pride with the idea, at least so far as their own subject populations go.

[Mr. Wells argues that the armies and navies of the world must be at the disposal of the league and its powers must extend to a restraint of armaments and the control of the munition industry of each country—which leads him to the final deduction of the impracticability of the idea. He concludes as follows]:

THE END OF EMPIRE

But power over the military resources of the world is by no means the limit of the necessary powers of an effective league of free nations. There are still more indigestible implications in the idea,

and since they have got to be digested sooner or later, if civilization is not to collapse, there is no reason why we should not begin to bite upon them now.

I was much interested in the alleged proposal of the German Chancellor that we should give up (presumably to Germany) Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, and such like key possessions. That seemed to excite our press and several of our politicians extremely. I read his speech very carefully, and he did not propose anything of the sort. He was defending the idea of sticking in Belgium and Lorraine because of the strategic importance of those regions to Germany, and he was arguing that before we English got into such a feverish state of indignation about that, we should ask ourselves what we were doing in Gibraltar, &c.

We English are so persuaded of the purity and unselfishness with which we discharge our imperial responsibilities, we know so certainly that all our subject nations call us blessed, that it is a little difficult for us to see just how it looks to an outside intelligence that we are, for example, so deeply rooted in Egypt.

The German idea of freedom of the seas, again, is a quite selfish and aggressive idea, as Lord Robert Cecil has explained; they want to set up all over the earth coaling stations and strategic points, after the fashion of ours. Well, they argue, we are only trying to do what you British have done. If, they say, we are not to do so, because it is aggression, and so on and so on, is not the time ripe for you to reconsider your own position?

LEAGUE OR EMPIRES?

At the risk of rousing much patriotic wrath, I must admit that I think we have to reconsider our position. Our argument is that in India, Egypt, Africa, and elsewhere we stand for order and civilization, we are the trustees of freedom, the agents of knowledge and efficiency. On the whole, the record of British rule is a pretty respectable one; I am not ashamed of our record. Nevertheless, the case is altering.

It is quite justifiable for us, no doubt, if we do really play the part of honest trustees, to remain in Egypt and in India under existing conditions; it is even possible, as things are, for us to glance at the helplessness of Arabia, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, incapable of self-government, politically new-born infants crying out for trustees.

But our case, our only justifiable case, was, and is, that we were, and are, trustees because there was no better trustee possible. And the creation of a council or a league of free nations will be like the creation of a public trustee for the world. The creation of a league of free nations is the creation of an authority that may legitimately call upon existing empires to give an account of their stewardship. It comes to that. For an unchecked fragmentary control it substitutes a general authority.

This league must necessarily alter the whole problem, therefore, of the tutelage of the politically immature nations, the control of the tropics, and the distribution of staple products in the world. It will knock away every excuse which can be made for dominion over "subject peoples."

The plain truth is that the league of free nations, if it is to be a reality, must do no less than supersede empire altogether; it must end not only this new German imperialism which is struggling so savagely and powerfully to possess the earth, but British imperialism and French imperialism which do now so largely and inaggressively possess it. And, moreover, this idea queries the adjective of Belgian, Portuguese, French, and British Central Africa alike, just as emphatically as it queries "German."

Are these incompatibilities understood? Until people have faced the clear antagonism that exists between imperialism and internationalism, they have not begun to suspect the real significance of this project of the league of free nations.

A Peace League Based on Population

By ARNOLD BENNETT

[Copyrighted]

WAR is well organized. Peace never has been well organized. Of course, it is easier, though far more expensive, to organize war than peace, because only one State is needed to organize war, whereas at least two States are needed to organize peace. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the making of war is so efficiently and smoothly organized that war occurs, against almost everybody's wish, whereas the keeping of peace is so badly organized that, though almost everybody wants peace to be kept, peace isn't kept.

On July 26, 1914, the Austrian Ambassador telegraphed to Vienna that the Russian Minister had been warned about the extreme danger of mobilizing armies as a form of diplomatic pressure. He said purely military consideration of the question by the General Staffs would then find expression, and, if that button were once touched in Germany, the situation would get out of control.

You see how war works, almost by itself. It is quite certain that no touching of any button, either in Germany or in any other country, would ever have started peace machinery so efficient and smooth that a peace situation would get out of control. The nations simply had to keep peace, in spite of themselves.

The machinery for keeping peace has hitherto been what we call diplomacy; it has horribly failed. All statesmen are agreed as to the chief reason for its failure. The reason is that diplomacy is secret. Among modern peoples, who, after all, have learned a certain amount of common sense from the ages, war could never happen if the preliminaries to it were open and above board.

Once upon a time the peoples thought war was grand. They now know war is insane. A few highly placed persons in any country who want war may succeed in starting the efficient machinery of war by mystifying and mesmerizing the people. They arouse alarm and excitement. They talk about a crisis, and about delicate negotiations, and about an acute crisis, and about a deadlock, and about anticipating the worst. Nobody outside the ring knows anything.

WAR THROUGH FEAR

Ignorance is the mother of fear, and fear is the mother of foolishness. Suddenly there is a panic on the Stock Exchange. Newspapers full of naught but preparations for war do the rest. The peoples have gone to war, and they don't know why. Later on, they learn they went to war because they had lost their heads and been fooled accordingly by a few wily personages whose trade was war.

Now, this particular kind of lunacy could not possibly happen if there were a league of nations for keeping the peace. In the first place, the proceedings of even the most inefficient league of nations would be entirely public, and the peoples would know all that was going on all the time. In the second place, a league of nations must take at some stage action of some sort in conference, and the effect of any conference on any international question can be foretold with certitude.

Said Lucien Woolf in excellent suggestions for the prevention of war which he wrote for The New Statesman three years ago:

> A conference prevents excitement by being so intolerably dull. When a score of diplomatic gentlemen have been sitting round a green baize table discussing some international question for a fortnight they have killed all interest in that question for at least a year. The Algeciras Conference killed the Moroccan question in this way. Before it met Germany and France were boiling with excitement. Long before it finished its work everybody was so bored with it that it was quite impossible to use Morocco as an excuse for war for five years.

International conferences not only have the immense advantage of world-

wide publicity, they possess also the admirable quality of curing perilous fevers by mere tedium.

AN INTERNATIONAL COURT

It is very probable, it is, indeed, almost sure, that international disputes would not be settled by conference. They would ultimately be settled by the decision of a tribunal, or court of justice, with full powers, but this tribunal would itself be nominated by the league in conference, and therefore in the end everything would depend on the constitution of the league; that is to say, upon the principles upon which the various nations were allowed to send representatives to the sittings of the league. And the first essential of a successful league is that it should be constituted in such a manner as would not only lead to the doing of real justice in all disputes, but would also convince each separate nation that that nation was having a fair chance in the activities of the league. Unless real justice is done and unless the nations are satisfied as to the general fairness of the league, the league cannot last very long. It is bound to fall to pieces.

Now let us consider a little what the league at work will actually consist of. It will consist, not of heavenly beings, seraphim, cherubim, saints, and high philosophers removed from the weakness of common beings; it will consist of persons very like you and me, subject to our failings, our weaknesses, and our prejudices. Half of the members of the league, when they assemble in the morning, will be wondering whether or not they can digest their breakfast properly. More than half of them will be open to flattery or to threats, and a great deal more than half of them will have axes to grind.

The existence of the league will not change human nature, and there will be precisely as much human nature within the meetings of the league as there will be outside those meetings. The meetings will be remarkably like other meetings of committees and councils.

It follows, therefore, that important and influential negotiations will go on informally between sundry groups of the league and quite apart from the formal meetings, and that a large proportion of the members will attend the meetings with their minds already made up on points on which their minds are theoretically supposed to be quite open. In other words, the real, effective proceedings of the league will not, after all, be quite so public as we in our innocence may have imagined. There will be an appreciable amount of what we call lobbying; that is, members and groups of members will foregather in private and A will say to B, "Will you vote for my project?" and B will reply to A, "Yes, I will vote for your project, if you will vote for mine," and so on in increasing degrees of complication.

Well, how will the nations of the world agree to constitute the personnel of the league? The principle adopted at the old Hague Conferences was beautifully simple. Forty-four States were represented, and the principle was one nation, one vote. The smaller nations insisted upon this principle as the price of their adhesion. Their argument was that, as each nation was sovereign and independent, all nations were equal and must be equally represented. It was a charming principle and might conceivably work well on the planet Mars, but it could never work well on earth, because it was so absurdly contrary to all earthly notions of common sense.

Eight great powers of the world—Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Japan, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary—comprise about three-quarters of the total population of the world, and under the one-nation-one-vote scheme they had less than one-fifth of the voting power. Luxemburg and Denmark, with a combined population less than half the population of London, could swamp the vote of the entire British Empire with its area of 13,000,000 square miles and its population of over 400,000,000 souls. The thing would obviously be ridiculous in any plan for a truly practical and workable league.

The only simple alternative seems to be representation on the basis of popu-

lation. Democracy is the politics of the future, and this would be a democratic alternative. It would, however, mean that, if Luxemburg had one representative, Britain would have some 1,700 representatives, which is almost as ridiculous as the one-nation-one-vote scheme. The personnel of the league must be kept down to a reasonable size, hence either the smallest States could not be represented at all or several of them would have to combine together to send a single representative.

But the smaller nations are not of urgent importance. The league is to be chiefly concerned with the prevention of war. The smaller nations would never make war, only great powers would make war, and it is the representation of the great powers that matters in the constitution of the league. Hence let us glance at a list of the great powers, adding Spain to them, if you like, as Spain did make war not such a long time ago, and see if there is anything curious about it.

There is just this that is curious about it, namely, that two groups dominate it, an Anglo-Saxon group and a Teutonic group. In mentioning a Teutonic group at all I am, of course, assuming that the war is over and the German militarists smashed. Outside these two groups we observe Russia, with a population so gigantic that it could look after itself in the league, and Spain, which would itself be the head of an important group comprising Spanish South America, and Japan, which is Oriental and incalculable. France and Italy are left out in the cold. They would probably never combine together, and, even if they did, their combined forces would not equal that of Germany alone.

CONCESSIONS TO FRANCE

The idea of a league of nations has had some success in France, but only very modified success. Do you wonder why? France, like Italy, may or may not have consciously realized the reason of her coldness toward the idea of a league, but the reason is this: On a population basis of representation France would be simply nowhere in the league; she would be a trifle amid tremendous groups.

There is no suggestion for anything so silly as the old balance of power in what I am saying, but there emphatically is the suggestion of the inevitable drawing together of nations allied by race or language, or by both. Undoubtedly lobbying would occur within the great groups, and bargaining would go on, as to which no hint would ever appear in the official proceedings of the league. France, like Italy, naturally fears this, and on a population basis of representation could do almost nothing to counter any movements which she might imagine to be against her interests.

France counts for far more than her population in the progress of the world. She is the centre of civilization, the historic nursery of ideas, the admired heroine of the earth, and a league of nations without her whole-souled cooperation is unthinkable; hence her fears must be dissipated, they must have no ground to stand on and no air to breathe.

How can her fears be dissipated? They can only be dissipated by giving her appreciably larger representation in the league than she is strictly entitled to on a basis of population; the same in less degree with Italy.

I am fully aware that my proposal is a very delicate one, and will arouse many objections; nevertheless I regard the proposal as the sine qua non of a successful league of nations. Let this proposal be made, and the idea of the league of nations will instantly jump forward. The proposal involves difficulties, but these difficulties must be met. It involves sacrifices, but greater sacrifices than these will have to be made if a league of nations is to be and is to work.

After-the-War Problems

How England is Handling Them

It was announced on June 20 that an American commission would be sent to England, France, and Italy to study the methods under consideration in those countries for solving the economic problems which will arise when the armies are dispersed. The following review of the questions as they are being considered in Great Britain was prepared by an editor of The London Telegraph May 30, 1918:

IT is good to know that while the great struggle for human freedom still rages, and the day when victory, full and complete, shall at last crown all our sacrifices cannot yet be foretold, problems that must inevitably arise with the coming of peace are receiving an ever-increasing amount of attention. In the forefront of these problems stands industrial reconstruction—and especially, perhaps, that side of it which concerns the resettlement in a wage-earning capacity of millions of men taken from industrial life to fight the nation's battles in various parts of the world. There need be no secret about the fact that Government departments, and particularly the Ministry of Labor, have been planning for a long while how best to achieve this difficult task.

A first essential is intimate co-operation between military and civil officials in order to avoid the dispersal of men in such numbers as literally to swamp the employment market. What is aimed at is a process accurately adjusted to supply the requirements of industries as they swing over from war to peace activities. How, then, are the stout British fighting men in France, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, and in India to be fitted into the scheme of the country's life whenever the time comes for them to doff the uniforms they have so honorably adorned? It is, to begin with, purely a civil problem, and is being treated as such by those on whom falls the duty of looking ahead in this matter. The War Office authorities have shaped their scheme for dispersing the men with admirable minuteness.

In the case of a citizen army such as ours it was a wise step to register the occupation followed by every man, and the resulting information should prove of enormous value hereafter. Our army, as a matter of fact, is now classified in occupational groups, and when the period for dispersal is here the Labor Ministry, acting with knowledge of the ability of particular trades to absorb labor, will be able to indicate the moment at which men in any particular group should return to civil life.

A HUMAN TOUCH

In dispersing by drafts from different units according to industrial needs it is hoped to avert to a great extent the evil of unemployment, which it requires no gift of prophecy to foretell would inevitably result were men sent back haphazard in great batches without thought for their future. It will be a huge business, anyway, and it must be tackled not only scientifically but sympathetically, unless chaos is to follow. Happily, from what one gathers, there is a wholesome desire to deal with the matter in a spirit that will commend itself to everybody. The army will have had the use of the men, and when they have finished their job it does not propose to turn them loose in a careless fashion to fare as best they can, but, co-operating with the Ministry of Labor, to return them as far as possible as they can be absorbed in civil employment.

It has been indicated that the basis of the whole scheme is industrial reconstruction, and this being so, the amount of assistance it will be possible for employers to render is incalculable. There is reason to believe that they will render all the service that lies in their power, since so many have promised to reinstate their late employes.

Every man who has work waiting for

him will be brought home with the least possible delay consistent with the priority of industrial requirements. There will be much to be gained, therefore, by co-operation all round. The army has been characterized as a soulless institution, but, as a matter of fact, in looking ahead at this problem, it appears to have been moved by very human considerations. For example, there is a desire to recognize the claims of the men who have been longest in the field—the old soldiers, who have no situations to which they can return. These men, one is assured, will not be kept to the last, but will be dribbled home early enough to give them a reasonable chance in the labor market, which is precisely what everybody would wish them to have.

Other examples might be given, but the above will be sufficient to show that a "human touch" is present in the program which has taken shape for the mightiest home-coming in the long history of our land.

SENDING SOLDIERS HOME

Whenever the day comes on which it can be said that the end of the war is at hand, people will naturally begin to ask how soon they may expect to have husbands, sons, or brothers in the home circle again.

As has been indicated, the army authorities will be prepared to perform their share of the task in an expeditious manner. A representative of The Daily Telegraph had the privilege of being present the other day at a full rehearsal of the system of dispersal carried out at a military station "somewhere in the home counties." It will probably be many months, and they will be anxious months, before the scheme is required, but it is desired that all the necessary plans should be perfected down to the smallest detail, so that there may be no hitch when the word "Go" is given.

For the purposes of dispersal England and Scotland will be divided into twelve areas, containing eighteen stations. The convenience of the men themselves will be closely studied. John Smith may be serving with a Highland regiment in France, but his home may be in London or somewhere else in England. So when the day arrives for him to make his exit from the army, he will not be sent to the dispersal station nearest to the depot of his regiment, but to the one nearest to the place where he wants to live on becoming once again a civilian. The idea is to deal with men from France and men from the home commands or other theatres of war as nearly as possible at the same rate. The arrangements for troops from the overseas dominions will be made by their own Governments. Many of these fine soldiers were promised when they enlisted that they would be given an opportunity to visit London before they went back. There will probably be some of them who will look to have that promise redeemed after the war.

It seems hardly time yet to describe in great detail the exact lines of the dispersal procedure as carried out at the station visited by the writer. The authorities are testing the scheme to discover any possible flaws. To the non-military mind there seemed to be absolutely none. Everything appeared to run with the smoothness of clockwork. Every man on leaving his unit will be provided with a dispersal certificate containing, among other information, a record of his equipment.

UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY

He will be required to leave his rifle and other Government property in a particular shed, where he will be furnished with a new sandbag in which to pack his private belongings. Thereafter he will proceed to a hut labeled "Policy Office," where he will be handed an unemployment donation policy insuring him a certain weekly sum if unemployed for a specific period after he leaves the army. The rate and period are not yet settled. In another hut, which is the pay office, his protection certificate will be stamped, and he will receive an advance of pay. A railway warrant will be forthcoming to carry him to his home, and, finally, he will depart in uniform, plus greatcoat, on what amounts to twenty-eight days' furlough. At the end of that time he will be out of the army. His uniform he will keep. His greatcoat he

will return, a label having been provided, and will get a fixed sum from the army for doing so.

There is good authority for saying that the various documents necessary to provide for Tommy's exit from the fighting forces have been reduced to a minimum. Yet 45,000,000 forms will be required, consuming 350 tons of paper.

TRADE SAFEGUARDS

A number of departmental committees were appointed by the London Board of Trade in the earlier part of 1916 to consider the position of various British trades after the war, especially in relation to international competition, and to report what measures, if any, are necessary or desirable in order to safeguard that position. The reports of four of these committees, those on the textile, iron and steel, electrical, and engineering trades were published recently, though all were dated a year earlier.

All agree in recommending that the importation of enemy goods in the respective trades should be prohibited after the war except under license. The textile and engineering trades committees recommend a minimum period of prohibition of one year; the electrical committee three years, subject to importation under license in special circumstances after the first year; and the iron and steel committee "during the period of reconstruction," though in this case three members dissent from the terms of the majority statement. Three committees definitely recommend anti-dumping legislation, two (textile and engineering) on the lines of that enacted in the United States, and one (iron and steel) of that in force in Canada; while the electrical committee suggests the prevention of the sale in the United Kingdom of any imported electrical goods at prices lower than those current in the country of origin and the imposition of import duties sufficiently high to protect the industry effectively.

A Toast to the Flag

By JOHN DALY

"Here's to the red of it;
There's not a thread of it,
No, nor a shred of it,
In all the spread of it,
From foot to head,
But heroes bled for it,
Faced steel and lead for it,
Precious blood shed for it,
Bathing in red.

"Here's to the white of it;
Thrilled by the sight of it,
Who knows the right of it
But has felt the might of it
Through day and night;
Womanhood's care for it
Made manhood dare for it,
Purity's prayer for it
Kept it so white.

"Here's to the blue of it,
Heavenly view of it,
Star-Spangled hue of it,
Honesty's due of it,
Constant and true;
Here's to the whole of it,
Stars, stripes, and pole of it,
Here's to the soul of it,
Red, white, and blue."

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

Melting Down the Statues in Germany

—*From Kladderadatsch. Berlin.*

"And this once was Goethe!"

[English Cartoon]

Truthful Karl!

—*From The Passing Show, London.*

THE IMPERIAL LION COMIQUE: "There has been nothing whatever the matter, gentlemen!"

[English Cartoon]

Cologne Is Reaping the Whirlwind!

—From The Passing Show, London.

[Spanish Cartoon]

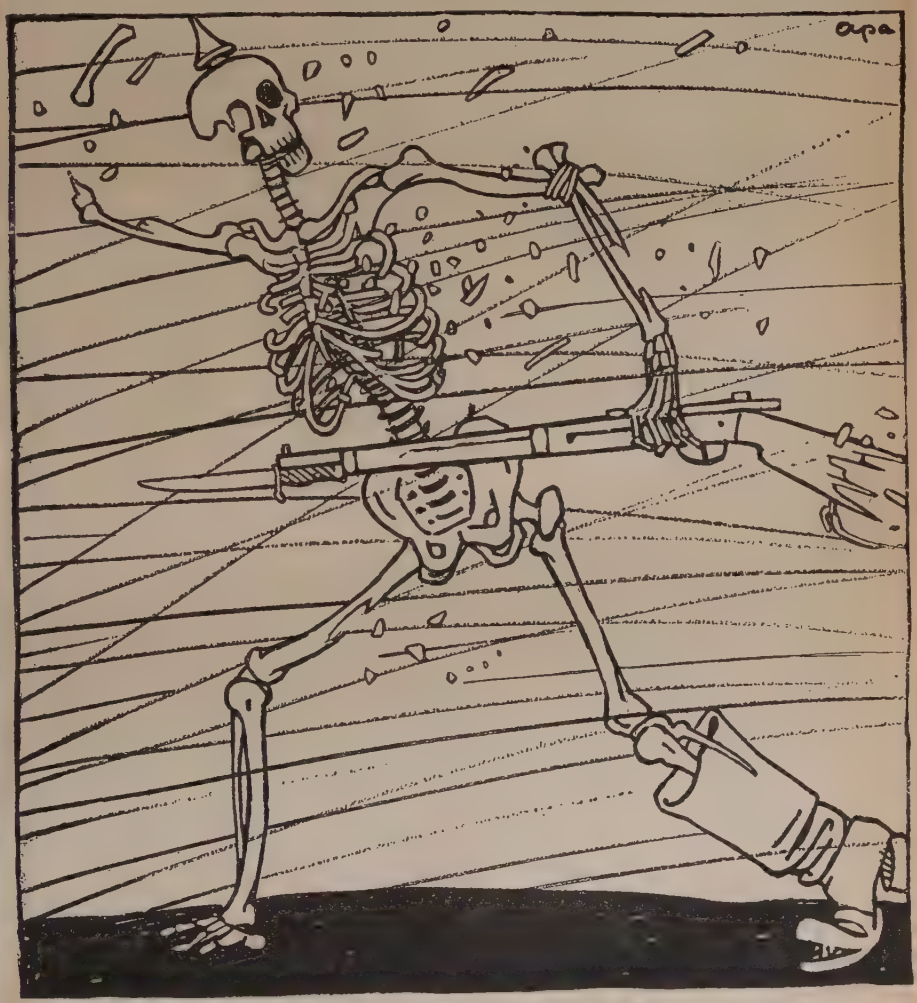
The Disconsolate Eagle

—*From Esquella, Barcelona.*

"Just when I thought I had desolated the fields I see those strong plants blooming fresher than ever."

[Spanish Cartoon]

The End and the Means



—From Iberia, Barcelona.

Courage! Courage, friends! A little more tenacity and we shall be masters of Hill X.

[Italian Cartoon]

In the Italian Alps

—*Il 420, Florence.*

SENTINEL OF THE GRAPPA: "Comrade, they shall not pass here."
SENTINEL ON THE PIAVE: "Nor here!"

[American Cartoon]

The German Mother Hubbard

—*Cartoons Magazine, Chicago.*

Old Kaiser Cain
Went to Ukraine
To get his starved people some corn:
But when he got there
The Ukraine was bare—
And the Huns wish they'd never been born.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Torture of Tantalus

—*Il 420, Florence.*

Paris, so near and yet so far!

[Italian Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Grief

—*Il 420, Florence.*

[American Cartoon]

The Gorged Hun

—Brooklyn Eagle.

"How I vould like a leedle schmoke!"

[American Cartoon]

—New York Evening Mail.

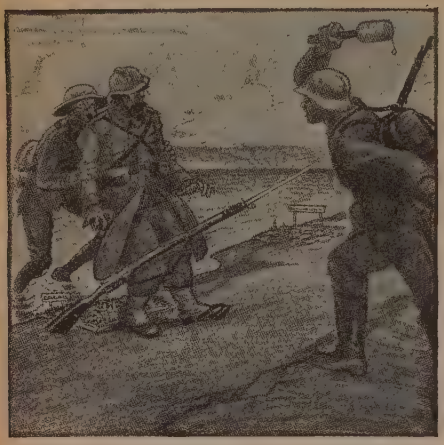
KAISER: "What have I not done to preserve the world from such horrors?"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Crocodile Tears

—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

The Poor French



FRANCE: "England is in danger and Calais must be defended to the last Frenchman and American."

The Entente's Delicate Shrub

"It's certainly not thriving this Spring! Our sole hope is fertilizer from America."

Distress Turns to Prayer

IN HEAVEN: "I hear a lot of prayers in English. What's wrong in England?"

In America

PRESIDENT WILSON: "Now, ladies and gentlemen, there's no trick, no bluff—simply a stroke of the pen, and behold! 30,000 U-boats, 50,000 tanks, 150,000 airplanes."

Rumanian Peace

—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

FERDINAND OF RUMANIA: "They call that a peace by understanding. I don't want anything else on the same basis."

In the Dutch Cottage

—From Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

The shadow on the wall.

[American Cartoon]

The June Bride

—*From The San Francisco Chronicle.*

[American Cartoon]

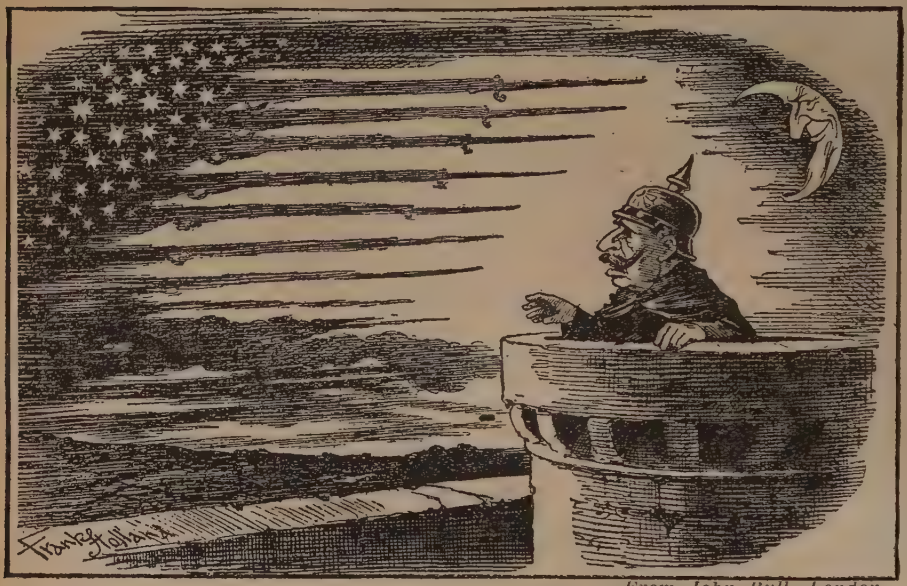
German U-Boats in American Waters

—*From The New York Times.*

A Front They Did Not Mean to Break.

[English Cartoon]

The Star-Gazer



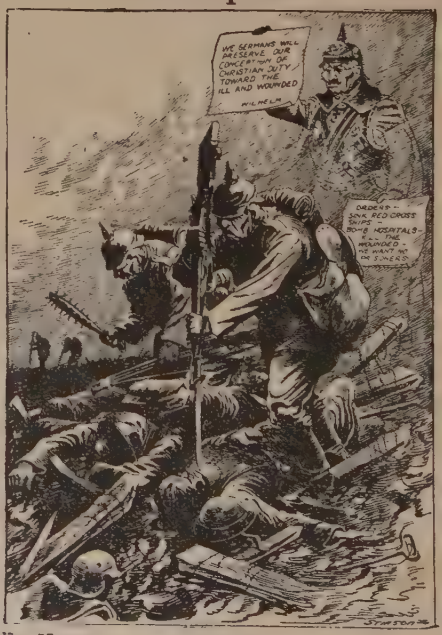
—*From John Bull, London.*

"Beholding heaven, and feeling hell."—("Lalla Rookh," Tom Moore.)

[American Cartoons]

More and More Am I Convinced

The World Knows Their Conception


WE GERMANS WILL DESERVE OUR CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIAN DUTY TOWARD THE ILL AND WOUNDED
WILHELM
ORDERS - SICK RED CROSS NURSES BOMB HOSPITALS - THE WOUNDED - WE WANT NO PRISONERS
STAUFFER

—*Dayton Daily News.*

[American Cartoon]

"I Did Not Will This War"

—*New York Herald.*

[Canadian Cartoon]

"Who Said Death?"

—*Montreal Star.*

[American Cartoon]

Sardonic Humor

—*Newark News.*

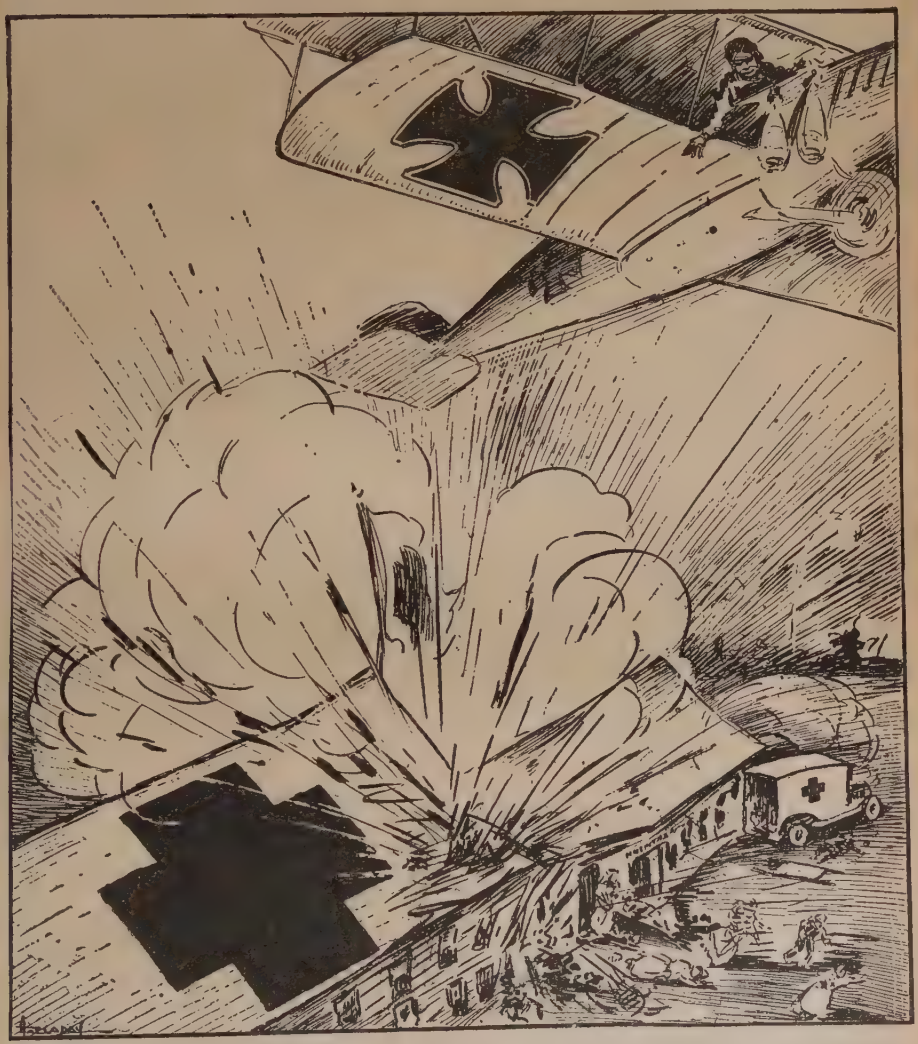
[Italian Cartoon]

As He Would Like It

—*From Il 420, Florence.*

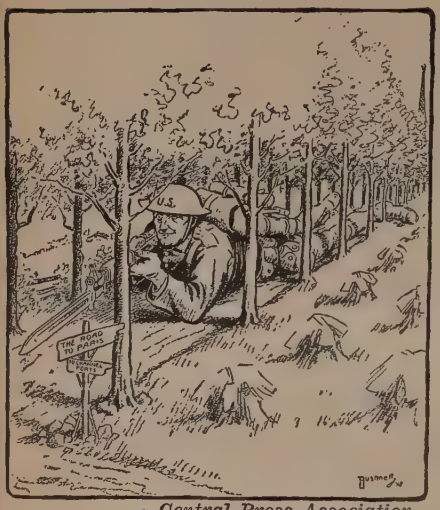
[American Cartoon]

The War of the Crosses



—From The Providence Journal.

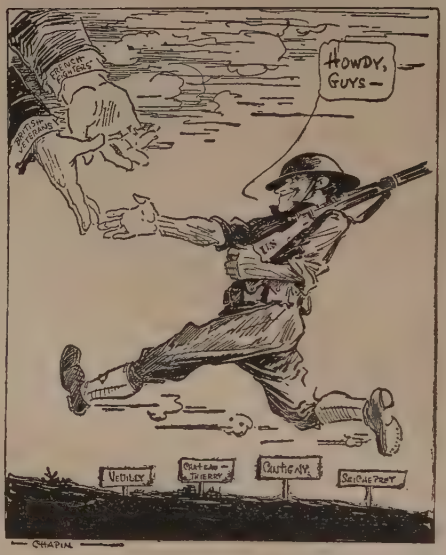
Potsdam Society Note



—*Central Press Association.*

"Owing to the impassable condition of the roads, the Crown Prince and party have canceled their proposed joy ride to 'Gay Paree' this Summer."

Breaking Into the Big League



—*St. Louis Republic.*

This Is Only the Beginning

—*Baltimore American.*

Getting Their Scalps

—*Baltimore American.*

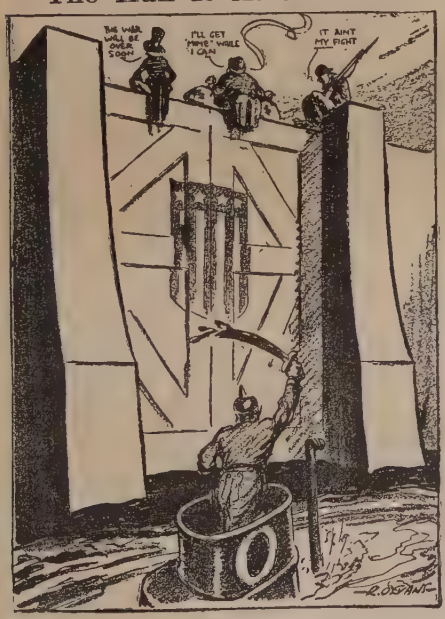
The Greatest Knave in the World

—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat.*

He Never Shies at Anything

—*Baltimore American.*

The Hun Is At the Gate



—*Baltimore American.*

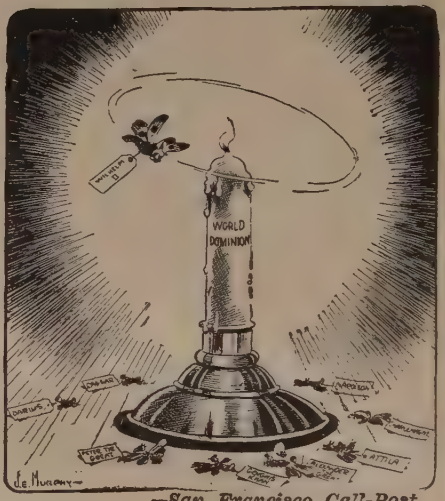
The Sea Wolves Are Barking At Our Door

—*Rochester Times-Union.*

Pulling Together

—*Dallas News.*

Moths and the Flame



—*San Francisco Call-Post.*

Turn on the Other

—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

Tell It to the Marines

—*Detroit News.*

Prosit!—How Much Longer?

—*Satterfield Syndicate.*

"This Is Victory Speaking: SEND MORE MEN!"

—*St. Louis Republic.*

Becoming!

—*Milwaukee Sentinel.*

Cheating Himself

—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Russian Resurrection

—*From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

KAISER: "Hang it! I believe the thing is actually alive, after all!"

MAJOR GEN. WILLIAM M. WRIGHT

Commander of the 3d American Army Corps

(© *Press Illustrating Service*)

MAJOR GEN. GEORGE W. READ

Commander of the 4th American Army Corps

(© Harris & Ewing from Paul Thompson)

PERIOD XLVIII.

Germany's First Great Defeat—Second Battle of the Marne: How Foch Outgeneraled the Germans—Third Battle of the Somme—Theodoric and Attila on the Marne—America's First Field Army—The War in the Air—Transporting America's Armies Overseas—The Submarine's Increasing Failure—How America Has Fed the Allies—Canada's Four Years of War—Germany's Debit and Credit—Allied Intervention in Russia—The Bolshevist "Declaration of Rights"—The Czechoslovaks Recognized as a Nation—Kerensky and Korniloff—The Chinese-Japanese Military Alliance—Rumania's Humiliation—Constantine's Treachery—Great Britain's War Record—President Wilson and the League of Nations—Austria Accepts Germany's Policy—Belgium as a Pawn—American Government's Peace Terms—The Fraternity of English and French—Historic Fourth of July Utterances—Boycotting Germany—Dr. Muehlon's Revelations Regarding the Kaiser.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[Period Ended Aug. 20, 1918.]

Beginning the Fifth Year

THE first month of the fifth year of the war was the most favorable for the Allies since the beginning of the great conflict. Not only was the initiative wrested from the Germans on the Western front, but they were outgeneraled and outfought by British, French, and Americans; they lost much valuable territory, to capture which had cost them dear; their losses in man power were very serious (estimated at 360,000 between July 18 and Aug. 18) and the morale of their troops was appreciably lowered. The union of anti-Bolshevist elements in Russia, the collapse of the Lenine-Trotzky control, and the early re-entrance of Russia into the war as a formidable factor on the side of the Allies gave serious concern to the Central Powers. No less significant was the momentuous movement of the Czechoslovaks, Jugoslavs, and Poles for independence. But overshadowing all else in the gloom which fell upon the Teutonic forces was the knowledge that 1,500,000 American troops were on French soil; that the flood was continuing to pour in at the rate of 300,000 a month, and that the American soldiers on the battlefield, fighting man for man, had bested the Kaiser's crack troops, who had never before met defeat. Added to all this was the increase in allied shipbuilding and the accelerated upward curve of new tonnage in excess of submarine sinkings, the net excess in July alone being over 250,000 tons.

There were no military operations of any importance on any of the other fronts. The battles in France and the intervention in Russia are treated fully elsewhere in these pages. The killing of the Czar by Bolshevist agents gave a tragic setting to the thrilling developments in Russia.

In political circles the most important event of the month was the conviction and banishment of M. Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, by the French Senate, thus more firmly than ever establishing the French patriots and discouraging the "defeatist" elements.

The outstanding events in America in relation to the war were the speeding up of all munition and shipbuilding work, the acceleration of the overseas movement of soldiers, which exceeded 300,000 in July, and the adoption by the Administration of conscription between the ages of 18 and 45, accompanied by the announcement that 4,000,000 American soldiers were expected to be in France by June, 1919, with another million ready to go if necessary.

* * *

Nicholas Romanoff

THE ex-Czar Nicholas of Russia, whose murder was one of the month's events, was the eldest son of Emperor Alexander III. and Empress Maria Fyodorovna, née Dagmar of Denmark. He was born at Tzarskoe Selo on May 6, (18,) 1868, and grew up in the gloomy palace at Gatchina. He received a moderate education, like that of an ordinary Guard officer. Among his teachers were the famous obscurantist Pobiedonostzev and Mr. C. Heath, to whom the Czar owed a knowledge of English superior to that of the official language of the Russian Empire. At the age of 13 years he was nominated Hetman of the Cossacks, and at the moment of his accession to the throne he had the rank of Colonel.

The first important event in the life of the young Prince was a trip around the world, which he made in 1890-91, in the company of several relatives and young officers. The voyage was undertaken ostensibly for educational purposes, but it was said to have degenerated into a series of debauches. In Japan, the country which was destined to play such a tragic part in Nicholas's life, he was struck by a Japanese policeman on the head, receiving a rather serious wound. On his return from foreign parts

Nicholas resumed the life of a Russian military youth.

In 1894 the heir to the throne was betrothed to Princess Alix of Hessen, daughter of the Grand Duke of Hessen, granddaughter of Queen Victoria and sister of Grand Duke Ernst-Ludwig of Hessen Darmstadt. On being baptized into Orthodoxy, she was given the name of Alexandra Fyodorovna. The couple married shortly after Nicholas's accession to the throne, in November, 1894. About the same time a certain Ivan Rasputin was arrested on the charge of having organized an attempt on the life of the young ruler.

The last Russian autocrat was a good father and husband. His wife bore him four daughters in succession, and finally, in 1904, a son, named Alexis (Alexei) and immediately nominated heir apparent to the throne. Throughout his reign Nicholas manifested indecision, a restricted outlook, and a marked obscurantist tendency. He was strongly inclined toward religion with a superstitious passion for spiritism and occultism.

The coronation of the Emperor took place in May, 1896, in Moscow. During the festivities arranged for the masses to celebrate the solemnity thousands of people were killed and wounded in a panic occasioned by criminal mismanagement. This disaster foreshadowed all the calamities of Nicholas's tragic reign, which were precipitated by the Japanese war and the revolutionary upheaval. He was forced to sign the addication manifesto on March 15, 1917, when the revolution was an accomplished fact.

* * *

Honors for French Generals

THE Council of Ministers of France announced on Aug. 6 that General Ferdinand Foch, Commander in Chief of the allied forces on the western front, had been promoted to be a Marshal of France. The Ministers also conferred the Military Medal upon General Pétain, Commander in Chief of the French Armies on the western front. In presenting the name of General Foch, Premier Clemenceau said:

> At the hour when the enemy, by a formidable offensive on a front of 100 kilometers, counted on snatching the decision and imposing a German peace upon us, Geneal Foch and his admirable troops vanquished him.
>
> Paris is not in danger, Soissons and Château-Thierry have been reconquered, and more than 200 villages have been delivered; 35,000 prisoners and 700 cannon have been captured, and the enemy's high hopes before the attack have been crushed. The glorious allied armies have thrown him from the banks of the Marne to the Aisne. Such are the results of the High Command's strategy, superbly executed by incomparable commanders. The confidence placed by the republic and by all the Allies in the conqueror of St. Goud, the Yser, and the Somme has been fully justified.

A memorandum issued prior to the promotion of General Foch said that his elevation to the rank of Marshal would not only be a reward for past services, but would also "consecrate even more deeply the authority of the great warrior called upon to lead the Entente armies to a definite victory."

The citation accompanying General Pétain's decoration said:

> He has always succeeded in maintaining a firm, benevolent discipline in the armies, in upholding the morale to a supreme degree, and inspiring a high degree of confidence. He has acquired imperishable rights to national gratitude by victoriously repulsing the German onslaught.

* * *

The Marshal's Baton

THE most ancient and highest military honor which the Republic of France can bestow is the baton of a Marshal of France. It antedates both the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor and the Military Medal; it lacks the political taint of the former, but does not aspire to the credit for individual bravery as does the bestowal of the latter.

For over forty years no one had received the Marshal's baton in France when it was given to General Joffre in December, 1916. This reward for the soldier who had conceived and executed the battle of the Marne was delayed by the socialistic influences which prevailed in the Briand Ministry in the first year of the war and feared military dictatorship. And now General Foch, whose strategy in command of the 7th Army

at the battle of the Marne was as dramatic as it was effectual, receives the second baton for winning what may be known as the second battle of the Marne and for having saved, at least in the popular mind, Paris for the second time.

This baton, as provided for by the present military regulations, is a staff seventy centimeters long and five in diameter, covered with dark blue velvet, flecked with gold stars and tipped with silver heads on the rims of which is engraved the Latin legend: "Terror belli; decus pacis" [the terror of war, the honor of peace.] It is carried in the right hand clasped in the middle with one end resting on the hip and is used to salute instead of the sword.

The dignity was first instituted in France by King Philip Augustus at the time of the Third Crusade in 1191.

* * *

British Troops on the Caspian Sea

ACCORDING to dispatches Aug. 18 British forces were in possession of Baku, the important port on the western coast of the Caspian Sea, and also held important positions in Turkestan, on the eastern coast. The troops had passed through Baluchistan and Eastern Persia. By a curious contradiction, while the British in the north of Russia are opposing the Bolsheviki, in the Caucasus they are allied with the Bolsheviki in fighting the Turks. The presence of British troops in these regions was unexpected; it was announced in official circles that they were in alliance with the Armenians and with local revolutions hostile to the Central Powers, and would aid in preventing the Germans and Turks from securing dominion there.

* * *

Telegraph and Telephones Under Government Control

BY authority of a joint resolution of Congress, President Wilson, on July 23, 1918, issued a proclamation taking control of the telegraph and telephone systems of the United States, and appointing the Postmaster General to act as supervisor. The Government did not take over the marine cable and radio systems because of the questions of foreign ownership involved. Postmaster General Burleson assumed formal possession, control, and operation of the land wires at midnight July 31. He stated that the systems would be operated as heretofore, and that no changes would be made until after the most careful consideration of all the facts.

* * *

The Conferring of Foreign Decorations

WHEN France and England recently desired to confer orders on Americans for military distinction, it was necessary to find some way of accepting the compliment without violating that section of the American Constitution which declares that "no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any King, Prince, or foreign State." (Article I., Section 9, sub-Section 8.)

England has the distinction of being the only country which has preserved the forms of the investiture of knighthood, since the days "when knighthood was in flower." In the British Empire it has long been the custom to confer orders of knighthood, with the knightly prefix *Sir*, not only on distinguished sons of Dominions but on natives of India, whether of Princely rank or high personal distinction.

King George in July awarded the Order of the Bath to Admiral Rodman and the Order of St. Michael and St. George to Admiral Strauss, both of the United States Navy. Generals Pershing, March, and Biddle received the decoration of Knight Commander of the Bath. Under a rule passed by Congress permission was given to Americans to accept foreign decorations, but before the rule was adopted an order tendered to Admiral Sims by King George was declined. The Americans in receiving these orders do so without the ceremony of the accolade—the laying on of the sword and the recital of mystic words; nor are they "dubbed" in a kneeling posture signifying allegiance. They are simply pre-

sented with the orders as a gift. No titles go with the honors thus conferred.

* * *

President Wilson's Appeal Regarding Mob Violence

PRESIDENT WILSON issued a personal appeal on July 26 addressed to the public, denouncing mob spirit and mob action. He referred not alone to mob action against those suspected of being enemy aliens or enemy sympathizers; he denounced most emphatically mob action of all sorts, especially lynchings. In this address he said:

> I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob, or gives it any sort of countenance, is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer, and does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and right than the words of her statesmen or the sacrifices of her heroic boys in the trenches can do to make suffering peoples believe her to be their savior. How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak?

The President called upon the law officers to co-operate to end the evil, and closed with these words:

> I now call upon it, upon its men and women everywhere, to see to it that its laws are kept inviolate, its fame untarnished. Let us show our utter contempt for the things that have made this war hideous among the wars of history by showing how those who love liberty and right and justice, and are willing to lay down their lives for them upon foreign fields, stand ready also to illustrate to all mankind their loyalty to all things at home which they wish to see established everywhere as a blessing and protection to the peoples who have never known the privilege of liberty and self-government. I can never accept any man as a champion of liberty, either for ourselves or for the world, who does not reverence and obey the laws of our own beloved land, whose laws we ourselves have made—he has adopted the standards of the enemies of his country, whom he affects to despise.

* * *

The Banishment of M. Malvy

THE sentence of exile passed by the French Senate, sitting as a Supreme Court, on M. Malvy, Minister of the Interior in so many Cabinets, for his share in the doings of Bolo, revives the general question of exile as a punishment. One of the earliest and most famous exiles was Aristides, ostracized for opposing Themistocles's policy of naval expansion; that is, voted into exile by a ballot of oyster shells cast by the Athenian Assembly. One of the voters, asked the cause of his adverse vote, replied that he had nothing personally against Aristides, "but was tired of hearing him called 'the Just.'" This was about 485 years before our era. Another famous exile was the poet Ovid, who, for complicity in some unknown intrigue, which the Emperor Augustus held to be treasonable, was banished to Torni, at the mouth of the Danube, in the ninth year of our era. Coming to more recent times: A statute of King Charles II., of the year 1678, made banishment to America the equivalent, as a punishment, of execution. The most famous modern exile was the Emperor Napoleon, whose banishment to St. Helena has become a proverb. During the period of assassinations in Russia which culminated in the murder of Alexander the Liberator, in 1881, many of the Bolsheviki of those days were exiled to Siberia, where they held a position quite different from that of the many dangerous criminals; for the Russia of the Czars, in this, perhaps, altogether too humane, sent convicted murderers to Siberia where America would have electrocuted them. In this way it happened that a third of the male population of some Siberian towns consisted of convicted murderers. But the closest analogue to the case of Malvy is that of Marshal Bazaine, who, in 1873, was exiled to the Ile-Sainte-Marguerite, whence he escaped to Italy and Spain, where he died in 1883.

* * *

General Degoutte's Career

THE French Official Bureau issued the following memorandum regarding one of France's ablest Generals:

> General Degoutte, the victor of Château-Thierry, who shares with Generals Mangin, de Mitry, Berthelot, and Gouraud the merit of having won the second battle of the Marne, is one of the most able and brilliant of the young French Generals. By a curious coincidence, General De-

goutte is a colonial, like Mangin and Gouraud. All his military career has been made in the colonial campaigns of the French Republic in Tunis from 1890 to 1895, in Madagascar from 1895 to 1896, in China in 1900, and in Morocco from 1911 to 1913.

Like Mangin and Pétain, he, at the outbreak of the war, was a Colonel and had distinguished himself, especially in the battle of Ailette in November, 1917, where, with his army corps, he captured 4,000 prisoners, 134 guns, and 282 machine guns in a few hours. He is now commanding a whole army, which includes American troops which attack the Germans from the Ourcq to the Marne and took Château-Thierry.

General Degoutte was born at Charny, in the Department of the Rhone, on April 18, 1866. After being graduated from St. Cyr in 1888, he became an ensign in the Zouaves in 1890, and was promoted until, at the outbreak of the war, he held the rank of Colonel. He was made Brigadier General in 1916 and Major General this year.

* * *

General Mangin's Achievements

GENERAL JOSEPH MANGIN, who was in command of the French-American forces between the Aisne and the Marne, had charge of the French troops in Tangier prior to the outbreak of the war. In 1912 he led his command from Tangier to Marakesh, where Muley Youssef's rival, El Hiba, had proclaimed himself Sultan. He went to the rescue of French officers there.

In May of 1916 Mangin's troops temporarily wrested Fort Douaumont from the Germans. The following October it was Mangin's command which again took Douaumont and also Fort Vaux, in the French "comeback" at Verdun.

In December, 1916, troops under General Mangin captured the entire Vacherauville-Loivemont-Besonvaux ridge, on which the Crown Prince had set up his remaining observation posts to direct the fire on the City of Verdun. This blow drove the enemy from the line they took Feb. 23 of that year and was accomplished two days after the Crown Prince began a drive for Verdun. The French also occupied Bezonvaux, which the Germans took on the first day of the offensive. The blow was so severe that the Crown Prince was long in returning to the attack.

In the Spring of 1917 General Mangin, seconded by General Hazel, commenced an attack in the Aisne sector, and by the middle of April the French offensive was in full swing between Soissons and Rheims. The French Army had made big gains when the offensive was suddenly stopped, and shortly after this General Mangin was relieved of his command.

The General was placed in an obscure post, and immediately there arose many protests. The sudden change in front by the French was charged to Premier Painlevé, who was accused of bringing the offensive to a halt, owing to the influence of the "defeatists," of whom Caillaux was the leader. Painlevé denied these charges. Matters stood thus when Clemenceau came in and drove out the "defeatists." One of his acts was to imprison Caillaux; another was to send General Mangin back to the field.

General Mangin had his next opportunity with the beginning of the great German offensive, which commenced March 21 last. The 5th British Army was routed and was in retreat when his army appeared and effectually closed the roads between the advancing enemy and Paris. It was on the arrival of General Mangin and his forces that the German advance was completely stopped at this danger point.

* * *

General Gouraud's Famous Order

THE following is the text of General Gouraud's order issued on July 17, 1918, the eve of the second battle of the Marne:

To the French and American Soldiers of the Army:

We may be attacked from one moment to another. You all feel that a defensive battle was never engaged in under more favorable conditions. We are warned, and we are on our guard. We have received strong reinforcements of infantry and artillery. You will fight on ground which by your assiduous labor you have transformed into a formidable fortress, into a fortress which is invincible if the passages are well guarded.

The bombardment will be terrible. You will endure it without weakness. The attack in a cloud of dust and gas will

be fierce, but your positions and your armament are formidable.

The strong and brave hearts of free men beat in your breasts. None will look behind, none will give way. Every man will have but one thought—"Kill them, kill them in abundance, until they have had enough." And therefore your General tells you it will be a glorious day.

* * *

Julius Caesar and the Marne

THE mention of Roman camps, Roman cities, and Roman roads in the western battle area recalls the fact that Julius Caesar, who effectively brought the present France within the area of Latin influence and the Latin tongue, carried on a campaign in the present battle area in the Spring of the year 57 B. C., two years before he crossed the Channel to "remote Britain." Julius Caesar started from Vesontio, (Besançon,) and, marching thence by way of Belfort into the plain of Alsace, gained a decisive victory over the Germans and drove them back across the Rhine. He followed this success by a campaign in the neighborhood of Rheims, then the territory of the Remi, who remained friendly to the Romans. Caesar successfully checked the army of the northern tribes at the passage of the Aisne between Laon and Rheims, but as he advanced northward the Nervii offered a strong resistance, until they were crushed on the banks of the Sambre. In 55 B. C., Caesar was again fighting in the present war zone, this time in Flanders, against the invading Germans. After practically annihilating them, he turned eastward, and built the famous bridge across the Rhine, the Latin description of which, in his "Gallic War," has long been the despair of schoolboys. Later in the same year he went to Britain, landing on the coast of Kent—in fact, accomplishing what the German fleet has so far failed even to attempt.

* * *

Austria-Hungary's View of the Czechoslovak Nation

AN official statement was issued by Austria-Hungary Aug. 17, denouncing British recognition of the Czechoslovaks as a nation in these words:

The form and contents of this latest declaration of the British Government must be emphatically repudiated. The Czechoslovaks' National Council is a committee of private persons who have no mandate from the Czechoslovak people and still less from the Czechoslovak "nation," which exists only in the imagination of the Entente.

Equally absurd is it to represent this committee as a future Government, which as yet does not exist.

In reference to the Czechoslovak "army," it may constitute a part of the Entente army, but it certainly cannot be an ally of the Entente in the sense of international law. It is well known to us that only a slight fraction of the self-styled Czechoslovak Army are Austrian or even Hungarian citizens of Slovak tongue.

These disloyal elements, guilty of perjury, will, notwithstanding the Entente's recognition, be regarded and treated as traitors. It cannot be permitted that the peoples who have always fulfilled their duties as Austrian and Hungarian citizens, and whose sons as members of the Austro-Hungarian Army fought bravely against the Entente, shall be subjected to the suspicions cast upon them by such methods as employed by the British official declaration. The Austro-Hungarian Government reserves its steps in this regard.

A full account of the Czechoslovak movement will be found on pages 489-93 of this magazine.

* * *

The Antiquity of Soissons

SOISSONS, which fell to the Germans on May 29 and was retaken by the French on July 28, is principally situated on the left bank of the Aisne. It is one of the oldest towns in France, and, after the Romans left it became the capital of the Frankish Kingdom of Neustria. It has a beautiful cathedral, in a combination of Romanesque and Gothic, Nôtre Dame, the old Church of St. Séger, and the two abbeys of St. Jean des Vignes and Nôtre Dame, both of which were reduced to ruins in 1914-15 by periodic German bombardments, while the cathedral suffered little. The Town Hall had a library of 60,000 volumes, including many rare and illuminated manuscripts in old French. The population of the town at the beginning of the war was 15,000. On the Plateau of Vregny, to the northeast of Soissons, in A. D. 486 Clovis defeated a Roman army and ended Roman dominion in Gaul.

Cavalry in Recent Battles

MARSHAL FOCH made skillful use of cavalry units in the great battle between the Marne and Aisne in July. He took advantage of their mobility and threw them in wherever his advancing infantry units threatened to lose touch with each other in the heat and confusion of the contest. No gaps were left where the enemy might strike back, for always the horsemen came up to fill the hole until the infantry line could be rectified and connected in a solid front.

The same tactics marked the first use of French cavalry in the battle of Picardy, when the French took over eighty-eight kilometers of front from the British to permit the latter to mass reserves at seriously threatened points of the line further north. A French cavalry corps, complete with light artillery, armored cars, and cyclists, arrived first on the scene in Picardy and relieved the British. They fought it out afoot until the heavy French infantry arrived and took over the task. Three days later the horsemen were on the move again, this time hurrying to the front where the enemy was hitting hard at the Lys line. The cavalry rode hard as the advance guard of the French infantry columns marching toward St. Omar. In the first twenty-four hours, despite the long strain of fighting in Picardy, they covered 125 kilometers without losing a man or horse. In sixty-six hours they had transferred their whole corps over 200 kilometers and arrived east of Mont Cassel.

The cavalry corps stood in support of the British for ten days in April, after the enemy had forced the line held by the Portuguese division. It maintained communication between two British armies and organized the ground from Mont Cassel to Mont Kemmel while the French Army moved up behind it. As the French infantry took over, the cavalry was drawn off to the left in the Mont Kemmel region, and for five days the horsemen, fighting afoot with two infantry divisions, withstood the terrific assaults of the Germans, who sought to hammer a way through behind Ypres at any cost. They endured steady bombardment for days, and when the infantry were hemmed in on top of Mont Kemmel the cavalry drove forward in counterattack and held off the shock divisions of the enemy while the French gunners got their pieces away.

Later, at the battle of Locre, the cavalry also shared fully with the infantry, blocking gaps in the line, and the final definite occupation of the town for the Allies was accomplished by a cavalry battalion.

* * *

Self-Denial of Americans

SIR WILLIAM GOODE of the British Food Ministry, declared in a statement July 11 that the self-denial of Americans, for the sake of those in want of food in England and France, was an exhibition of idealism almost without a parallel in history. He stated that from July 1, 1917, to April 1, 1918, the United States exported to the Allies 80,000,000 bushels of wheat and wheat products, although it was officially estimated that, owing to the short crop, only 20,000,000 bushels would be available for export. Mr. Hoover calculated that 50,000,000 out of the 80,000,000 bushels represented the individual sacrifice of the men, women, and children of the United States, who either gave up eating white bread or reduced their consumption of it.

In March, 1918, the amount of pork and pork products exported to the Allies from the United States reached the enormous figure of 308,000,000 pounds, more than six times the normal and 50 per cent. greater than in any previous month in the last seven years. In addition there were over a billion pounds of pork and pork products in American storage. In January the Allies asked Mr. Hoover for 70,000,000 pounds of frozen beef a month for the following three months. In March the United States shipped 86,000,000 pounds of beef and beef products to the Allies. That was over 20 per cent. larger than any previous month in seven years. The increased export was provided by the reduction of domestic consumption. By voluntary economies the saving on sugar for the year in the United States would amount approximately to 400,000 tons.

Since the United States Food Adminis-

tration came into existence the cost of food production, so far as the chief commodities were concerned, had increased 18 per cent., while the price of those commodities had decreased 12 per cent. to the domestic consumer. In May of last year the wholesale price of flour at Minneapolis was $16.75 per barrel of 196 pounds. It was predicted that it would go to $20 or more. In early May of this year, however, the price had fallen to $9.80, a decrease of 41 per cent.

* * *

Humanity at War

UP to the present, twenty-eight nations have entered the world war. What is their total population, and how large a part are they of all mankind? One may answer this best by listing, in alphabetical order, the nations which have so far declared war, and adding their populations together. They are:

Countries.	Population.
Austria-Hungary	50,000,000
Belgium	8,000,000
Bulgaria	5,000,000
Brazil	23,000,000
China	420,000,000
Cuba	2,500,000
*France	90,000,000
Germany	67,000,000
Great Britain	440,000,000
Greece	5,000,000
Italy	37,000,000
Japan	54,000,000
Liberia	2,000,000
Montenegro	500,000
Panama	400,000
*Portugal	15,000,000
Rumania	7,500,000
Russia	180,000,000
San Marino	10,000
Serbia	4,500,000
Siam	6,000,000
Turkey	42,000,000
United States	110,000,000
	1,569,410,000

*Including colonies.

To these might be added nations like Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, and Uruguay, which, without actually entering the ranks of active belligerents, have taken steps in that direction. No trustworthy estimate for the total of humanity for 1918 is available, but the list given above exceeds the billion and a half until quite recently given as the total of the human race.

* * *

Nations Not in the War

THE following nations, taken in alphabetical order, and with their populations added, have, so far, taken no part in the world war:

Countries.	Population.
Abyssinia	8,000,000
Afghanistan	6,000,000
Andorra	6,000
Argentina	8,000,000
Bhutan	250,000
Chile	5,000,000
Colombia	5,000,000
Denmark	3,000,000
Ecuador	1,500,000
Mexico	15,000,000
Monaco	20,000
Nepal	4,000,000
Holland, (including colonies)	40,000,000
Norway	2,500,000
Paraguay	800,000
Persia	9,000,000
Salvador	1,250,000
Spain	20,000,000
Switzerland	3,750,000
Venezuela	2,800,000
Total	135,876,000

This is a curious list of the "pacific" nations which, whether from preference or under duress, have refrained from taking part in the greatest event in all history. It would appear, then, that all but about one-twelfth of the human race is already implicated in the world's greatest war.

* * *

MILITARY service conventions between the United States and Great Britain were ratified July 30, whereby British subjects and Canadians in the United States must enlist in the armies of their own countries or be subject to conscription in the United States, the same rule to apply to Americans in Great Britain and Canada. It is estimated that the agreements affected 54,000 Americans in British territory (of whom 36,000 are in Canada) and 250,000 British and 60,000 Canadians in American territory.

Germany's First Great Defeat

How the Enemy Offensive, in Its Fifth Phase, Was Rolled Back From the Marne

[Period from July 18 to Aug. 18, 1918.]

BY the turning of the great German offensive on July 18, and the initiative of action subsequently passing from Ludendorff to Foch, the greatest battle of the war has been developed in France. It is the greatest, not because of the vast number of troops employed, the length of the casualty list, the latitude of front in action, or the area of territory involved—the battles in Russia during the first three years of the war several times surpassed all these elements in magnitude. It is the greatest because Ludendorff's comprehensive strategy to separate the French armies from the British, rolling the former south and isolating the latter north of the Somme, has, in the last month, not only been rendered nought, but been turned against himself, involving a probably decisive loss in men and material. The costly minor objectives he gained in the first four months of his mighty effort have, in the fifth, been torn from him one after another, and his carefully selected strategic positions, from which he intended to reach for his major objectives, have become hopelessly compromised.

He began on March 21 with available men and material superior to those of the Allies; his tactical positions were superior; so were his strategic, with few exceptions. Five months later he found himself inferior in all these elements and issuing orders to his army commanders to economize man power in every possible way.

On March 21 there were, according to a deduction made from the most authoritative revised statistics, 210 German divisions on the western front, together with 55 (Maurice says 60) reserve divisions. Of these Ludendorff had at once available for his offensive a maximum of 110 and 23 reserve; that is to say, 1,430,000 men plus 299,000, or, in round numbers, 1,729,000 men. From March 21 until after the second phase of the offensive, on the front between Ypres and Arras, begun on April 9, he employed 79 divisions against the British in the north, 23 divisions against the British and French in the centre, and 24 divisions against the French alone in the south—thus being obliged to call upon his reserves to the extent of 16 divisions. From the middle of April until the third phase of the offensive—conducted entirely by the Imperial Crown Prince—began on May 27, from the Chemin des Dames to the Marne, it is estimated that half the divisions employed were refitted. Germany does not refit a division unless it has lost between 30 and 40 per cent. of its effectives; hence, at the minimum, the refitting represents a casualty list of about 813,000 men.

ENORMOUS GERMAN LOSSES

The Crown Prince employed in his assaults of May 27, June 9, and July 15 a total of between 36 and 40 divisions, but these on the latter date were quickly augmented until he was using 40 between Rheims and the Argonne Forest and 47 on the Marne salient, having stripped the Picardy front as bare as was advisable—barer than was advisable, as subsequent events have proved—in order to do so. His retreat from the Marne to the Vesle, between July 18 and Aug. 5, allowed him by the shortening of the line to economize to the extent of 10 divisions, or 130,000 men. Meanwhile, two new armies had been placed at his service which together were probably made up of a few over 40 divisions, or between 500,000 and 600,000 men, giving Ludendorff a maximum of 176 divisions, or, in round numbers, 2,339,000 men, minus, of course, the casualties suffered from May 27 on, which may or may not have been replaced.

As Ludendorff is now fervently impressing upon his commanders the neces-

sity for economy in man power, it would probably be even under the mark to place the Crown Prince's losses between May 27 and Aug. 18—from Albert around to the Argonne Forest—at 25 divisions, being half the total he saved by shortening his line plus half the effectives of the two new armies, or, in round numbers, 325,000 men. As stated last month, the isolated attacks of the Allies between June 26 and July 18, which had nothing to do with the German offensive, cost the enemy on the western front 210,000 casualties, of which 25,000 were prisoners. These figures may be summarized as follows:

Ludendorff's effectives available March 21	1,729,000
Additions by refitting up to May 27..	813,000
Two additional armies at the maximum	600,000
Total number affected	3,142,000
Ludendorff's losses:	
From March 21 to May 27	813,000
From June 26 to July 18, (independent of others)	210,000
From May 27 to Aug. 18	325,000
	1,348,000

Net survivors, 1,794,000.

WHY INITIATIVE WAS LOST

In other words, he now has 1,794,000 men available for the defense of a front, threatened at various points, throughout a length of 250 miles, from Ypres to the Argonne Forest, when on March 21 he had 1,729,000 available for attacking a length of 195 miles, between the very same points. This produces the paradox of 7,180 men per mile for the present defense, when five months ago he had 8,866 men per mile at the beginning of his great offensive. At that time he could so concentrate his predominant forces that at certain points they fought the British five to two and the French four to three, while in their descent to the Marne they fought in the favorable ratio of nine to seven. No wonder that the initiative has passed to Foch!

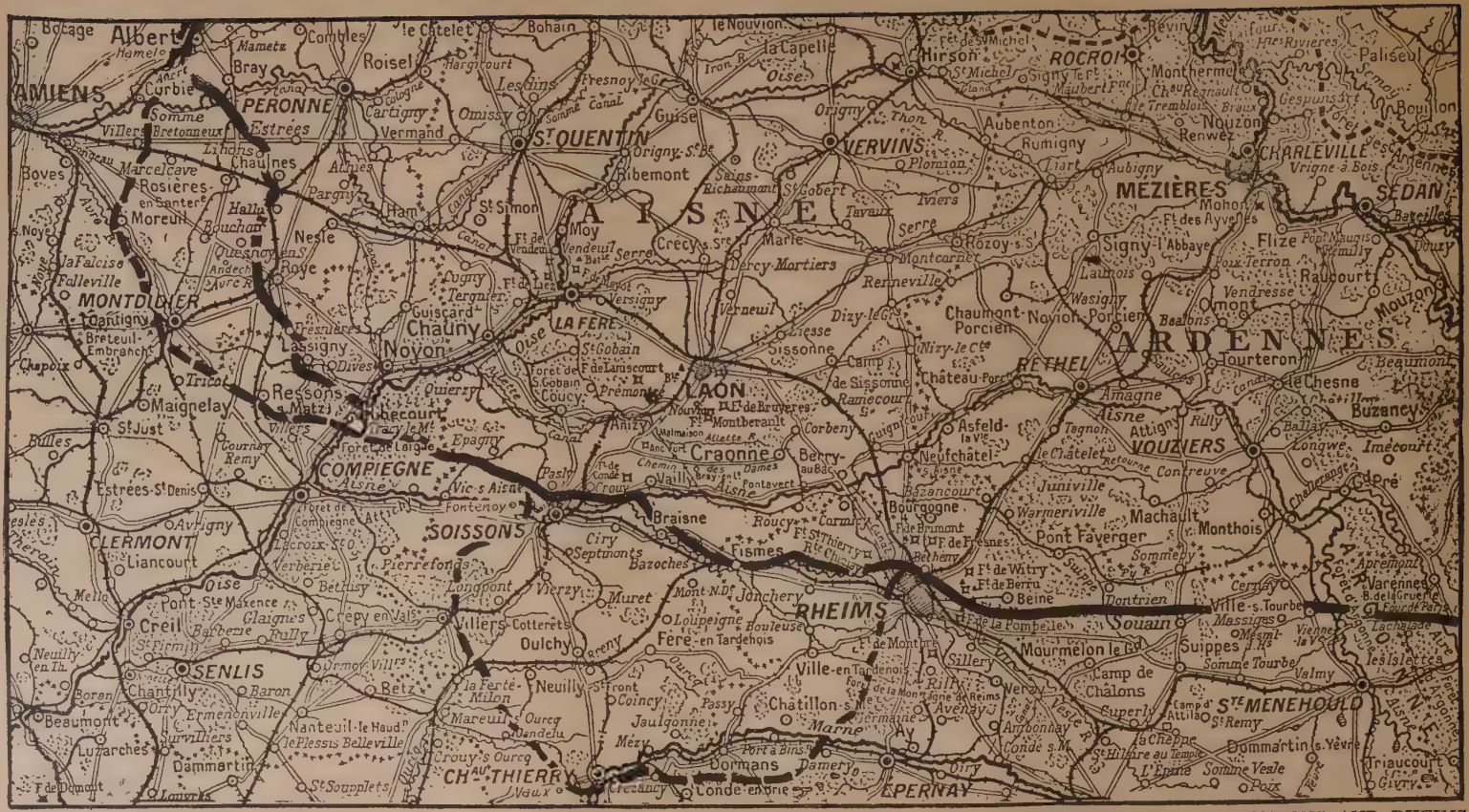
These figures of Ludendorff's losses, huge as they are, are short of the official estimate. The French estimate is from 700,000 to 1,000,000 up to July 18, and 360,000 from that date to Aug. 16. And it is known that between the last two dates 70,000 German prisoners have been registered, with more than 1,000 cannon taken, exclusive of an estimate of more than 10,000 machine guns.

But if the man power of Foch first equaled and then surpassed that of Ludendorff, as it obviously did, some time between March 21 and July 18, why did he wait for a masterstroke when, ere the latter date, he might have at least prevented the enemy's further advance? The answer is to be found in those minor offensives of the Allies between June 26 and even after the opening of the fifth phase of the German offensive on July 15, which, recorded in last month's review, now reveal their analogy with the greater operations of the month under review. We have already seen how these minor movements cost the Germans 210,000 men in casualties, 25,000 of whom were prisoners, but that is not the point to be considered here. The point is that they strategically prepared the sites where bolder and more decisive movements were presently to be made, and that Ludendorff, firmly believing that Foch still had no reserves, allowed the Imperial Crown Prince on July 15 to strike simultaneously in Champagne, east of Rheims, from Rheims to the Marne, and then to cross the Marne, without waiting to hear of the result of the attack in Champagne—a stupendous military error.

FIRST "COUP DE FOCH"

When this review closed last month, the blow delivered on the left side of the Marne salient was only a few hours old. It was still in its defensive stage, still a remedy for the transit of the Marne, the possible breaking of the Champagne line, and the envelopment of Rheims. Soon, however, its chararter was to become entirely offensive.

That was the first *coup de Foch* made possible by the master's unobserved preparations, both tactical and strategic, by his daily augmenting army of manoeuvre, of whose existence even the Allies had their doubts. By Aug. 5, the Crown Prince had been driven from the Marne to the Vesle, and there on the Aisne-Vesle watershed had concentrated a vast



HEAVY BLACK LINE FROM ALBERT TO RHEIMS SHOWS NEW BATTLE FRONT, AUG. 18, 1918. BROKEN LINE SOUTH OF SOISSONS AND RHEIMS INDICATES THE CHATEAU-THIERRY POCKET, FROM WHICH GERMANS WERE DRIVEN BY FRENCH AND AMERICANS; BROKEN LINE THROUGH MONTDIDIER INDICATES SALIENT CLEARED BY BRITISH

array of guns and troops in anticipation of a front attack.

Two days later, 100 miles to the north, there was another coup de Foch, delivered by Sir Douglas Haig against the armies of Prince Rupprecht on the Lys salient. On Aug. 8 there was another, halfway between, on the Somme, directed against the lines of communication which feed the vast accumulation of troops and guns of the Crown Prince on the watershed of the Aisne-Vesle, and without which even the German front in Champagne to the eastward could hardly exist.

These three allied offensives, begun on July 18, Aug. 7, and Aug. 8, with their attendant diversions, make up the story of the month. All have proceeded far enough to show the advantage of the Allies in possessing a supreme commander, far enough to compare the genius of that supreme commander with that of his famous German opponent, far enough even to agree with the dictum of Major Gen. Sir Frederick B. Maurice, uttered on Aug. 17, that Ludendorff must now choose between giving up offensive projects and shortening his line by a great retreat.

BEGINNING THE ATTACK

What was the situation on the Marne salient, when, in the early morning of July 18, French and American detachments under General Mangin attacked the right wing of the Crown Prince? The latter had been for three days held with great losses on the Rheims-Argonne line and on the edge of the mountains of Rheims, (Le Forêt de la Montagne de Rheims,) between the Cathedral City and the Marne; between Château-Thierry and Mezy the Americans, on the first day of the fifth phase of the offensive, July 15, had thrown him back across the river; but to the east, from Mezy to beyond Chatillon, he was nearly four miles south of the stream. His objectives were perfectly obvious: to occupy the Mountain of Rheims and the railway junction of Epernay, seven miles south. This achievement would force the French to retire from the strongly fortified Champagne line, and reward him with tactical facilities for a tremendous onslaught against the French centre.

The Franco-American attack was delivered from Amblény, six miles due west of Soissons, south to Bouresches, five miles northwest of Château-Thierry—a front of about twenty-eight miles. The greatest penetration was six miles in the north, as far as the River Crise, which, on its way to join the Aisne at Soissons, skirts the south and west sides of the plateau which dominates that town from the south. On the following day Italian detachments recovered Bouilly, northwest of the Mountain of Rheims. In the north a grip was gained on the plateau and on the Chaudun region, and in the centre a two-mile advance was made up the Ourcq. In these two days 17,000 prisoners were taken by the Allies and more than 360 guns, some of which were of mid-calibre gauge.

DRIVEN OVER THE MARNE

As from the first day French cavalry had been operating behind the enemy's lines, and the enemy himself had been obliged to hurry reserves to protect his right wing, it is not astonishing that, on the third day of the coup de Foch, he should have entirely forsaken the south bank of the Marne. In the west his line of communication between Soissons and Château-Thierry had already been cut. In the east the Italian detachments, reinforced by some English battalions, threatened the highway along the Ardre, which joined Fismes, on the Vesle, with Verneuil and Chatillon, on the Marne.

By July 23 the Soissons-Château-Thierry line, save where it mounted the plateau south of Soissons, was entirely in the hands of the Allies. Three more miles had been made eastward up the Ourcq. The Americans had advanced to Epieds, on the Fère-en-Tardenois-Château-Thierry highway, six miles beyond the latter city. In the centre the Allies had crossed the Marne and threatened the envelopment of Jaulgonne. On the eastern leg of the salient the Italians, English, and French were within two miles of the Fismes-Chatillon highway. The booty to date amounted to nearly 25,000 prisoners, over 400 guns, many of

THE CHATEAU-THIERRY "POCKET," AND POSITIONS OF THE ARMIES THAT FOUGHT THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE MARNE: THE GERMAN COMMANDERS WERE FORCED FROM THE MARNE POSITIONS IN THE SOUTH TO THE INDICATED VESLE POSITIONS AT THE NORTH

large calibre, and vast stores of supplies. On July 25 the enemy attempted a diversion by making violent attacks to throw back the eastern leg of the contracting salient. They were repulsed. On the other side of the salient the French occupied Oulchy-la-Ville, the last point held on the highway save to the north, on the Soissons plateau. The end of the first week of the coup de Foch revealed the Crown Prince using every effort to save his army from envelopment and his accumulated guns and stores from capture by hurrying them to the north or destroying them on the spot.

CAPTURE OF SOISSONS

On Aug. 1 the French official report announced that the total number of prisoners taken since the opening of the fifth phase of the German offensive, July 15, on the Marne and the Champagne fronts was 33,400, of whom 674 were officers. The next day the French occupied Soissons, entering, not over the plateau, but from the southwest. Meanwhile, on the 26th, the hold on Oulchy had been expanded; on the 27th the columns had begun to ascend and to descend the Ourcq, with Fère-en-Tardenois as the objective; on the 28th this objective was attained, and the east side of the salient pushed in over the Rheims-Dormans highway; on the 29th the enemy made prodigious resistance, but was pushed back east of Plessier-Huleu and Oulchy-le-Château, north of Fère, and west of Bligny and St. Euphraise; on the 30th the Germans gained a little ground west of St. Euphraise, but two miles to the southwest on the Ardre, in the neighborhood of Bligny, the French discounted this gain and made its position untenable; still further to the southwest the Allies occupied Romigny, and some progress was made by the French and Americans north of Fère; the 31st was consumed by violent opposition, made by the enemy to keep the Americans out of the Forêt de Nesles, northeast of Fère; on Aug. 1 some British detachments, which had, meanwhile, been incorporated with the French in the region of Plessier-Huleu, joined in taking the height north of Grand Rozoy and reached Cramoiselle; and finally, with the taking of Soissons on the 2nd, a penetration averaging two miles was made throughout the salient, over a front that had been contracted from eighty miles, on July 18, to forty-five on Aug. 2.

The feverish, formidable efforts made henceforth by the Crown Prince to hold the watershed of the Aisne-Vesle have been interpreted in two ways: either he has expected that Foch, according to the latter's "Principles of War," delivered at the Ecole de Guerre before the war, would attempt an immediate decision with a retreating enemy, or his Highness needed a strong base from which to launch another attack upon the Marne and beyond.

WITHDRAWAL ON THE LYS

Meanwhile, it was being asked why did not the British attack, either on the Lys salient or upon the Somme, since it was known that Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria had depleted his reserves in order to aid his Highness of Prussia. Apparently it was not until Aug. 5 that Ludendorff discovered, for the first time, the strategic importance of the minor assaults that had been made from time to time from June 26 on the Lys salient and on the Somme and Montdidier sectors.

At any rate, on Aug. 5, in order to counteract the effect of the strategic positions still remaining unutilized by the Allies, he made three withdrawals—on the Lys salient, north of La Bassée; in the Albert region, and between the Avre and Montdidier. On the following day he even attacked and gained ground on the Bray-Corbie road, south of Albert. Evidently the withdrawal of the Bavarians in the north was just what Sir Douglas Haig had been waiting for, or he did not care to have it proceed further, through fear of compromising his plans. He immediately followed it up, and by Aug. 7 had launched a formidable attack on the Lawe River, with a five-mile base and a penetration of 1,000 yards. Further south, in the Albert region, he recovered the ground lost on the Bray-Corbie road two days before.

On Aug. 18 Sir Douglas Haig made another advance, the strategic complement

Major Gen. C. H. Muir
28th Division
(Clinedinst from Press Illus. Service)

Major Gen. J. E. McMahon
5th Division
(Clinedinst from Underwood)

Major Gen. G. H. Cameron
4th Division
(© Harris & Ewing)

Major Gen. W. G. Haan
32d Division
(© Harris & Ewing)

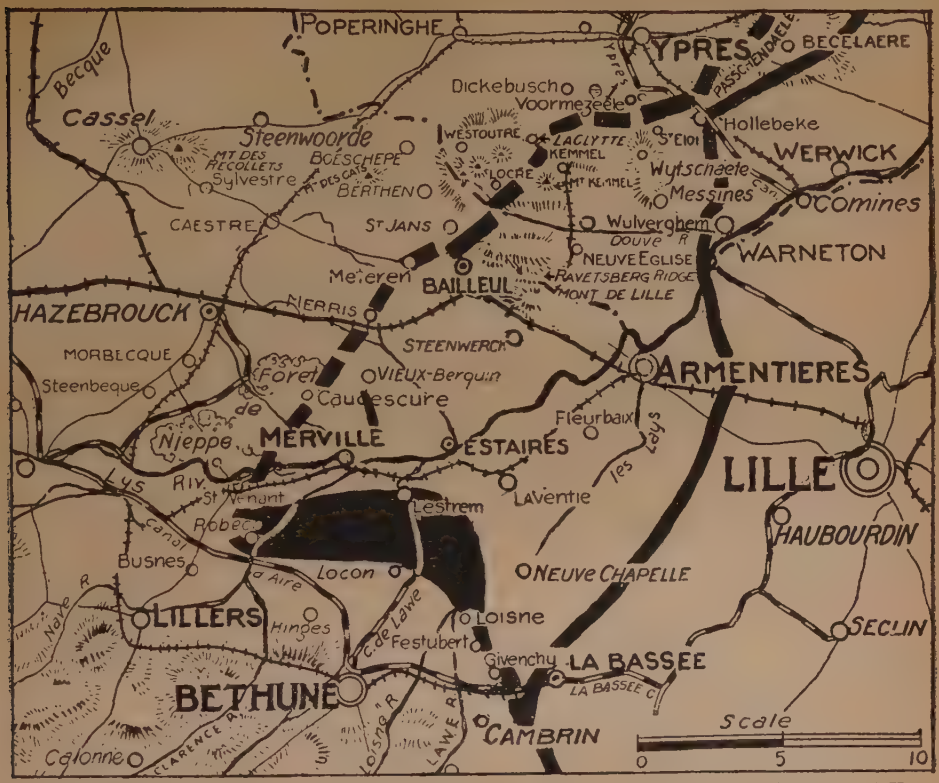
AMERICAN AVIATORS WHO DIED ON DUTY

Major Raoul Lufbery
(International Film Service)

Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt
(© Western Newspaper Union)

Major J. Purroy Mitchel
(© Underwood)

Victor Chapman



THE SMALL BLACK AREA INDICATES THE LYS SALIENT WON BY THE BRITISH

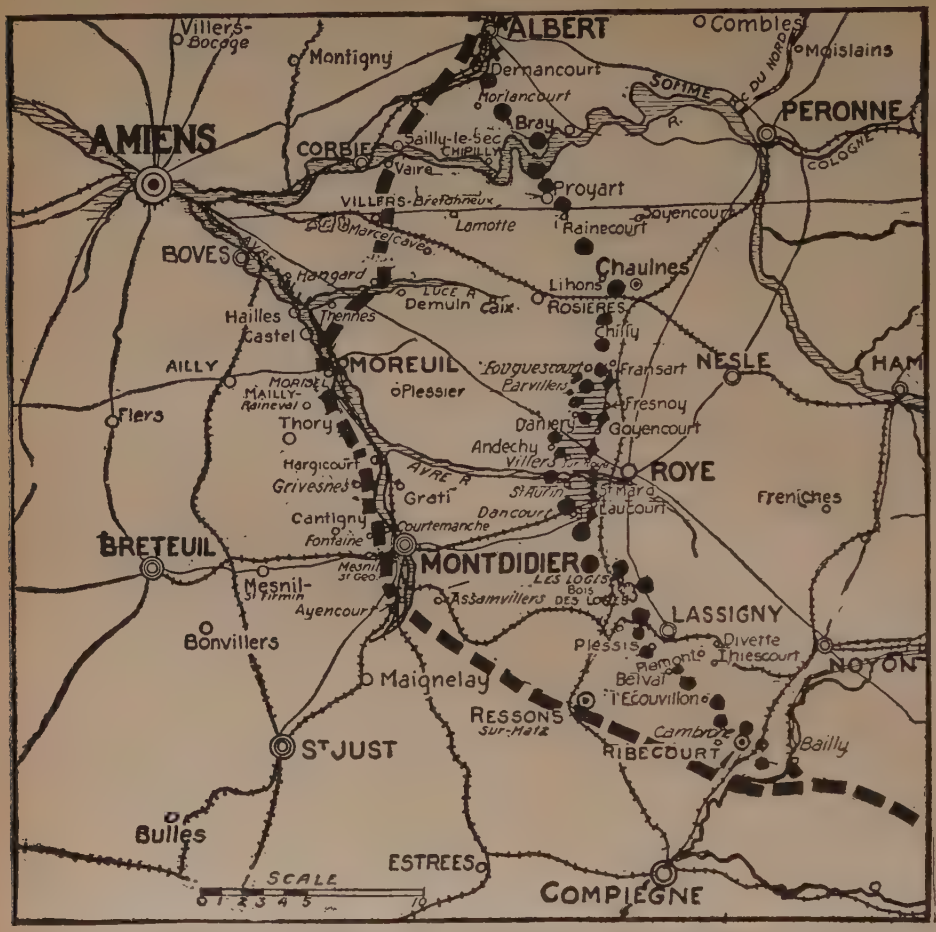
of that made on Aug. 7, for it was against the centre west of Armentières, where over a four-mile front he forced the Germans back between Bailleul and Vieux Berquin, capturing the village of Outtersteene and taking 400 prisoners.

THE PICARDY OFFENSIVE

The events following July 18 on the Marne had both a defensive and an offensive character, but on the Picardy salient, between Albert and Montdidier, on Aug. 8, Foch struck in a way which was designed to be offensive from the very beginning. This front, like the Lys and the Marne salients, had already been prepared for offensive eventualities. In this region the last preparatory coup was made on July 23 when the French troops by a brilliant minor operation between Moreuil and Montdidier captured Mailly-Raineval, Sauvillers, and Aubvillers, thus securing a succession of heights overlooking the Avre River.

The element of surprise in the great Picardy attack is as remarkable as the precise manner in which it has been developed—as the unfolding of its objectives, the attainment of which would have a direct bearing upon the German front to the southeast as far as the Argonne Forest. In geographical character it is not unlike the affair of July 18, for its objective line, Péronne-Roye, bears the same relation to the front from Soissons to the Argonne, that the objective line of July 18, Soissons-Château-Thierry, did to the Marne salient. It is on a much larger scale, however.

In the first three days of the battle as many interesting phases developed. In the first phase the British, under Rawlinson, advanced about nine miles on the plateau to the south of the Somme by driving back the army of von der Marwitz from Moreuil. But Débeny's French army, which from the time of its advance had to cross the Avre under fire



DETAIL MAP OF THE MONTDIDIER SALIENT EVACUATED BY THE GERMANS WHEN THEY FELL BACK TO CHAULNES, ROYE, AND LASSIGNY

of the enemy, who destroyed bridges as fast as they were constructed, could not proceed so rapidly, particularly as its right was threatened from a wooded ravine running parallel to the Avre. So Rawlinson held back in his advance on Roye until Débeny not only had time to envelop the ravine but also to flank Montdidier on the south. That was the second phase.

The third phase was marked by a general advance, which still continues, with pincers out for Chaulnes, Roye, and Lassigny. At its begining Rawlinson made up for lost time in the direction of the Péronne-Roye line. Then Débeny, on his side, arrived within three miles of Roye. At this point, south of Montdidier, the French General Humbert suddenly attacked without any artillery preparation the army of von Hutier, which covers the front southeast of Fontenoy, west of Soissons. His attack, preceded by a formidable array of tanks, moved north toward Roye and at the same time turned the flank of the Lassigny massif.

CAPTURE OF MONTDIDIER

On the first day of the development of this third phase, Aug. 10, Montdidier was captured and the number of prisoners registered was 25,000. The total casualties of the Allies were less than 6,000. Eleven German divisions had been smashed. Americans had joined in the fray and with the British had captured the whole of the Chipilly spur.

By Aug. 12 the massif of Lassigny had been taken and the number of prisoners had reached 40,000. By the 18th there had been a retirement of the foe at Bucquoy, six miles northwest of the important railway junction of Bapaume; a circling movement was in progress by the French in the forest southeast of Lassigny, netting the town of Canny-sur-Matz, two miles away; the Oise Valley, southeast of Noyon, was dominated from its heights; Rawlinson was only a mile from Roye.

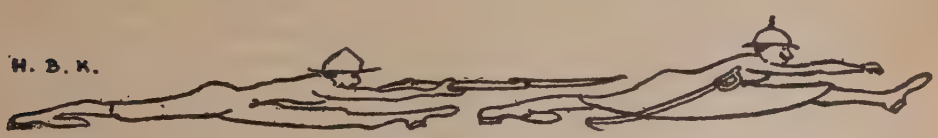
The map of the Picardy salient on Aug. 18 presents a most interesting appearance. The front shows almost as it did before the battle of the Somme in the Summer of 1916, when the objectives of the British and French were respectively Bapaume and Péronne. Meanwhile, tanks and high-power traction guns, to say nothing of the bombing airplanes, have rendered nought the defenses of 1916. These new engines have also rendered lines of communication inoperative long before they could be occupied. Another change is that two years ago the front, with its elbow at Noyon, was securely held by the enemy from that point eastward along the heights of the Oise and the Oise-Aisne watershed. Now the enemy has a broader terrain surrounding the La Fère-Noyon-Compiègne road to Paris, broader around the Laon-Anizy-Soissons road, but this added possession incurs ever augmenting danger as the Allies close in upon Chaulnes, Roye, and Lassigny to the northeast.

A German Account of the Flame Throwers

The origin of the German flame throwers, or flammenwerfer, was described by the Rheinisch-Westphälische Zeitung in its issue of June 9, 1918, as follows:

The flammenwerfer troops owe their weapon to pure chance. Their present commander, Major R., a reserve officer, during military exercises in time of peace received an order to defend a fort to the last extremity. In the course of the operations, when all means had been exhausted, he finally called out the local firemen, who happened to be under his orders at the time, and they, armed with fire hose, directed streams of water at the assailants. In the critical discussion following the exercises, the Kaiser was present when Major R. declared that he might have sprinkled his assailants with burning petroleum quite as easily as with water. The Emperor asked whether that could be done and received the reply that it was possible. It required long efforts, however, before Engineer L., who had been intrusted with this task, succeeded in discovering the combination of mineral oils hurled in flame jets by our engines against the enemy.

In peace times Major R. was chief of the firemen's corps in Leipzig. This Prince of Hell, (Fürst der Hölle,) as he is called by his men, enjoys great popularity, not only among his immediate subordinates, but throughout the army. He can now contemplate with pride the important development of the contingent placed under his orders. In January, 1915, he commanded a detachment of only thirty-six men; it is now a formation with special shock troops, armed with grenades and with everything necessary for independent operations.



Second Battle of the Marne

Three Weeks of Brilliant Fighting Which Drove the Germans From the Marne With Heavy Losses

The counteroffensive launched on July 18, 1918, by the French and American forces on the Marne in the Château-Thierry district proved to be one of the most important military operations of the war. It was a complete surprise to the Germans, who were still occupied with an attempted offensive of their own, and the allied blow gained momentum each day; for three weeks there followed an uninterrupted series of successes for the armies under Marshal Foch. The Château-Thierry pocket was entirely cleared, thus parrying the thrust toward Paris and ending that menace; Montdidier was occupied, and the menace to Amiens thereby removed; the important railway lines from Paris to Châlons and from Paris to Amiens were freed from enemy control; chief of all, the snatching of the initiative from the enemy filled the Allies with confidence and shook the German morale. The masterly strategy of Marshal Foch, between July 18 and Aug. 15, wrested from the enemy more than 73,000 unwounded prisoners, 1,800 large guns, and 10,000 machine guns. In the following pages CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *presents the narratives of this great battle cabled from the front by special correspondents with the American and French Armies.*

America's Part in a Historic Battle

By EDWIN L. JAMES

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JULY 18, 1918.—On a front of forty kilometers, from Fontenoy to Château-Thierry, the Americans and French this morning launched an offensive against the German positions. It was the first allied offensive of moment for more than a year. The Americans are playing a large rôle. They are fighting in the Soissons region, the Château-Thierry region, and other points along the big front.

When the German high command started its drive Monday morning [July 15] it started more than the Kaiser planned for. The French and Americans were entirely successful in guarding their secret and the attack at 4:45 o'clock this morning, without one gun of artillery preparation, took the Germans completely by surprise.

The Americans and French had an early breakfast and started out. Then with rolling barrages ahead of them they went on. A big piece of military work, very recent in conception, but of Foch planning, was shown when, at the precise minute, 4:45 o'clock, the French and Americans along nearly thirty miles of front went over the top and against the invaders. As in halting the German drive, the Americans were at two vital points of the allied drive—Soissons and Château-Thierry—and elsewhere as well. On what was done to the ends of the line depended the success of the whole movement.

I was present at the fighting this morning in the Château-Thierry region, where our boys had done so much to aid the allied cause already. Just as the whistle was blown for the doughboys to start, our gunners started barrages with their seventy-fives. Our troops swept down the hill north of the Bois de Belleau toward Torcy. Shouting as they went, the American soldiers advanced on Torcy, and at precisely 5:30 the commander reported that they had captured the town.

A little to the south other Americans swept around Belleau and closed up. Belleau was captured at 8:20 o'clock, and by that time German prisoners began coming back. Captured officers ad-

mitted that the coming of the Americans had been a complete surprise. Sweeping north the Americans charged into the Bois de Givry, and, after a short fight with Germans, went on down Hill 193 and into the village of Givry. Two hours later these troops had taken the town of Montairs.

In the meanwhile other American detachments with the French had charged the German positions in front of Courchamps and, while held up temporarily, brought up reinforcements, chased the Germans out of the woods, captured eighteen guns, and took possession of Courchamps.

HOW AMERICANS FIGHT

July 19.—A survey just completed of the woods south of Mézy, through which the Germans advanced against the Americans on July 15, and subsequently were driven back across the Marne, revealed that more than 5,000 Hun fighters had been killed there. The officers who made the survey tell me that the bodies at some spots were three and four deep, where, in close formation, the Germans tried to go ahead against our machine guns. According to the usual ratio between the killed and total casualties, this would mean that we inflicted more than 20,000 casualties on the boche.

Practically the whole of the Kaiser's famed 10th Guard Division came across the Marne against the Americans, and very few of them got back. Prisoners taken from the 6th Grenadiers said one battalion was annihilated in the woods, and of the other battalion about one company was left. Since our troops threw the Germans back across the Marne on the sector from Gland to Jaulgonne, the enemy has made no further attempt to cross there.

A general review of this operation shows that one reason why the Germans suffered such heavy losses in the woods forming the triangle from Fossoy, to Mézy, to Crezancy, was that the Americans were overwhelmed by such large numbers that the line could not hold, but nevertheless refused to retreat where it could possibly hold a place in the woods. This sent the German advance sweeping over large numbers of nests which sheltered ten, five, or two Americans, and sometimes one, who stuck while the boches passed by and then opened up on them.

Last night tales of heroism of these men were being told. I believe that of all of them the story of Sergeant J. F. Brown was most notable. Brown commanded a detachment of eleven men when the German onslaught came. They had shelter, which saved them under the heavy German bombardment, and when the advancing boche came along they let him pass, and then got ready to turn their machine gun loose. But just then a hundred or more Germans came along. Brown ordered his men to scatter quickly. He ducked into the woods, and saw the Huns put his beloved machine gun out of the war. The Germans passed on. Brown looked around and seemed to be alone. He started toward the Marne, away from his own lines, and met his Captain, also alone.

These two Americans, out there in the woods in the dark, the Captain with an automatic pistol and Brown with an automatic rifle, saw that the boche barrage kept them from getting to their own lines, and so decided to kill all the Germans they could before they themselves were killed. They lay in the thicket while the Germans passed by in large numbers. According to Brown's report, they heard two machine guns going back of them, and decided to go and get them. The two crept close and charged one of the machine guns, which killed the American Captain. Brown got the lone German gunner with his rifle. Then up came an American Corporal, also left alone in the woods, and Brown and the Corporal started after the second German machine gun, behind a clump of bushes.

They got close, and Brown with his automatic rifle killed three Germans, the crew of the gun. Then, attracted by the shooting close at hand, up came the eleven men Brown had commanded, each looking for Germans. Brown resumed command, and led the party to where they could see more Germans in a sector of trench taken from the Americans.

These thirteen Americans performed

a feat never to be forgotten. The Germans evidently were left in the trenches with machine guns to meet a counter-attack should the Americans make one. Brown posted his twelve men about the Hun position in twelve directions. He took a position where he could rake the trench with his automatic rifle. At a signal the twelve Americans opened up with their rifles from twelve points, and Brown started working his automatic rifle. Brown said he didn't know how many Germans he killed, but fired his rifle until it got so hot he couldn't hold it, and had to rest it across a stump. The Germans then, thinking they were attacked by a large party, decided to surrender. A German Major stepped out of the trench with his hands high, yelling "Kamerad!" Brown laid down his heated rifle, and while three of the hidden Americans guarded him, advanced toward the Major. Then all thirteen Americans moved in and disarmed the Germans. Brown said he didn't know how many there were, but it was more than 100.

Then, with Brown and the Corporal at the head, and the other eleven Americans in the rear, the procession started through the woods, guided by a doughboy's compass, toward the American lines. It wasn't plain sailing. They were behind the German advance, and had to pass it and a space between the fighting Germans and the Americans. On the way through the woods several parties of Germans saw the advancing column, with Brown and the Corporal at its head, and hurriedly surrendered.

Beating through the thicket, Brown led his party to a place where the German advance line was broken. Just as he started over the American lines the Germans laid down a barrage. This got four of the Germans, but didn't touch an American. Brown and his twelve comrades got back with 155 prisoners. The four killed made a total for the thirteen Americans of 159.

American officers were almost dumfounded at the strange tale Brown brought back, but doubt vanished when, soon after he reached regimental headquarters, a military policeman showed up with a large bundle of maps and plans Brown had taken from dead German officers killed by his automatic rifle, and, handing them to Brown, said: "Gimme my receipt."

Brown, who is 23 years old and last year was a shipping clerk, had met this man on the way back, and, turning over the maps, which made a heavy bundle, had stopped while he scribbled out the receipt he demanded. Meanwhile barrage shells were falling all around. This receipt is part of the records of the American Army.

The prisoners included a Major, one Captain, two Lieutenants, and a number of noncommissioned officers.

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

July 20.—If there is any one in the world who doubts the stamina of American men, call attention to one unit of our lads who Thursday morning [July 18] went over the top fifteen minutes after reaching the front line, following an all-night ride in camions. They fought all day Thursday and Thursday night and all day yesterday, and today they are there in line, with no other rest than brief snatches of sleep.

Stretcher bearers tell me that they have picked up hundreds of wounded men with grievous hurts sleeping soundly where they fell. That is the American fighters' spirit. They stop when their job is done.

We were here in the woods when we heard of bitter fighting up ahead. Leaving the car, we started that way. We went through the woods where the shot-down trees lay in tangled profusion, across a wheatfield dotted with ugly shell holes, and then into another wood.

Here we began to see the bodies of French and Americans, but mostly those of Germans, sprawled in grotesque attitudes where they had made the supreme sacrifice. It seemed a holy place. It was almost calm here on the wooded hillside where so many men had died and now lay about awaiting burial.

Suddenly a steam hammer sound ahead told us to keep out of machine-gun range. Through the trees over a little embankment and then on the other side was a sight never to be forgotten. A German trench position fifty yards in

length was seemingly filled with enemy dead. I started counting, got up to seventeen at one end and stopped the gruesome undertaking.

The scene at the other end of the trench told the story that all fighting Americans have now learned. There had been a German machine gun nest, sheltered by wickerwork, with earth behind. Just in front lay the bodies of three, part of the platoon that had charged the gun. I knew their comrades had been successful when I saw behind the breastworks the bodies of a German gunner and two helpers, dead from American bullets. All lay where they had fallen in the fight, more than twenty-four hours before.

On beyond the trench position lay dozens of dead Germans, and here and there an American fighter who had finished his work. Then from the top of an embankment I heard a whistle, and saw, a mile ahead, a line of brown backs leap out from the edge of the wood and start across a wheatfield. As they went through the ripened grain I heard the machine gun going again from the strip of woods ahead of them. Some fell, but others kept on, and at last I saw them going into the edge of the wood in skirmish formation.

THE MARNE FREED

July 21.—The Germans are all back across the Marne now. While the Crown Prince was hurling shock divisions against the victorious advance of the Franco-American troops south of Soissons yesterday, General Foch surprised the German high command a second time in a week by throwing a vast force against the German positions all the way from Château-Thierry to Rheims. This morning Americans and Frenchmen are eating breakfast on the bank of the Marne which the Germans held twenty-four hours before.

The Germans were in small numbers on July 20 in the hook of the river near Jaulgonne, and then on to Ouilly. Thousands of Germans were holding the positions taken last Monday and Tuesday, [the 15th and 16th.] The Dormans line was eight kilometers south of the Marne. The Americans and French, fighting together from Château-Thierry east to south of Dormans, preceded the attack with short but intense artillery work, putting down a barrage along the river bank to prevent the Germans retreating without paying a heavy price for having ventured south of the war-famed stream.

The advance proceeded well from the start. By 4 o'clock the Germans had been cleared out as far east as six kilometers west of Dormans. South of Dormans the enemy, with his retreat cut off, made a determined but vain stand. By 6 o'clock detachments of Americans and French reached the river bank in one place, and soon after a message was flashed to all the armies that the Germans had been put back across the Marne.

The Germans crossed the Marne between Fossoy and Jaulgonne July 15 at the start of the Crown Prince's ill-fated drive, but the Americans drove them back before nightfall, inflicting losses of 20,000. It was after the enemy had driven in a way by superior numbers against the French troops that the Americans were put in between south of Jaulgonne and south of Dormans. They had been itching ever since to get a show against the enemy, and they won the results already stated.

The wonderful thing about the sensational attack from the east against the German salient July 20 is that it took place without lessening the power of the drive against the salient from the west between Soissons and Château-Thierry. Here we met violent counterattacks by German shock troops, but nevertheless made more progress and captured more prisoners. The Americans have established themselves on the Soissons-Château-Thierry road, about ten kilometers south of Soissons, and kept their hold on the heights overlooking the city.

A HISTORIC WEEK

What a week this has been in the world's history! A week ago, while the French were celebrating Bastile Day, the Germans, strong in hope because of two preceding drives, were making ready for another great effort. On the 15th they

launched an attack from Château-Thierry to north of Chalons on a 100-kilometer front. They crossed the Marne and moved a short distance toward their objectives. Then, out of a clear sky, July 18, came Foch's blow from Soissons to Château-Thierry. On Thursday and Friday French and Americans fought ahead, and then today they hit Ludendorff a body blow south of the Marne. The week started with a formidable German offensive. The week ends with a great allied offensive.

Americans, French, English—all the Allies—now face the fury of the German high command, with its great military machine. That machine is big and powerful, but it is not the machine it used to be. The morale of the German Army is weakening from day to day. The size of the German Army is growing surely less day by day.

The morale of the allied armies is getting better every day, and because of America the size of the allied armies is growing day by day. The defeat of Germany is but a matter of time. How much time no one can say. America should rejoice, but America should not be overconfident. But for what France has to be thankful for America has a just right to be thankful for, too.

South of Soissons, where the bitterest fighting of the week took place, it was the Americans who had the good fortune to push the line furthest ahead. Northwest of Château-Thierry, the closest point to Paris, it fell to the Americans to push the Germans back. East of Château-Thierry the Americans drove the enemy back the same day he crossed the Marne. South of Dormans the Americans held the German advance and helped drive the foe back. North of Châlons, the grand objective of the Crown Prince, the Americans stood on the plains and the boche could not pass.

It was the lot of American soldiers to be at vital points, and they made good. It is not to be supposed that Americans were at those points through accident. Perhaps Foch felt that the ultimate, complete victory depended on what the American fighting man could do, and perhaps he thought it best to know now. It seems but fair for America to know and believe that after all the greatest allied gain of this glorious week is the assurance that the American fighting man has no superior. What tens of thousands of them have done in the last week hundreds of thousands will do. The week has changed the nature of the war from an allied defensive to an allied offensive. For the first time in more than a year the Germans are on the defensive.

THE TURNING POINT

July 22.—Château-Thierry, the nearest German-held point to Paris, was occupied yesterday morning by French and Americans, who established a strong position north of the river preparatory to pushing on. Bridges were thrown across the stream and guns were brought up.

I went into Château-Thierry a short time after the Germans left it—a city which will forever occupy a place in American history. It must always be recalled as marking a region where the American troops stopped the enemy just where his "peace drives" of 1918 took him nearest to Paris and the fruition of his insolent hopes.

Where hundreds on hundreds of shells had screeched overhead that Sunday morning, their roar interrupted by the rat-a-tat of machine gunners, it was peaceful almost, if one discarded the casual shells that the retreating boche sent backward. Up the road moved the graceful French cavalrymen and blue-coated poilus, cracking jokes about the boche going to Paris.

We passed the crest of the hill, and since no one stopped us ran into the city until halted by débris and barricades.

RUINS IN CHATEAU-THIERRY

It was uncanny. But for an occasional shell and the droning of our airplanes overhead, absolute quiet ruled amid the débris where thousands on thousands of shells had put war's mark on the pretty and historic little city. For a moment we stood at Carnot Place looking north into the city. Not a living being was in sight.

The advance troops, which crossed, had moved on and other troops were not yet there. Up the Rue Carnot, paved with a

three-foot deep carpet of débris, one saw barricade after barricade raised fifteen feet high, perhaps two to every block. Those on this side of the river were made by the French, and those on the other side by the Germans.

All was quiet now along those grim little forts from behind which machine guns and rifles had spit venom for seven long weeks. To our left lay the railroad station and yards. The station was but an empty shell, and the tracks were torn up in hundreds of places where bottled hate had fallen from Hunward.

There was much wreckage along the Quai de la Poterne and the Promenade de la Levée, marking the business district of the city. The invader had left his characteristic marks. Shop after shop lay in ruins, with shells of walls standing. Pretty little cafés were gone beyond repair.

On the outskirts of the city the residential districts were in much better shape. Here were found perhaps threescore persons who had stayed on through all the hell that had raged there. Among them was Mme. de Prey, 87 years old, to whom home had meant more than life. She had occupied her seven weeks caring for German wounded. A French General, who learned what she had done, kissed her withered cheeks in homage. There were in the midst of this war wreckage a trio of children, who, left out of doors the first time for so long, made the best of their opportunity.

The magnificent stone bridge over the Marne on the Rue Carnot was blown up for almost its entire length.

In years to come American tourists will go to see Château-Thierry. They will not see the débris and carnage I saw yesterday, but it will be many years before the war marks are wiped away. Remember that on that line of white stone houses on the south bank of the river the American machine gunners, after a thirty-hour ride in camions from another part of France, placed their tools of war and held for thirteen hours against the mad rushes of the oncoming Germans to get across the river seven weeks ago.

July 25.—The fight for Epieds was one of the most severe and costly in which the Americans have engaged. North of Epieds is a wooded hill, and to the west are similar hills at the lower end of the Bois de Châtelet, and to the east other hills up to the northern end of the Bois de Trugny. Epieds is reached by a valley from the south, through which runs the main road. On Tuesday afternoon [July 23] the American infantry went up the ravine by the side of the road into the village. They were swept by fire from more than a hundred machine guns the Germans had placed on the hills about the village. We got into the village. Soon the Germans got the range, and began heavily shelling Epieds, and we withdrew to the hills, the Germans taking possession of the village under the protection of artillery fire and bringing in more machine guns.

Yesterday morning we again faced the task of retaking Epieds. In the meanwhile our troops had taken possession of most of the Bois de Trugny, and the French and Americans had taken all of Bois de Châtelet. While a small force stayed in front, drawing the fire of the Germans from the village and hills, our troops moved against the machine gunners from the rear. The troops in front of the village and on both sides attacked together, forcing the Germans to evacuate quickly.

Trugny, a small village, was the scene of more bloody fighting between the Germans and Americans, the result of which was shown by the fact that the woods this morning were clear of boches.

Nothing more typically American could be imagined than the way in which we took a position yesterday afternoon north of Epieds. The Germans had intrenched along a roadway with a large number of machine guns. The terrain on both sides of the road was most difficult and seemed to mean certain death to infantrymen advancing up the road. Soon up that road came ten automobiles of a well-known American minor make. On each were one or two machine guns. Half a mile from the beginning of the German nests they got into action and went up the road at top speed, spurting streams of bullets on either side. The Germans stood until the cars were almost upon them, and seeing little chance

of "kamerading" to the cavalcade beat a retreat. The cars, returning, met the infantrymen going up to occupy the position they had cleared and to move on. The operation was completely successful, only two of the cars failing to come back. The American General at once christened the outfit "Ford's Cavalry." Stories of this exploit gave rise to an erroneous report that American cavalry had been used in action.

CROSSING THE OURCQ

July 29.—The Germans have crossed the Ourcq. So have the Americans. On a line well north of the stream our troops, with the French on the right and left, this morning are pushing back the Germans toward the Vesle River. The enemy had evidently intended to make a stand on the north side of the Ourcq, but a brilliant charge was made by the Americans, who forced the stream, broke through their position at half a dozen points, and forced their hurried withdrawal from the bank. The line along the Ourcq from Fère-en-Tardenois to the source of the river is held by American troops.

Fère-en-Tardenois was taken yesterday by the French, with American aid. The German withdrawal is going much faster than the high command expected. The retreat was forced so strongly that hundreds of tons of ammunition were left behind yesterday by the fleeing Huns. While the Germans withdraw on a regular line of flight it cannot be rightly called a rout, but the pressure of the Americans yesterday played havoc with the Crown Prince's retreat.

There is some doubt if any chapter of our fighting reached the thrills of our charge across the Ourcq yesterday. Americans of indomitable spirit met a veritable hell of machine guns, shells, gas, and bombs in a strong position, and broke through with such violence that they made a salient jutting into the enemy line beyond what the schedule called for. One has heard for many years of the fighting qualities of the American unit which led the charge, [Company K, 165th Regiment, former 69th New York National Guard.] It has added greatly to its glory.

Saturday's withdrawal of the Germans before our never-lessening pressure took them at midnight across the river and into strong hilled positions on the northern bank. There they placed many hundreds of machine guns ranging on the river, and trained their artillery to lay down barrages on the stream. Two fresh Guard divisions were placed in front of the Americans, and the bridges were destroyed behind the fleeing foe. At midnight the enemy thought he had a new line. He had for a few hours. At 4 o'clock a part of the famed fighting unit stepped from the woods on the southern bank, leaped into the stream, which is about two feet deep, and got to the other bank before the Germans were aware of it. But by the time all were over, the machine guns cut loose and the barrage swept them mercilessly.

They held twenty minutes and had to come back. But the Germans were all wrong if they thought the Americans were through. At 5:15 another dash was made, and after bloody fighting this, too, was driven back across the stream.

In the meanwhile our engineers brought up two bridges, with every piece of wood cut and fitted beforehand, and threw them across the stream. At 7 o'clock four companies made the dash. To say they stayed across makes a short story of valiant resistance. The Germans put down a barrage behind them along the stream and mowed them down with machine guns from their trees, from behind rocks and from bushes.

While the situation was becoming precarious for these men big plans were executed behind them, and at 8 o'clock the grand rush started. It put thousands of Americans across the river by 10 o'clock. By this time our artillery was locating the Germans, and field guns on the south bank were shooting point blank into the Hun machine gun nests. Our men got set on the northern bank and started for the hills lining the stream. After half an hour of the bitterest sort of fighting we got deep into these positions, and the enemy broke and ran down the northern side of the hills and over a valley to another series of hills near.

By this time Americans were across

the river in a dozen places. By noon they had captured Sergy, and two hours later had Seringes. The Germans then began a withdrawal all along the line they had expected to hold. It was the first charge of the Americans which had broken them. The German machine gunners in the trees were killed and the others fled. We brought back a few prisoners. That the Germans intended to stand here is shown by pile after pile of ammunition we found where the guns had been hurriedly pulled out.

Never have the Americans done hotter fighting. Never did they show to better advantage. Never did the Hun fight nastier. It was not the deadly work of the machine guns in the trees and houses, and even in the churches, that awoke the wrath of our men. It was not the terrific barrage that angered them. But when they saw Hun snipers kill their wounded comrades, then they saw red and made the enemy pay.

Time after time the Germans played machine guns on the stretcher bearers. I saw their wounded, and they told me. One overloaded truck came in with wounded and reported that a German airplane had swept low and dropped a bomb which destroyed an open truck carrying wounded. The driver and two wounded men were killed. Stretcher bearers wading the river with helpless wounded were fired on by German snipers in the hills beyond.

The Hun left nothing undone to make the Americans regret their audacious and gallant charge. He did not succeed.

KAISER'S CRACK TROOPS

July 30.—Sergy changed hands nine times in twenty-four hours. That tells the story of the bitter fighting when the German command threw two fresh Guard divisions against the Americans north of the Ourcq yesterday, in an endeavor to put them back across the stream.

The result may be best told by saying that the Americans are not only on the north side of the Ourcq this morning, but in positions further advanced than when the Crown Prince hurled his violent attacks against our line early yesterday. At least one German Guard division was rendered fightless for some time to come.

Had the Americans not held back these fighting Prussians the French would not have been able to make their advance north of Fère-en-Tardenois, and also on our right. The Prussians and Bavarians now trying to hold back the Americans were brought hurriedly from the rear, where they had been held to make an attack against the English, preparatory to the Crown Prince's grand drive in August.

It should be a source of the greatest pride to America that her youthful soldiers are able to hold their own against the Kaiser's best shock troops, for such the Prussian and Bavarian Guards are. At Sergy was an American division which met the 4th Prussian Guard Division. The result speaks for itself.

The fighting went back and forth all morning. First we had the mauled village, and then the Prussians had it. Both sides made advances from edges of woods and retreated to that shelter. Finally, just after noon, when it was our turn in the village, the American artillery got down a heavy barrage, which caught the Prussian attackers and drove them back. By the time the enemy came again we were too strongly situated for them, and the result of the bloody battle was that we held Sergy.

Almost the same story tells the fighting yesterday for Seringes, only the battle was not so fierce and the village changed hands five times instead of nine.

PRUSSIAN GUARDS BEATEN

July 31.—The change from rearguard warfare, where the German machine-gun nests had the attackers at a disadvantage, to warfare of attacks and counter-attacks has given the Americans a new opportunity to inflict heavy losses on the crack German troops. Part of one American division has met the 4th Imperial Prussian Guards in the last two days north of the Ourcq in the vicinity of Sergy. There has been the bitterest sort of fighting by brave men against brave men. American soldiers who charged these Prussians manning machine guns tell me they had to shoot

them at the guns to make them stop firing.

Last night seven Germans were brought in, members of the 5th Foot Guards Regiment, a part of the 4th Prussian Guard Division. They said that the day before their company, 150 strong, had been thrown into the fight. They refused to retreat, and the Americans refused to retreat. The seven said they were all that were left of their company. They were captured in hand-to-hand fighting after their ammunition was exhausted.

Instead of fighting with their machine guns until the Americans were close and then fleeing, these Germans charged with rifle and bayonet. That kind of fighting our men like, and the result was bloody slaughter. It so happened that two of the four companies which helped to meet the Prussians were composed largely of German-American fighters. They certainly showed no sign of love or respect for the Fatherland or its best military representatives.

FIERCE AIR COMBATS

Perhaps the most sensational of all the enemy efforts of the last two days has been what some call the most intensive airplane activity of the war. On Sunday the Germans hurried scores of crack fliers here, and they are showing the utmost daring and efficiency. The air yesterday was literally filled with German planes which knew no fear. They bombed us and they strafed us, and our observation machines were almost invariably attacked when nearing their line.

The Germans traveled in fives, tens, and fifteen, which made them formidable. One of the most wonderful sights of the war was to see ten of their planes challenge and meet eight of ours. Up there in the air one could hear the droning of many engines with perhaps five or six machine guns going at once, in a free-for-all battle as the fliers circled about looking for the foe's vital spot. One such battle lasted fifteen minutes, during which two planes dropped and others drifted apart.

German planes flew yesterday from five to ten miles behind our lines in broad daylight, braving countless guns and dropping many bombs. I was standing talking to an American General when we saw the nerviest sort of aerial performance. A road was filled with American trucks, soldiers, and automobiles. All along it on mounted carriages were anti-aircraft guns of every description.

Out of the clouds came three boche machines. The guns opened up, throwing hundreds of shrapnel shells, but the fliers came on and on. They descended until only 500 feet above the ground, cut loose with their machine guns, achieved some results, and flew away. There is no denying that it takes brave men to do this.

MEUNIERE WOOD TAKEN

Aug. 2.—When the Americans' advance took them across the Ourcq and into the line of Seringes-Sergy-Ronchères they struck two German strongholds on either end of their line, one in the Forêt de Nesles and the other in the Bois de Meunière. To push our line ahead in the middle would avail nothing if the two ends held us up.

For the last four days bitter fighting has been going on to break these German strongholds. On the left we have fought gradually forward until now the front line is in the fields before the southern end of the Forêt de Nesles. Our right was slightly behind the left, and so it was of more immediate importance to attend to the Bois de Meunière, for the German line along the southern edge of the wood made a deep dip in our line from Cierges to in front of Ronchères.

The Germans had been successful with heavy artillery, machine-gun fire, and shock troops in holding back our attacks on the front at the south end of the woods. The French were on our right in the district east of the woods.

This was the situation when the Americans tackled the problem July 31. Having been taught our lesson as to the perils of frontal attack alone on the woods, the operation was divided into two parts. The first was to push our lines up be-

yond Cierges to the west of the woods, to get the Germans in the woods into a pocket, and then to storm the woods.

We had a somewhat perilous hold on Cierges. Our line there was being threatened by the German hold on Hill 200, which lies in the Bois de Cierges to the south of the village itself. The first thing we did was to strengthen the man power in Cierges. This done, we had the Germans on Hill 200 where we could attack them from the northwest and south.

GERMAN MACHINE GUNNERS

As long as the Kaiser has fighters like those Jaegers holding that hill he is far from beaten. Knowing that it meant death, the machine gunners stuck at their posts until the Americans had literally bayoneted them to force them to stop shooting.

There were about 300 Germans there, who were equal to ten times that number in the open field. They were arranged in nests of twelve men to a machine gun, five gunners, and seven infantrymen to protect the gunners. Each man had three days' rations. They had been put there and told to stick, and they did. Their rations are very picayune compared to the American soldier's food. One chunk of black bread, one tin of biscuits, and one pound of canned pork. After clearing the Bois de Cierges, we took the smaller Bois de Crimpettes, near Cierges.

This completed, the next job was to storm the Meunière Woods. To make a long story short, on July 31 we charged six times against the German positions at the southern end of the woods, and six times were beaten back. The German communiqué laid great stress on this temporary check to the Americans.

The bravery of our men was unmatched as they went against the machine guns, in trees, in holes, and behind sandbags, one nest to every sixty yards against our men, charging up an open slope. The units making the attack were lumberjacks, farmer boys, and Indians. They fought gallantly, but nightfall found them about where they started.

But the Germans were greatly mistaken if they thought we had enough. Shortly after midnight yesterday morning we trained scores of guns on the southern end of the woods and sent over thousands of high-explosive shells. At 3:30 o'clock the charge started from the west and from the south of the woods.

THE AMERICAN WAR CRY

The Americans moved stealthily, with fixed bayonets, until they got into the edge of the woods and atop the machine gunners. Then the Indians yelled, the lumberjacks shouted, and the farmer boys cheered. They were where they could mix it at close range with the Germans, and that was what they wanted. Their yells could be heard a mile away. They were up against two of the Kaiser's redoubtable divisions, the 200th Jaegers and the 216th Reserve Division. They fought with vim and joy.

The bayonet is a good weapon against gun nests on the ground and infantrymen, but the German machine gunners in trees gave lots of trouble. Lads who back home had learned to shoot squirrels put their training to good advantage, hiding behind trees and shooting down the "monkey fighters."

On the ground things went better. The Germans were fresh and the Americans in good trim. Our boys fought like madmen. They had lost their comrades at the hands of these Germans and now were to avenge them. No quarter was asked or expected. The Germans had orders to fight until death, and the Americans needed no such order. Wounded men slightly hurt, who were brought back to the dressing stations, sneaked away to get back into the fight. One boy from Michigan was found half way back to the battle, where he fainted from loss of blood.

I saw many of our wounded, and all were full of vim and smiling with joy at what had been done. "We gave 'em hell, all right," was the message they had for every one along their way.

Without much artillery on either side and without gas, the Americans fought the Germans through these woods, four kilometers long, for six hours. At 9:30 o'clock we took up a position across the

northern end of the woods. The French on the right had fought their way up gallantly.

FIGHT TO THE DEATH

Perhaps the most sensational incident of the fight was when about 200 Germans got around behind our men. They were chased into a clearing, where the Americans went at them from all sides with the bayonet, and I am told that three prisoners were all that were left of the Germans. These prisoners said they had been rushed from Flanders, taken by train to Laon, and marched into the woods, where they arrived three days ago. They were told that they must fight to the death, because the Americans took no prisoners.

The capture of Hill 200 brought to light a flagrant German violation of the Red Cross regulations. On top of the hill stands a heliograph tower, one of those built by Napoleon. The Americans saw a big Red Cross flag waving from it, and kept both artillery and machine gun fire averted from it.

When our men were close up many of them were cut down by fire from two machine guns in the tower. American snipers gained good locations and killed the crews of the machine guns. Captain Boyle, with a detail, mounted the stairs of the tower and found the German gunners dead beside their weapons.

To the left of the Bois de Meunière we made another attack later in the day north of Cierges. After several hours of fighting we drove the Germans from this vantage point.

Further west our luck was not so good. Our repeated attacks were met by strong German resistance from positions better than ours. The Germans were intrenched in the southern end of Nesle Woods against our men charging through an open field up the slope.

However, on the front from Seringes east, two and a half kilometers, we advanced from 300 to 400 yards.

GERMANS RETREAT OVER THE VESLE

The Americans continued their advance on Aug. 2 and 3, covering more than six miles. On the morning of Aug. 2 the Americans began storming the Nesle Woods, which they easily took, and continued their forward movement in close liaison with the French and British Armies. On Aug. 4 the Germans withdrew across the Vesle, and the Americans took Fismes, an important German supply depot. Mr. James describes this achievement as follows:

Aug. 4.—The Germans are back across the Vesle and still going north. It was Fismes, with all the roads between the Aisne and the Vesle converging into it, that was to have been held by the enemy at all costs. But today Fismes is controlled by American troops.

Yesterday afternoon we reached the outskirts, and today co-operation of our infantry and artillery has placed us in a position commanding not only that town, but the roads stretching out from it for considerable distances, and our guns are pounding the northward trek of the Crown Prince's army.

It is a bright day for civilization, this day beginning the fifth year of the world war. France, the savior of civilization, has full right to rejoice. The hated Hun, his back turned on Paris, is being driven toward where he belongs. Many more villages have been liberated in the last twenty-four hours, and today France and all the Allies can celebrate the fact that the foe's salient, which fifteen days ago stuck out like one tentacle of an ugly octopus, is now only an unimportant stub. The tentacle has been cut off. Other tentacles remain to be cut off, and then yet more work is to be done to kill the octopus.

WHAT AMERICANS DID

The story of the Americans' part in the great allied victory is a glorious story. One has but to look at the map to see that the distance traversed by the Americans since July 18 is the furthest distance covered by any soldiers except the retreating Germans. On the morning of the 18th the Americans started from their trenches northwest of Château-Thierry, south of Château-Thierry, and east of the Marne city. From the vicinity of Belleau to Fismes, where our men stand today, the distance

is about forty kilometers, gained in fifteen days. Fourteen kilometers of that distance have been gained in the last two days.

Our progress in the last forty-eight hours has been accomplished with almost no losses, coming as a sweet reward for the hard weeks of fighting preceding. Not only the Americans, but the French, British, and Italians, under the plans of General Foch, have been hammering steadily at the line, which caved in all its length on Friday, when our troops started on the journey which kept up yesterday and is still continuing. The Germans were crossing the Vesle in large numbers yesterday by noon, and by nightfall the south bank of the river had been cleared of them from Soissons to Fismes, and to the east of Fismes only a narrow strip of Huns was left.

It should be borne in mind that the majority of all the troops in this battle have been French. At the same time, Americans may know that had their troops not been able to break the Germans' hold on the Bois de Nesle and Bois de Meunière the whole advance would have been made much more difficult.

A few weeks ago Hun officers were telling their men sent into battle that the Americans could not or would not fight. A trip over some territory reconquered by our troops shows that many Germans have found this wrong. Along the line extending from the southern edge of the Bois de Nesle across through Bellevue Farm and on to Meunière Woods seemingly countless German dead lie. Most of them are Prussians, and where they died showed how they fought.

Their bodies lie beside and in machine-gun emplacements. In one place on Bellevue Farm are twenty bodies in a gun emplacement. Nearly every one of the men died from a bullet wound. Some who had fired on the Americans had been caught by bayonets. In front of many of these machine guns—and there are hundreds—were the bodies of some Americans who had fallen, but whose comrades went on to finish the job.

HOLDING ON TO FISMES

Aug. 5.—While the Americans met little real resistance in their advance to the outskirts of Fismes, there was a bitter fight yesterday for the possession of that centre of traffic. This opposition was somewhat stronger than the German retreat at other points might have led our men to expect.

The battle for Fismes went on with varying intensity for seven hours. The German guns, which had just been put into position, got the range and shelled our advance as well as our rear areas for five kilometers back. Our guns opened up on the enemy gun positions and the artillery fighting, of which there had been none for the three preceding days, became intense.

While the fighting for Fismes was going on our patrols crossed the Vesle on a footbridge to the west of the town, and, working eastward, broke up much German resistance. Late in the afternoon it was announced officially that Fismes had been taken by the Americans.

Tribute should be paid to the work of our engineers in throwing bridges over the Vesle under heavy artillery fire and that of many machine guns. While the infantry fighting was going on almost at their backs our engineers did their bridge work, laboring on both banks of the river. Shellfire would destroy a half-constructed bridge and they would go at it again.

One detachment of twenty was reduced to fifteen, and then to ten, and when relief came up the five remaining men were working industriously to finish the bridge over the stream. The Vesle is about fifty feet wide and from five to eight feet deep, which makes fording impossible, and the bridge construction was effected under the greatest difficulties.

GERMANS' VAST LOSSES

A trip made yesterday through the territory between Fère-en-Tardenois and Fismes showed something of what the retreat had cost the Germans in lost material. North of Fère-en-Tardenois one passed mile after mile of ashes and débris where they had burned the stores they could not remove. The ruins

showed the destruction of every conceivable kind of war material except food, which the Germans seemed to have placed first in their salvage work. There were great piles of ammunition partly burned, clothing, wagon and truck parts, tons of machine-gun ammunition, airplane parts, and all sorts of stores. The Germans had built a narrow-gauge railroad of their own into the salient, and stored on cars and along the tracks were enough rails to extend the line to Bordeaux. They had evidently planned to build an elaborate system of tracks to Paris.

The number of German graves south of the Vesle indicated greater casualties than had been estimated. It had been believed that the Germans had got away with relatively small losses of men and material outside of ammunition, but the numerous graves and unburied bodies showed a considerable loss of men; and as for the loss of material, while most of it was burned, it may be said that the Allies have salvaged useful supplies worth more than $5,000,000.

HORRORS OF THE BATTLEFIELD

Aug. 6.—The retreat, in which they left such large quantities of munitions behind, gave the enemy a chance they did not overlook to play one of their favorite kinds of warfare on the Americans. All through the villages and farmhouses he left infernal machines.

One of his especially devilish arrangements was placing an amount of high explosives in a conspicious spot, connected with an ordinary telephone wire, reaching ahead into his line. When he believed Americans were near the trap, he would set off the explosive by electricity.

Numerous infernal machines were arranged in dugouts so that any one stepping inside set them off. Yesterday a pile of ammunition exploded two days after the enemy had left the spot. It is believed it was set off by a time bomb arrangement. Such man traps were found in many places yesterday, and warnings against them were issued to all our troops.

The Americans yesterday made prompt use of some of the captured boche material. Because of our rapid advance we had need of extra engineers to work on the badly shelled roads. A whole regiment of pioneers was equipped out of a stock of tools left behind by the Germans. Incidentally, in the German materials left 1,000,000 good 77 shells have been counted.

Some of the fields are bloody fields. One I saw yesterday I can never forget. To east, to west, and north of the road lay a wheatfield from which the enemy had harvested the grain before the battle came. To the south of the road a hundred yards away lay a stretch of woods. North of the wheatfield was a large wood. In a small field south of the road lay a row of bodies of Americans where German machine guns on the south side of the road had opened on them. What could cause a greater thrill than to walk forward to the road and see the bodies of the German machine gunners in their nests dead from bayonet wounds?

LOOTING BY GERMANS

Aug. 7.—In his withdrawal from the towns south of the Vesle the boche made one of the most complete jobs of looting the world ever saw. It appears that permission to do personal looting was given to the soldiers, who were not only allowed to send their loot to their families, but were provided with military transport for that purpose.

Every store in every town was stripped absolutely. Of food not one can or pound was left behind. The shelves of the stores were swept clean. Clothing and shoes were also taken. The Americans have captured many packages of loot addressed to German soldiers' families which were left behind in the army's flight.

A very interesting light on the German civilian situation is furnished by the fact that the wheat harvested south of the Vesle was shipped back to the soldiers' families in little cotton sacks holding about four and a half pounds. Large numbers of these sacks, all addressed, were found by our men.

Every day of cleaning up after the boche shows evidences of a systematic attempt to terrorize Americans by the use of infernal machines. In a previous dispatch I told how bombs were set in

FRENCH COMMANDERS IN THE MARNE DRIVE

General Joseph Mangin
(Underwood)

General Henri Berthelot
(© Harris & Ewing)

General Humbert

General Gouraud

ADMIRAL PAUL VON HINTZE

The new German Foreign Secretary in succession to Herr von Kühlmann

(Press Illustrating Service)

dugouts and houses, how ammunition dumps exploded two days after the Germans had left, and how telephone wires were strung to hidden piles of explosives to be set off from a distance, but yesterday the largest single instance was revealed.

ELABORATE INFERNAL MACHINES

North of Fère-en-Tardenois lies the Château de Fère. It is a large château dating from the fifteenth century, and by its side are the ruins of one dating back to the thirteenth century. The newer château had been used by the Germans for division headquarters, and as it offered some advantages they evidently thought the Americans might make the same use of it.

American engineers going there yesterday, bearing in mind the official warning against infernal machines and to be careful of all wires, noticed the too systematic lying about of wires along the ground and into the château. Examination of this system of wires showed that it ran all through the château and also into the adjacent ruins, among which stands a magnificent arch about ninety feet high. Our engineers traced the wires with great care and found them leading to high explosives concealed in all parts of the château and in the ruins. There were more than three tons of these explosives, which, if touched off, would have wrecked the château and killed every one in it. The infernal machine was laid so that the cutting of any wire would set it off. Of course, the first step in clearing up enemy wires is to cut them.

Another château was destroyed yesterday when a similar but smaller infernal machine was set off. Fortunately no one was killed, as the place had not been occupied by Americans as an important post. In one château equipped with electric lights these had been arranged so that the turning on of a lamp switch would have blown up the place. No fewer than 150 of these infernal machines have been found.

As our engineers clean up the territory from which the Germans have retreated they continue to find hundreds of infernal machines of all sorts. A favorite brand was to arrange the branches of trees to look like the camouflage of a door of a dugout; when brushed aside they would set off mines.

Bombs of great strength have been found in foul rubbish piles, which would naturally be burned. Loose boards were arranged on stairways so that the step of a man would detonate a charge. In a number of instances a large number of big shells have been placed in pockets under roads, arranged so that the weight of a passing camion would explode them. The most novel infernal device was to arrange barbed wire entanglements so that attacking troops would explode mines. Not only did the Germans leave their infernal machines behind, but poisoned food and water also marked their backward trail.

These methods of warfare fortunately were discovered early, thanks largely to the previous experience of the French fighters, and such effective means have been taken against them that few losses have been caused to the Americans.

THE CAPTURE OF FISMES

Aug. 17.—The achievement of the American division which, after driving the Germans back twelve miles, captured Fismes, has been made the subject of a report to the French Quartier General by the French Army in which the Americans fought. The report said:

"Compelled to make a general retreat as a result of our counteroffensive on July 18, the Germans attempted to take positions on the Ourcq, and fought stubbornly on the heights dominating this river. They were compelled, however, to give way under the repeated blows of the Allies, and then, from July 30 on, the enemy commenced a new retreat in the direction of the Vesle. Definitely dislodged from the heights of Seringes and Hill 220, northeast of Sergy, he had met a strong advance on the part of the American units, who were fresh and energetic and who were prepared to descend the slopes of Ronchères, while on their right the French were advancing through Meunière Woods.

"It was the movement of the Amer-

ican division, which advanced from Ronchères to Fismes, progressing nearly paralled to the route which runs through Colougnes, Cohans, Longueville Farm, and Saint Gilles, that we will follow, beginning July 30, the date of this division's entry into the sector, until Aug. 5, when it entered Fismes.

"An interesting point is that this division was made up of a great many men of German origin, who, thus shedding their blood for the United States, gloriously showed their loyalty.

"On July 30 the Americans attacked Grimpeos Woods after a short artillery preparation and reached the southeastern corner of the wood, but the German resistance at this point was very strong. They counterattacked and threw back the advance troops of the division. The fighting was extremely severe, and there were many hand-to-hand combats.

PUT ENEMY TO FLIGHT

"On the next day, July 31, the entire woods fell into the hands of the Americans. Machine-gun nests, which held up their advance on Cièrges, had been crushed or captured, and the way was clear. Intrenched now in Jomblets Woods, the enemy, by a strong fire, attempted holding up the American advance. Cièrges is situated in a hollow, so that the Germans, after having evacuated the village under the American pressure, bombarded it heavily with gas. The Americans did not stop in Cièrges itself. They went around it in a magnificent dash, and stormed the northern slopes. Then, after a short rest, they captured part of Jomblets Woods.

"During this time the French had advanced on the right and debouched from Meunière Wood, which had been cleared out thoroughly.

"On Aug. 1 the Americans had a new series of obstacles ahead of them, the most important being Reddy Farm and Hill 230. During the previous day's fighting they already had shown a keen sense for infantry manoeuvring, employing tactically the gains which were most sure of accomplishing their purpose, and giving evidence of fine qualities of initiative and imagination. In addition they showed excellent knowledge of the use of the machine gun, automatic rifles, and light mortars. They were able again to reduce the German positions. Hill 230 was taken in a superb manner, and seventy prisoners were counted.

"From that moment the enemy fled, and only weak rearguards were left to oppose the advance of the Americans, who swept these obstacles before them on their route and took without much difficulty Chamery, Moncel, and Villome. At Cohans the Germans hung on several hours, but had to give it up, and at the end of the day United States troops had attained the heights north of Dravegny. Consequently, progress of six or seven kilometers was made on the day of Aug. 2. For seventy-two hours straight the infantry had fought, despite the difficulty of procuring food, caused by the fact that only a narrow road afforded the convoys an opportunity of coming up, and the hard rains had soaked the road.

"In spite of fatigue and privations the advanced unit's pursuit was taken up again at dawn on Aug. 3. The line which runs by Les Bourleaux was reached easily enough, but then the enemy turned and faced the Americans with many sections of machine guns and a strong artillery fire which rained down on the villages of the valley, on the crossroads and ravines.

"It became necessary to retire methodically and manoeuvre on the strong points of the adversary. This permitted the United States troops to reach the slopes north of Mont St. Martin and St. Gilles. The division had thus added to its gains seven kilometers. One last supreme effort would permit it to attain Fismes and the Vesle.

REACHING THE VESLE

"On Aug. 4 the infantry combats were localized with terrible fury. The outskirts of Fismes were solidly held by the Germans, where their advanced groups were difficult to take. The Americans stormed them and reduced them with light mortars and 37s. They succeeded, though not without loss, and at the end of the day, thanks to this slow but sure tenacity, they were within one kilometer of Fismes and masters of Villes Savoye

and Chezelle Farm. All night long rains hindered their movements and rendered their following day's task more arduous. On their right the French had, by similar stages, conquered a series of woods and swamps of Meunière Woods, to the east of St. Gilles, and were on the Plateau of Bonne Maison Farm. To the left another American unit had been able to advance upon the Vesle to the east of St. Thibaut.

"On Aug. 5 the artillery prepared for the attack on Fismes by a bombardment, well regulated, and the final assault was launched. The Americans penetrated into the village and then began the mean task of clearing the last point of resistance. That evening this task was almost completed. We held all the southern part of the village as far as Rheims road, and patrols were sent into the northern end of the village. Some even succeeded in crossing the Vesle, but were satisfied with making a reconnoisance, as the Germans still occupied the right bank of the river in great strength. All that was left to be accomplished was to complete the mopping up of Fismes and the strengthening of our positions to withstand an enemy counterattack.

"Such was the advance of one American division, which pushed the enemy forward from Ronchères on July 30 a distance of eighteen kilometers and crowned its successful advance with the capture of Fismes on Aug. 5."

The Americans Congratulated

The Americans were warmly congratulated by all the Allies upon their brilliant successes in France during July and August. General Mangin on Aug. 7 issued the following order of the day:

Officers, Noncommissioned Officers, and Soldiers of the American Army:

Shoulder to shoulder with your French comrades, you threw yourselves into the counteroffensive begun on July 18. You ran to it as if going to a feast. Your magnificent dash upset and surprised the enemy, and your indomitable tenacity stopped counterattacks by his fresh divisions. You have shown yourselves to be worthy sons of your great country and have gained the admiration of your brothers in arms.

Ninety-one cannon, 7,200 prisoners, immense booty, and ten kilometers of reconquered territory are your share of the trophies of this victory. Besides this, you have acquired a feeling of your superiority over the barbarian enemy against whom the children of liberty are figthing. To attack him is to vanquish him.

American comrades, I am grateful to you for the blood you generously spilled on the soil of my country. I am proud of having commanded you during such splendid days and to have fought with you for the deliverance of the world.

The Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor was conferred on General Pershing by President Poincaré at American Headquarters in France on Aug. 6. In making the presentation President Poincaré said that he was delighted to have the honor to present the Grand Cross to the organizer and leader of France's valiant ally, and especially glad to seize this opportunity to thank General Pershing and the brave army under his command for the gallant work done in recent weeks on the battlefield. The President then stood on tiptoes and kissed the General on both cheeks, in accordance with the time-honored custom.

In acknowledging the decoration General Pershing wrote to the French Premier:

I am profoundly touched by the high distinction the French Government has conferred in according me the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. I accept this honor with a feeling of deep gratitude and as a tribute paid by the French Government to the qualities of the American soldier. They are qualities possessed to an eminent degree by our French comrades. In the name of the troops which I have the privilege to command, and in my own name, I thank you.

King George of England, the King of Italy, and the Premiers of France, Great Britain, and of Italy also warmly congratulated the American Government. Baron Yuehara, Chief of Staff of the Imperial Japanese Army, sent a special message to General March, American Chief of Staff, congratulating the nation on "the recent brilliant success won

by your gallant army on the French battlefield." King George on Aug. 13 met Generals Pershing and Bliss and privately conferred on them the Order of the Bath and the Order of St. Michael and St. George, respectively. The same day the King conferred decorations on a number of American officers and men.

French Armies at Close Range

An Account of the Strategical Plan That Won the Second Battle of the Marne

By GEORGE H. PERRIS

[Official English Correspondent with the French Armies]

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JULY, 25, 1918.—When we consider that on setting out at the beginning of last week to finish off the French Army, the Germans had the unquestioned initiative and a distinct total superiority of forces, the transformation which General Foch has produced by a single blow, following upon his splendid defense, is very remarkable.

It has been for Ludendorff a disastrous week. On July 17 he had engaged between Château-Thierry and the Argonne in his offensive over thirty divisions in the first line and immediate reserve. On July 23, between Vic, on the Aisne, and the Argonne the number had risen to nearly sixty, and on an average these had lost over a quarter of their effectives.

If we regard the field of the allied counteroffensive from Soissons to Rheims, the number of German divisions engaged had risen from twenty-eight on July 17 to over forty on July 23. The total of German divisions in the west is between 200 and 210.

A calculation lying before me shows that the engagements of divisions have been twice as numerous this year as last, yet last year, with the battles of Flanders and the Aisne, Verdun, the Somme, and Cambrai, was not exactly an easy time. This pace cannot be long maintained.

SUPERIOR FRENCH STRATEGY

July 26.—The more one considers the development of events in the last critical weeks the more clear it is that the allied victory is due to the superior planning by the French command, based upon sober estimates of the forces and possibilities at the present moment.

There is a very marked difference of morale between the allied and the German armies. German officers captured yesterday at Villemontoire, who, by the way, say Ludendorff has prepared a great offensive either in Flanders or Alsace, make no attempt to hide the discouragement of their men. At the beginning of last week, on the other hand, they were pretty confident as to the results of the attack they were about to make. They were mostly picked troops, prepared in every way, and until their case was hopeless they fought with the utmost courage. This was not a decisive factor, nor was there a decisive difference in the numbers and armament. On the whole, though not in every part, the enemy had the advantage in that regard, but there was a difference in staff work markedly in our favor, which, when supported by the rising morale among the allied troops and falling morale on the other side, became decisive.

From the beginning of the war the work of the Grand Staff in Berlin, often of the most evident excellence, has been vitiated by the tendency to depreciate its adversary, and to trust too much to a single, big blow. From time to time this tendency degenerates into sheer infatuation. The crucial error of the German offensive of July 15 was almost an exact repetition of that which von Kluck made near the same ground at the beginning of the war—an error which gave us the first victory of the

Marne—that of dashing forward without adequate flank protection; but in both cases the error was not that of the army commander, only or chiefly, but also of the high command, which designed the whole operation.

Before the offensive of May 27, which swamped the Chemin des Dames and the Aisne front, but still more after that victory, the German command persuaded itself that the French Army was on its last legs. They were so sure of it that no serious effort was made to secure the advantage of surprise for the next attack—that of June 9—from Lassigny toward Compiègne.

The French knew of it a week beforehand. It was virtually stopped on the third day by the counterattack of General Mangin, who then was acting under the command of General Humbert. Still it had not an inconsiderable success, and the French armies concerned, which had been fighting continuously for ten weeks, often against very heavy odds and in the gravest difficulties, were undoubtedly tired.

The German Staff exaggerated to itself this weariness, and at the same time shut its eyes to the fact that its own armies were tired also, and that after four offensives in less than as many months they had lost their best fighting quality. There were hesitations at the last moment when it was too late.

General Gouraud had indications that the attack in Champagne was to fall on July 7. Then it was expected for July 14, the day of the French national fête. That evening precise information was obtained by the most timely of raids, and the French guns let loose half an hour before the German bombardment began.

RASH GERMAN PLAN

The German plan for this offensive was so grandiose that, in view of the forces available to execute it, it could not have been justified except on the aforesaid supposition that the French Army was nearly exhausted.

This plan was to break through on the left to Châlons and Revigny, on the right to Epernay and Montmirail, and the French armies, having been thus cut asunder, to turn either against Paris on the west or against the armies of the eastern frontier from Verdun to Belfort, which, taken in the rear, would yield in a vastly larger surrender of Sedan.

It was in substance a return to the plan of the original invasion of Belgium and France, and it failed in the same way, for the French command had seized the characteristics of the situation with sobriety and acumen equal to Joffre's in the earlier crisis. It decided that its plan of retort must have a defensive and offensive part. Every soldier would like to be always on the defensive, but sobriety says one must cut one's coat according to one's cloth.

In 1914 the battle of the Marne was covered by the defense of the eastern frontier by Castelnau and Dubail. This month's offensive on each side of the Ourcq has been covered by the defense of the Champagne front—the elastic defense which has been described in earlier dispatches.

General Gouraud's success was the condition of success of the whole plan, but from the first, before the German attack launched on Monday of last week, the French command saw the opportunity for a counteroffensive stroke, and without exaggerating what was possible for it at this stage of the war, prepared to deliver it.

Gouraud's army consisted entirely of French, except one American Reserve Division, (27,500 men.) General Berthelet's army, besides the French, had one Italian corps and two American divisions —one in the line and one in reserve.

PETAIN'S PLAN ACCEPTED

Lest I be suspected even by German readers of making a case, I will support this little revelation with precise dates. The army of von Boehn had hardly got settled down on the Marne when the possibility of delivering a blow at its west flank was realized by French General Headquarters. A series of French attacks from the edge of the Villers-Cotterets Forest toward the open plateaux from the middle of June to the beginning of this month were the preliminaries to this.

Indications of the approach of the German offensive of July 15 stimulated the plan and preparations. The necessary divisions were concentrated between Montdidier and Villers-Cotterets.

After consultation with Generals Fayolle, Mangin, and Degoutte, General Pétain presented his plan to General Foch on July 12. On July 13 it was returned approved. Like General Gouraud's gunners, the French command had begun its retort before it could be called a retort.

On July 17 and 18 all troops were brought into the leafy shelter of the Villers-Cotterets region, and the artillery into its emplacements, which had been made ready two days before. Von Boehn had not the faintest notion of what was going on. He was too sure of himself and his masters, too sure that the French were done for, and that the Americans were good for nothing, to suspect. We know what followed.

Stopped dead in Champagne the enemy crossed the Marne from Château-Thierry to Dormans. Foch and Pétain, with cool heads, let them get in a little deeper. Then, on July 19, Mangin and Degoutte were unleashed against the feeble west flank of the advance. Its first positions were carried with a rush. At 4 P. M., after renewed artillery preparation, the second and stronger positions were attacked, and they were quickly mastered. The enemy command for the moment lost its head, and there is even reason to believe that a general retreat to the Aisne was ordered.

How Foch Outgeneraled the Germans

By WALTER DURANTY

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WITH THE FRENCH ARMIES,
July 22, 1918.

THE Germans are devoting their whole energies to the protection of the retreat. They are resisting furiously on the banks of the salient with incessant counterattacks to permit the withdrawal of the centre. Under the pressure of the three allied armies the whole position is untenable owing to the large numbers herded in the confined space with a limited and hourly more confused transport.

When the Crown Prince's drive was checked the strategy of Pétain found a chink in the German armor, and Foch was swift to seize the advantage, and by throwing in strong forces convert a successful diversion into a victorious counteroffensive.

The Allies are now reaping the results of the sole command, which permits the indiscriminate utilization of forces of all nations at any point, and no less of fourteen months of tireless patience on the part of Pétain, who despite all criticism refused to waste his energies in vain offensives and carefully built up a mass of reserves—forewarned by the collapse of Russia—which enabled the Allies to weather the anxious months since March 21, and has now upset the enemy's plans with a stroke of unexpected vigor.

Credit for the triumph should go equally to the prudence of Pétain and the daring strategy of General Foch, whose name will be ranked in history as a victor beside that of Marshal Joffre.

The German abandonment of the Marne line along the base of the salient and the rapid retreat from the southwestern corner mark a definite stage in the battle. Hindenburg's sole object now is to extricate his great force of men, guns, and materials, amassed north of the river with such ambitious hopes, from the hazardous position in which it is placed by Foch's riposte.

DESOLATE VALLEY

July 28.—I spent all day on the Marne battlefield in the region of Dormans and the villages across the Marne, which the Germans were still occupying yesterday morning.

It was a vision of war in all its horrors.

Already in a four-mile belt south of the river houses were shattered, roads shell-pocked, and woods torn as if by lightning. In wide patches trees and brushwood stood brown and lifeless, blasted by poison gas. The roadside was littered with German ammunition cases and an occasional fire-twisted skeleton of an automobile truck.

More than one blackened crater, its lip still strewn with live shells, showed where a German munition dump had exploded.

Nor did it need the French wagons, laden with plain white pinewood crosses that mark soldiers' graves, to tell what else lay hid in the trampled cornfields and devastated woods. The taint of pestilence hung heavy upon the air and carrion crows flapped sluggishly across the intervals of forest.

But all one had seen before seemed trivial beside Dormans and the Marne Valley. It is a typical country town, straggling along at the foot of a steep hill closely parallel with the river, from which it is separated by the railroad.

Eastward stretches an alluvial plain, two miles wide, narrowing to half a mile opposite the town itself, and surmounted on the north by a gradually rising hill, the crest of which bears the southern fringe of the Riza forest.

There had been little attempt by either side to cross the river in the open country to the eastward. It was on the Dormans waterfront that the German bridges were most numerous after the enemy's bombardment had momentarily paralyzed the defense on the slopes above.

Here, too, the French had first crossed on a footbridge, hurriedly constructed from German material, when a week's heroic resistance had forced the Kaiser's best troops to swift retreat.

I walked along the bank of the river, which is here not more than forty-five yards wide. In a quarter mile I counted the débris of seven German bridges, three mere footrails, one of which was repaired by the French; two strong enough for light carts, minenwerfer or machine guns, and two solidly constructed on pontoons, with graded approaches cut from the bank on either side.

At the approaches to the two main bridges across the Marne at Dormans the picture of war's destruction reaches the acme of horror. Words cannot describe the confusion of twisted iron, splintered wood, hundreds of stricken horses stiffened in the incredible postures of their death agonies, and the still ghastlier remains of what had once been men.

"I must admit that the boche is a tenacious brute," said a French Lieutenant just back from the firing line. "This Guard division has been smashed to pieces, yet the remnant fights just as hard. Cornered rats, I suppose. Anyway, it shows that their discipline is still strong, that men will sell their lives thus without hope.

"Again and again we are delayed by a lone mitrailleuse in some unexpected place—the middle of a cornfield, for instance—and have to wait until it is ousted by crossfire or grenades before the advance can proceed. Sometimes there are groups of them, and then we usually call on the artillery."

We were standing amid the ruins of Vincelles, over which alone in the whole region German shells still screamed from time to time. Here death and devastation had reached their climax. Houses were smitten as by an earthquake, and the roadway was blocked with débris. Every few yards stones were yellowed by mustard gas, and from each room or courtyard that remained intact dense swarms of flies rose at our approach in warning of sights it were better not to see.

"There are 400 or 500 dead boches here," said the Lieutenant calmly. "At least that. They were mostly killed by our shells, as there was little street fighting. We shall never be able to get them out of this rubbish for burial. To my mind the best thing would be to blot the whole place off the map with dynamite. Just look at that!"

"That" consisted of five blackened fingers of a German hand outstretched from a huge stone heap as if in final supplication.

GENERAL MANGIN'S ACCOUNT

Aug. 6.—General Mangin made this statement to me regarding the battle:

"It was a regular classic battle of manoeuvre. The battle opened with the driving back of the enemy's line ten kilometers in the first two days under the shock of a sudden attack. Then he brought up reserves and rallied. After that the objective was clear and definite. It was the eastern end of the long ledge that runs unbroken save by the Savière Valley from west of Villers-Cotterets Forest to the region of Grand Rozoy and Arcy.

"That was the key position of the struggle, as it dominated the northwestern plateau toward Soissons, which was the bastion of the enemy's resistance. Once the master of that on Aug. 2, the enemy's retreat was inevitable. He knew it, too, and the battle was won."

Before discussing the details of the action the general situation previous to July 15 can be stated as follows: It is hardly doubtful that the Chemin des Dames drive of May 27 was not originally intended to carry the Germans beyond the Aisne.

Their purpose was to get a strong defensive position in view of a possible flank attack during later operations against the centre of the French-British line in pursuance of the plan carried out in the March battle.

Rightly enough, finding the resistance less than they expected, they exploited their success to the utmost, and finally reached the Marne. That formed a deep and comparatively narrow pocket, the essential weakness of which (exposure to an attack from the western flank) no soldier could ignore.

They accordingly attempted to widen it westward, without much success, save in the north, where the occupation of Soissons gave them direct railroad communication from Laon to the lines along the Aisne and Vesle and to Fère-en-Tardenois, and a broad, high road to Château-Thierry.

The drive toward Compiègne about ten days later was a pendent to the former operation, the object being to flatten out the salient by a turning movement round the forests of Compiègne and Villers-Cotterets. Checked there by the June counterattack which Mangin commanded on the left of the battlefront, they launched a new blow.

This was made on the following day against the northeast corner of the Villers-Cotterets Forest, but again the advance was strictly limited, and the angle of the pocket remained acute.

Soon afterward Mangin took command of the army, holding the front from the Aisne to the Ourcq, and proceeded vigorously with preliminary operations, in view of a counterstroke against the flank of the salient, which the French high command had already decided to make at the first favorable opportunity.

WORK OF PREPARATION

The work of preparation consisted in gradually driving the enemy back from the line of Amblény, Coeuvres, and Montgobert and the eastern fringe of the forest of Villers-Cotterets in a series of successful local actions, and finally in getting a footing across the Savière Valley, which afforded an admirable "jumping-off place." Attacking from the vantage point of heights broken by ravines, where the concentration of troops can be hidden, is a very different thing from being forced to conquer the same positions before the assaulting force can be properly launched.

The month preceding July 15 was thus occupied, and care was taken to vary operations by local strokes further north, toward the Aisne, in order to lull the enemy's suspicions.

At the same time the general nature of the allied movements could not fail to be remarked, and, indeed, it is known from seized German papers that the enemy thought it likely that a stroke would be attempted either on the 4th or 14th of July. He strengthened his line considerably against such an eventuality, no less than eight divisions, with six in reserve, being assembled facing Mangin's army.

But the Germans never expected a blow of such magnitude, and their high command especially seems to have utterly underestimated the allied strength and aggressiveness.

What followed is already history. On

July 15 the storm broke east and west of Rheims, and, thanks to Gouraud's magnificent defense, the principal strategic result of the first three days was just the deepening to a suicidal extent of the already dangerous and overnarrow pocket. Foch realized that the moment was ripe for the execution of the plan for which Mangin and Degoutte had prepared under the direction of Fayolle and Pétain. The credit belongs not to any one man, but to the whole French organization, from the troops and local commanders who carried out the preliminary spadework and the corps commanders and army Generals who laid down the lines on which the plan was executed to the Headquarters Staff and the allied Generalissimo, who was responsible for its inception. By noon of July 15 Foch's decision had been taken and the hour of the counteroffensive had been appointed.

To resume, those three days were employed in putting finishing touches on the preparations by the assemblage of a mass of troops, guns, tanks, and material behind the screen of the Villers-Cotterets Forest.

The blow took the Germans completely by surprise, not so much by its coming when and where it did, but by its extent, and, above all, its character. Never did they think the Allies would dare assault without artillery preparation, with infantry solely supported by tanks and a creeping barrage.

The first day the allied success was greatest in the northern sector, where the Franco-Americans, debouching from vantage points in the region of Coeuvres, swept forward eight full kilometers, gathering rich booty in guns and prisoners in the ravines around Pernant, Missy-aux-Bois, and Longpont.

The right wing made slower progress against the strong positions of Hautwison and Troesnes Woods, but once those were passed by the first evening, it, too, advanced rapidly, and by the end of the second day the whole line had gone forward to an average depth of ten kilometers. You may judge the dismay of the enemy from the fact that a captured Bavarian officer of the 11th Division, which fought bravely, said bitterly of two Colonels belonging to the 281st Saxons, whom the Allies took in their beds near Missy:

"They were lucky to be prisoners, for they would certainly have been shot by a court-martial. The showing of the whole Saxon division was disgraceful."

Meanwhile Mangin had safeguarded his left flank by a limited push northward, and at the same time Degoutte had kept pace with the advance on the right. That ended the first phase of the battle.

Its effects were immediate. The enemy, realizing the danger, at once began evacuating the pocket from the bottom, and the movement of withdrawal was accentuated rapidly in the left-hand corner as the allied menace developed against the Château-Thierry highway and the Fère railroad.

VITAL PIVOT POINT

From the night of the 19th the Germans began the retreat, of which the Soissons positions opposite the allied left and centre were the pivot. That facilitated the task of Degoutte, but rendered Mangin's harder, as the enemy poured in reserves to strengthen the vital pivot point. These reserves came from three directions: from the northwest and east —by rail and camion in hot haste, without their artillery, whose work was done by the guns already in position north of the Aisne—and from the south, with a full complement of guns, as the shock divisions were diverted by the Crown Prince from the original purpose of the Marne offensive.

Between the 18th and 31st of July twenty-eight enemy divisions, including two from Crown Prince Rupprecht, were identified on the front of this army; but the Allies pushed on despite them. On the morning of the 28th Mangin was in position to deliver the first attack on the dominant ridge of which I spoke at the beginning. The resistance and counterattacks were desperate, but the dogged fury of the French and British wore them down.

At dawn on Aug. 1 the Allies struck again, and this time got right up on the crest of the ridge that was the vital

" Cemetery Hill " of the battle. Between 9 and 11 the enemy countered with the utmost determination, but Mangin held his ground. Then came a lull, and at 4 a resumption of the struggle, as the last German reserves, the fresh 18th Shock Division from Rupprecht's front, near Arras, was thrown in.

But already the enemy felt his grip slipping. Hardly were the advance guards of the 18th signaled debouching for a mass attack from Laundy Wood when they were seen to move hurriedly back again, and when at length the counterattack came it was broken up into small assults which made no impression. The enemy's reaction ended, and again the Allies got a firm hold on the southeast corner of the Soissons Plateau.

Then the Germans threw up the sponge. All next day they retreated at full speed, and at midnight the French were in Soissons. By the evening of the 3d they reached the Vesle, and the battle was won.

SURPRISE ATTACK

Aug. 7.—Visits to the Headquarters Staff of Degoutte and Berthelot elicit facts which emphasize the skill with which the high command prepared the victorious counteroffensive and the tactical ability of the leaders conducting the operations.

I am informed by a staff officer that the General received orders on July 14—the day before the German drive—to undertake an offensive on July 17, in conjunction with and to a large extent as a pendant to a simultaneous move by Mangin. Degoutte did not receive a single extra man or gun, and carried out the operation with only the troops in his sector. He did, however, receive a force of more than 100 large and small tanks, which played an important part in the operations.

The secret was so well kept that it was only at 9 P. M. on July 17 that the orders were communicated to Degoutte's subordinates that the attack would take place at dawn of the following day. By that time the General and the heads of departments had completed their plans, which only remained to be put into execution. This was done without a hitch during the night, and the enemy was taken wholly by surprise.

Contrary to what occurred in Mangin's sector, the Germans facing Degoutte had not the remotest suspicion that an attack was probable, and their divisions holding the line were of poor quality. Some units were reduced to less than a third of their effectives by the successful Franco-American local actions of the last month and by the ravages of the Spanish grip.

On July 15 Degoutte's front ran from Faverolles, north of the Ourcq, to a point opposite Dormans.

As the world knows, the Germans made initial gains across the Marne under cover of a terrific bombardment, but on the following day were checked by counterattacks in which a newly brought up American division had a gallant share.

On the 17th Degoutte concentrated attention on his own offensive, and the army of de Mitry took over the charge of the Marne region.

DEGOUTTE'S PLAN

Degoutte then faced the problem of getting the most effective results from the action of the comparatively weak forces at his disposal, most of whom had been engaged for two or three weeks in continuous fighting. He adopted the following plan:

On the front between the Ourcq and the Ru de Lua, a rivulet four miles further south, he concentrated his best divisions as a striking force, supported by tanks and a large part of his available artillery.

The place formerly occupied by the most northerly French troops across the Ourcq was taken by a brigade of the American division that had been training with one of his units, of which scarcely a single man had seen a shot or shell fired in anger.

Their mission was primarily to act as cover for the blow on their right, and not to undertake one on their own part; but, in point of fact, they performed an extremely useful service in clearing Fresnes Wood, where the French for a time were held up by machine guns.

Another brigade had similar duty of cover on the right flank of the striking force, which was thus able to operate without fear of being turned on the wings. South of it was another French division, and then a Franco-American force in charge of an American corps commander, whose first day's instructions were to act as a pendant to the striking force in exactly the same way as Degoutte himself was a pendant to Mangin, and not to attempt anything but the attainment of limited objectives.

Mangin had informed Degoutte that he intended to attack at 4:50 without artillery preparation, but the latter felt that in his case he could hardly take the risk with his more limited forces, and decided on a middle course. That is, he ordered an hour and a half of artillery preparation, beginning at 3:20, against the zone behind the enemy's outpost positions, which zone was some 1,500 yards deep, and directed that light forces should go forward during the preparation and occupy as much of this zone as possible. At 4:50 the main attack was to be delivered against the principal zone of resistance.

SUCCESS OF PLAN

The plan succeeded admirably. The advance guard did its work so well that the main body was able to launch an attack when the moment came from a line more than a kilometer inside the outpost zone, which gave it a considerable advantage.

The enemy resistance was feebly unexciting. The Germans had constructed only a fragmentary defensive organization, and the four divisions opposite the striking force were thrown back in confusion on the 45th Division, which was in reserve.

Remarkably enough, the French-American forces south of the striking force were able to make progress to an almost equal extent. They, too, drove four enemy divisions before them, who were supported by the 5th Division of the Prussian Guard, the enemy thus engaging ten divisions on the first day.

During the first two days the advance was somewhat hampered by German resistance north of the Ourcq, where, as I was told, Mangin's right encountered strong opposition in the region of Hautwison Wood.

Degoutte's striking force dared not go far in its push ahead lest its left flank be exposed, but by the night of the 19th the obstacles in its way had been removed.

On the following days the progress of Mangin's left forced the enemy to withdraw from south of the Marne and begin the evacuation of the left-hand corner of the pocket, where the American advance was particularly rapid, despite the obstinate machine-gun resistance.

The rest of the battle was a series of bounds forward, followed by a period of hard fighting as the enemy threw in reserves, including Guards, Jaegers, and other first-class divisions assigned by the Crown Prince.

Thus the battle fell into three periods: The first on July 18-20, which the officer called the battle of Neuilly-St. Front to Châtillon; the second—after the advance—the battle of the Epieds region, from the 21st to the 27th, and the third—after another forward move—the battle of the Ourcq, from July 29 to Aug. 1. This, in turn, was followed by progress to the line of the Vesle.

How desperately the enemy strove to avert retreat may be judged from the fact that no less than twenty-two divisions were engaged against Degoutte, of which four were wholly fresh, from the reserves of Crown Prince Rupprecht. By July 27 more than 6,000 prisoners, 110 guns, 600 mitrailleuses and fifty minenwerfer had already passed through the Franco-American depots, besides vast stores of shells. Nearly an equal amount of artillery was yet to be counted, and further large captures of prisoners and material.

BERTHELOT'S TASK

Aug. 7.—At the headquarters of General Berthelot's army, I have been made acquainted with the steps by which the attack on the German left was pressed vigorously in the recent Aisne-Marne drive by the Allies.

On July 15 this army was holding the front from the region of Dormans to Prunay, where it was joined by General

Gouraud's forces. The Germans did not cross the river opposite Berthelot's troops, but they were engaged south of the river on the first day in consequence of other enemy progress.

From aerial observation and other indications they were aware that an attack was imminent, and a defensive organization had been prepared, on the same lines as Gouraud's, with the outpost zone thinly held save for three strong points on the right, left, and centre. At one of these points the right maintained its position on the extreme limit of attack toward Rheims, and the two others held out until evening, greatly hampering the enemy. The zone of combat was backed by the position of final resistance, which the enemy penetrated.

Berthelot had no prior information regarding a counteroffensive, and his officers had, indeed, felt that they were placed in rather a difficult position, with no extra reserves at their disposal to resist such violent attacks. An officer paid a high tribute to the courage and decision of the high command, which refused to be distracted by the German move, and kept its reserves for its own counterstroke, entrusting the defense to the armies on the spot, with laconic orders to resist "Jusqu'au bout."

On July 18 they learned of Mangin's and Degoutte's victory, and on the same day received a couple of British divisions, who took the place of their Italian units, and a French division of dismounted cavalry, which entered the left part of their line. The arrival of the fresh army of de Mitry on their left further facilitated the task of pressing back the enemy across the Marne and allowed them to concentrate on what thenceforth was the principal operation of attacking the enemy toward the Ardre Valley, in order to exercise the same pressure on the right-hand top of the salient as Mangin on the left.

The Germans, no whit slower to grasp the situation, spared no effort of men and guns to avert the danger, and, favored here by good communications, flung in fresh division after division with utter disregard of the cost. Whatever happened, the enemy dared not allow the Allies to advance on this sector, but there can be no doubt that the furious attacks of the French and British, despite all losses—Berthelot commemorated the gallantry of the latter in an order of the day, which was one of the most enthusiastic ever issued by a French General—contributed enormously to the success of the operations elsewhere by forcing the enemy to divert very large forces against them.

Twenty-eight divisions, over a quarter of a million men, were engaged against Berthelot's army, and, when one realizes that in such circumstances the enemy did not retire a division until it had lost fully 40 per cent., the total loss inflicted on the enemy can be imagined.

Finally, as before Mangin, the Germans abandoned the struggle on Aug. 2, and the army advanced rapidly to the Vesle, throwing forward cavalry outposts on the north bank at various points. During the advance they got abundant evidence of the determination of the German resistance. Not only was the ground covered with dead, but prodigious stores of material fell into the hands of the Allies. For instance, in one small wood more than 300,000 unused heavy shells were captured, and the quantity of lighter munitions taken was incalculable.

RUIN OF MONTDIDIER

The day when Mangin and Degoutte broke the boche forces in the line against them revealed that chink in Germania's armor whereof Foch is now taking such an advantage. I had personal evidence of the danger of not organizing the defense in a visit this morning to Montdidier, which was entered less than twenty-four hours previously by the French.

Montdidier is a ruin incredible. At first sight of the hill, 100 feet above the Avre, which formerly crowned the prosperous township of several thousand inhabitants, one would have thought it merely a chalk slope, unusually scarred by shellfire. Whitish stones lay piled in heaps from the crest down to the river, but never was there a wall or roof that might indicate a human dwelling. A closer view showed individual mounds of rubbish that once had been houses.

Third Battle of the Somme

The British Offensive in Picardy That Added 36,000 Prisoners and Much Territory to the Allied Victory

THE British under Field Marshal Haig, in conjunction with French troops on their left, struck a heavy blow in Picardy on Aug. 8, 1918, along a front of twenty-five miles. They broke the German lines from near Albert to the River Avre, above Montdidier. The attack was a complete surprise and proved to be one of the most successful the British had made in the whole war. In two days they made a sweeping advance that penetrated enemy territory to a depth of fifteen miles in some places. The number of German prisoners taken in three days in this battle exceeded 36,000, and immense quantities of ammunition and many guns were captured.

The low visibility favored the Allies. The artillery followed up the storm troops closely and poured a hurricane of shells upon the retreating enemy. Where the tanks and the armored car batteries pressed far forward in the rolling country there was much agitation among the enemy. A report came back that a British tank, probably one of the fast little whippets, had been seen chasing a frightened German General up the road. Further south, the tanks likewise did excellent work.

Slightly to the north the British batteries moved forward so rapidly that they were up and firing in their new positions thirty minutes after midnight when the infantry went over the top, followed at first, in this particular case, by the tanks 1,000 yards to the rear.

At 6 o'clock the weather was so thick that objects twenty yards away hardly were visible and the British were not slow to take the opportunity to plunge through under its protection. About 6:45 the first prisoners began coming back. They were unwounded and looked clean, as if they had just come off parade, showing how complete had been the surprise. The British pounced on them before they had the slightest chance to give battle. The 27th, 43d, and 108th Divisions of Crown Prince Rupprecht's army suffered heavily, while the 117th Division, which only came into the line the night before, was badly cut up.

The pressure continued the second day, no determined stand being made by the enemy until a line was established running through Albert, Chaulnes, Roye, and Lassigny.

ON THE BATTLEFIELD

The Associated Press correspondent, in a telegram dated Aug. 9, thus described the battle scenes:

"All along the line this afternoon German snipers and isolated machine-gun billets were extremely busy, but these were being silenced one by one as the advance proceeded. Since daybreak the Germans have been making an extraordinary effort to blow up with field-gun fire ammunition and other dumps which they had to leave so hastily yesterday. They have abandoned an enormous quantity of stores and ammunition. Allied cavalrymen have been operating for more than twenty-four hours. They rode through great holes torn in the German line by the infantry.

"Allied airmen have blown up many of the bridges over the Somme River, and the enemy's retreat is seriously embarrassed. The British cavalry has rounded up many prisoners, but the most of those so far taken were captured by Australians and Canadians.

"The scene at Bayonvillers today is typical of the rest of the battle area, broad fields of crops or brown grass fringe the town and spread for miles over the flat surrounding country. Abandoned German field guns are here with little piles of empty shell cases, and the bodies of Germans are lying here and there, telling the story of what happened. Lying off on the side of the road are enemy motor trucks, one of them with a trailer filled with artillery

maps—some the headquarters Staff could not save.

"The guns abandoned here, as elsewhere, are in shallow pits three feet deep. Little holes near by, covered with curved iron slabs, show where the German gunners lived before they were killed or ran to save themselves.

"Harbonnières was shelled to pieces. The gaunt walls show the accuracy of the British artillery fire. Débris lies all over the streets, which bear little signs upon which German names had been written. Here the allied forces found the house which the German Mayor of the town had occupied. The whole top had been knocked off, and several shells had hit the walls, but there were evidences that the Mayor had stayed until the last moment in a room on the ground floor.

MANY GERMAN DEAD

Further southward the ground here and there had been plowed by the shells, and the bodies of men and horses were lying where they fell. In some places machine-gun nests were found which had been put out of action either by the artillery, tanks, infantry, or armored cars. In one a machine gun which had been put out of business was lying over on its side, while scattered around were the bodies of the Germans who attended it. Apparently they had tried to escape, but were prevented by a tank.

"In the wheatfields, of course, the bodies of the dead could not be seen, but in many open places the ground was literally dotted with German corpses.

"The Allies inflicted severe punishment as they advanced. In some sections burial parties had already passed through, but in others the dead are yet untouched. The allied casualties, according to the reports which have come in, were extremely light.

"The German trenches throughout the whole length of the front were extremely narrow and poorly constructed. This certainly was not caused by lack of material, all kinds of which are being discovered and used by the advancing French and British forces. Aside from the loss of ground and men, this large abandonment of material is certainly most serious to the enemy."

Montdidier, an important supply centre for the Germans, was captured Aug. 10. When the French troops entered, the Germans had not yet completely evacuated the town, clinging to the outskirts of the place with the help of machine guns. Some of these were being served by officers of the detachments, all the men having been killed or wounded. Following up this victory, the French cavalry, pushing far ahead, threw the Germans into disorder as they sought to fall back. In the wake of the cavalry came the armored cars with automatic guns, which scattered terror and destruction among the retreating foe. The highways were crowded with masses of German troops and material.

ALLIES' ASCENDENCY

The following cablegram, dated Aug. 11, was sent by a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"The Somme battle, despite the short period during which it has been in progress, marks a definite fresh phase in the ascendency the Allies are establishing over the Germans. For the first time this year, and, indeed, for the first time since the battle of the Marne, well-informed circles are using such terms as 'grand désarroi' (great confusion) to describe the character of the German retreat. Ammunition, guns, and rifles have been left on the ground in enormous quantities, and not only the cavalry, but the infantry, had the comfortable satisfaction of seeing the enemy flying in confusion before them.

"I visited yesterday the ground in the neighborhood of Moreuil and Morizel and was able to see the devastation wrought by the French artillery. Shell holes pitted the ground everywhere near. The roads to Moreuil and Morizel are mere heaps of ruins, while a château in the neighborhood in which a German Colonel has been taken was a splendid tribute to the accuracy and intensity of the French gunfire.

"The château itself had been thoroughly and conscientiously shelled, and there were great shell holes some fifty yards all around it; but then the shell holes virtually ceased, proving, as an officer who had been carefully studying

the ground said to me, how deadly accurate had been the French artillery practice.

"French collaboration with the British effort has been more comprehensive than had at first been expected would be the case, and now both the First and Third armies are engaged. It will be remembered how General Debeney's army cooperated with the British in delivering the hammer blow on the enemy. Once the disturbance of his line was achieved, the right of Debeney's army came into action, delivering its offensive at 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 9th.

"By evening of that day it had met with very strong German resistance at Arvillers, where reserves had been brought up to reinforce the men in the line. After a violent struggle these reserves were defeated and thrown back and the village was taken, the French also capturing Davenescourt and the park to the west of Contoire."

German Claims and Explanations

Their Spring Offensive Said to Have Gained 6,566 Square Kilometers and 208,000 Prisoners

THE Kölnische Zeitung of June 13, 1918, contained the following semi-official report:

The territory won by the Germans since March 21 amounts to 6,566 square kilometers. The ground won in the attack between Montdidier and Noyon is not included in these figures. The Entente, on the other hand, in all its great battles on the Somme, at Arras, and in Flanders, was only able to win 561 square kilometers in numerous struggles lasting months. Through the latest victories on the Matz the number of prisoners made since March 21 has been brought up to 208,000.

On July 1 a Berlin report, coming via London, put the official number of prisoners made since March 21 at 191,454, "not including the wounded passed back to the hospitals."

Dr. Georg Wegener, a leading war writer, asserted on July 31 that the German offensive of July 15 "was stopped because the element of surprise was lacking." He then proceeded to explain the surprise counterattack of the French as follows:

The wooded country on their front of attack gave our enemies the best opportunities to assemble masses of artillery and other necessaries of attack, together with their storm troops, and to keep them concealed.

These preparations were hidden even from the most careful aerial observation. The enemy has brought the art of camouflage to the very highest development. In that he was materially helped by the fact that he possessed greater supplies of necessary materials and of labor. In this respect, as in so many others, matters are much more difficult for us.

In order to deceive us, too, he worked arduously at making defensive positions and carried out visible movements which looked like a withdrawing of troops. Despite that, we were not deceived regarding his intentions. We knew he was preparing to attack and that every wood and gully was full of troops and materials. Only regarding the exact time of the attack we had no knowledge. We could accept the belief, however, that as our offensive was to take place further to the east its effect would be to make the enemy renounce the execution of his plans for an offensive.

That hope, however, on account of the fact that our offensive did not reach our expectations, was not realized, and the enemy could, therefore, carry out his plans at a favorable moment. The moment of attack at dawn on July 18 was psychologically a good choice. It is only human that, with the coming of daylight, the tension which darkness produces should have been relaxed, a feeling of greater security should have taken its place, and the strained attention demanded during the night should have been involuntarily decreased. Fatigue comes over the watching troops.

Wegener then deals with the great novelty of the attack—the use of an utterly unprecedented number of tanks. He says:

The enemy had in secret built a large number of tanks of a surprisingly small type, which had the advantage of greater mobility and were easily manoeuvred. These tanks led the way, and between and behind them, morally strengthened

by their presence and protection, came storm troops.

To low visibility in the early morning was added the difficulty of a complete view of the territory on which the attack took place, on account of the broken nature of the ground; the high standing corn concealed the advancing infantry masses and hid the low-built tanks. Thus our artillery could not be effective. Such were the circumstances and the nature of the French attack.

General Ludendorff, First Quartermaster General of the German Army, made the following statement on Aug. 4:

The enemy evaded us on July 15, and we thereupon, as early as the evening of the 16th, broke off operations. It is always our endeavor to stop an undertaking as soon as the stake is not worth the cost. I consider it one of my principal duties to spare the blood and strength of our soldiers.

Referring to General Foch, General Ludendorff continued:

His plan was undoubtedly to cut off the entire arc of our front south of the Aisne by a break-through on the flank. But with the proved leadership of our 7th and 9th Armies that was quite impossible.

We figured with an attack on July 18 and were prepared for it. The enemy experienced very heavy losses, and the Americans and African auxiliary troops, which we do not underestimate, suffered severely.

By the afternoon of the 19th we already were fully masters of the situation and shall remain so. We left the abandoned ground to the enemy according to our regular plan. "Gain of ground" and "Marne" are only catchwords without importance for the issue of the war. We are now, as before, confident.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg also dilated on how economically the troops of Germany had been used. He said:

This circumstance and the supply considerations decided our measures, and we transferred the fighting to favorable ground where the troops could easily be supplied. We all want peace, but it must be peace with honor.

On July 31 Emperor William issued the following proclamation:

Serious years of war lie behind you. The German people, convinced of its just cause, resting on its hard sword and trusting in God's gracous help, has, with its faithful allies, confronted a world of enemies. Your victorious fighting spirit carried the war in the first year into the enemy's country and preserved the homeland from the horrors and devastation of war.

In the second and third years of the war you, by your destructive blows, broke the strength of the enemy in the east. Meanwhile, your comrades in the west offered a brave and victorious front to enormously superior forces.

As the fruit of these victories, the fourth year of the war has brought us peace in the east. In the west the enemy was heavily hit by the force of your assault. The battles won in recent months count among the highest deeds of fame in German history.

You are in the midst of the hardest struggle. The desperate efforts of the enemy will, as hitherto, be foiled by your bravery. Of that I am certain, and, with me, the entire Fatherland.

THE GERMAN PRESS

The Pan-German Deutsche Zeitung on Aug. 12 declared the offensive of the Allies "the most serious reverse of the war." It declared, further:

"The British and French succeeded in effecting a surprise which threw the German forces into disorder, though the strength on both sides was about equal; the losses in prisoners and artillery are not inconsiderable."

Vorwärts, the Socialist organ, on Aug. 12 headed its leading editorial "A Critical Point," and asked if any one would dispute that in the first months of the fifth year of the war the German people were experiencing heavy sorrows. It continued: "Neither in the east, where a further worsening of the boundless confusion is to be expected, nor in the west have the radiant promises been fulfilled of those who would lead the German people through the war like an unsuspecting child, comforted by the stereotyped assurance that everything is going excellently." It pleaded for the facts because it believed that knowledge of the colossal danger in which the German people stood would rouse their moral strength, the weakening of which since August, 1914, was "rightly complained of," not that it would have peace at any price.

The German press generally commented on the reverse with ill-concealed bitterness and regret, acknowledging that a feeling of depression pervaded the nation.

NICHOLAS ROMANOFF

Former Czar of Russia, who was executed on July 16, 1918, by order of the Ural Regional Soviet

(Bain News Service)

GERMAN LEADERS ASSASSINATED IN RUSSIA

Count von Mirbach
Ambassador at Moscow, killed by Social Revolutionaries on July 6, 1918

Field Marshal von Eichhorn
Commander in the Ukraine, killed by a bomb at Kiev on July 30

America's First Field Army

First Step Toward Co-ordinating All United States Forces in France Into One Distinct Command

[Period Ended Aug. 16, 1918]

FROM division to army corps, from army corps to field army, the American forces in France have in the last few weeks so rapidly passed through the stages of development toward the creation of larger units that Pershing's army has now reached the stage where it is practically as independent an organization as the armies under Haig and Pétain; alongside them it is a separate fighting force under the direction of the allied Generalissimo alone.

The announcement of the organization of the first American field army was contained in the following dispatch from France, dated Aug. 11, 1918:

> The first American field army has been organized. It is under the direct command of General John J. Pershing, Commander in Chief of the American forces. The corps commanders thus far announced are Major Gens. Liggett, Bullard, Bundy, Read, and Wright.
>
> The creation of the first field army is the first step toward the co-ordination of all the American forces in France. This does not mean the immediate withdrawal from the British and French commands of all American units, and it is probable that divisions will be used on the French and British fronts for weeks yet. It is understood, however, that the policy of organizing other armies will be carried out steadily.

This announcement marked a milestone in the military effort of the United States. When the American troops first arrived in France, they were associated in small units with the French to get a primary training. Gradually regiments began to function under French division commanders. Then American divisions were formed and trained under French corps commanders. Next, and only recently, American corps began to operate under French army commanders. Finally the first American army was created, because enough divisions and corps had been graduated from the school of experience.

An American division numbers 30,000 men, and a corps consists of six divisions, two of which play the part of reserves. With auxiliary troops, air squadrons, tank sections, heavy artillery, and other branches, a corps numbers from 225,000 to 250,000 men. The composition of the first three corps has already been described, (see Current History Magazine, August, 1918, Pages 227-228.) The organization of the fourth and fifth corps was announced on July 27 as follows:

FOURTH ARMY CORPS

Eighty-third (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. E. F. Glenn.

Eighty-ninth (National Army) Division, commanded by Brig. Gen. F. L. Winn.

Thirty-seventh (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Charles S. Farnsworth.

Twenty-ninth (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. C. G. Morton.

Ninetieth (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Henry T. Allen.

Ninety-second (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Charles C. Ballou.

FIFTH ARMY CORPS

Sixth (Regular Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. James B. Irwin.

Thirty-sixth (National Guard) Division, commanded by Major Gen. W. R. Smith.

Seventy-sixth (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Harry F. Hodges.

Seventy-ninth (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. Joseph E. Kuhn.

Eighty-fifth (National Army) Division, commanded by Major Gen. C. W. Kenned.

Ninety-first (National Army) Division, temporarily commanded by Brig. Gen. Fred B. Foltz.

The following were the general officers temporarily assigned to command the first five corps:

First Corps—Major Gen. Hunter Liggett.

Second Corps—Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard.

Third Corps—Major Gen. William M. Wright.

Fourth Corps—Major Gen. George W. Read.

Fifth Corps—Major Gen. Omar Bundy.

DIVISIONS IN BATTLE

Seven divisions and one separate regiment of American troops participated in

the counteroffensive between Château-Thierry and Soissons and in resisting the German attack in the Champagne, it was officially stated on July 20. The 42d, or Rainbow, Division, composed of National Guard troops from twenty-six States and the District of Columbia, including the New York 69th Infantry, now designated as the 165th Infantry, took part in the fighting in the Champagne east of Rheims. The six other divisions were associated with the French in the counteroffensive between Château-Thierry and Soissons. These divisions were the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th of the Regular Army, the 26th National Guard Division, composed of troops from the six New England States, and the 28th, composed of the Pennsylvania National Guard. Marines were included in this number. The separate regiment that fought in the Champagne was a negro unit attached to the new 93d Division, composed entirely of negro troops. It was also announced that the 77th Division was "in the line near Lunéville" and was "operating as a division, complete under its own commander."

The 42d Division had the distinction, General March announced on Aug. 3, of defeating the 4th Division of the crack Prussian Guards, professional soldiers of the German standing army, who had never before failed. General March also disclosed the fact that another American division had been sent into that part of the Rheims salient where the Germans showed resistance. This was the 32d Division. "The American divisions in the Rheims salient," General March said, "have now been put in contiguously and are actually getting together as an American force. Southeast of Fère-en-Tardenois our 1st Corps is operating, with General Liggett in actual command."

The organization of twelve new divisions was announced by General March, Chief of Staff, in statements made on July 24 and July 31. These divisions were numerically designated from 9 to 20, and organized at Camps Devens, Meade, Sheridan, Custer, Funston, Lewis, Logan, Kearny, Beauregard, Travis, Dodge, and Sevier. Each division had two infantry regiments of the regular army as nucleus, the other elements being made up of drafted men. The new divisions moved into the designated camps as the divisions already trained there moved out.

The composition of an American division is as follows:

Two brigades of infantry, each consisting of two regiments of infantry and one machine-gun battalion.

One brigade of artillery, consisting of three regiments of field artillery and one trench mortar battery.

One regiment of enigineers.

One field signal battalion.

The following trains: Headquarters and military police, sanitary, supply, engineer, and ammunition.

The following division units: Headquarters troop and one machine-gun battalion.

ALL ONE ARMY NOW

A general order of the War Department providing for the consolidation of all branches of the army into one army to be known as the "United States Army" was promulgated by General March on Aug. 7. The text of the order read:

1. This country has but one army—the United States Army. It includes all the land forces in the service of the United States. Those forces, however raised, lose their identity in that of the United States Army. Distinctive appellations, such as the Regular Army, Reserve Corps, National Army, and National Guard, heretofore employed in administration command, will be discontinued, and the single term, the United States Army, will be exclusively used.

2. Orders having reference to the United States Army as divided in separate and component forces of distinct origin, or assuming or contemplating such a division, are to that extent revoked.

3. The insignia now prescribed for the Regular Army shall hereafter be worn by the United States Army.

4. All effective commissions purporting to be, and described therein, as commissions in the Regular Army, National Guard, National Army, or the Reserve Corps, shall hereafter be held to be, and regarded as, commissions in the United States Army—permanent, provisional, or temporary, as fixed by the conditions of their issue; and all such commissions are hereby amended accordingly. Hereafter during the period of the existing emergency all commissions of officers shall be in the United States Army and in staff corps, departments, and arms of the service thereof, and shall, as the law may pro-

vide, be permanent, for a term or for the period of the emergency. And hereafter during the period of the existing emergency provisional and temporary appointments in the grade of Second Lieutenant and temporary promotions in the Regular Army and appointments in the Reserve Corps will be discontinued.

5. While the number of commissions in each grade and each staff corps, department, and arm of the service shall be kept within the limits fixed by law, officers shall be assigned without reference to the term of their commissions solely in the interest of the service; and officers and enlisted men will be transferred from one organization to another as the interests of the service may require.

6. Except as otherwise provided by law, promotion in the United States Army shall be by selection. Permanent promotions in the Regular Army will continue to be made as prescribed by law.

THE ARMY IN FRANCE

Over 300,000 American troops left the United States for France in July, and half as many more in the first half of August, thus raising the total sent across the Atlantic to over 1,450,000. In giving out a part of this information on Aug. 3, General March said:

> In connection with the American forces abroad there has been some discussion about the proportion of the forces which is brigaded with the British, and I will say that General Pershing has in his own area, as his own force, not brigaded with the British, over 1,000,000.

This meant that 300,000 American soldiers or thereabout were with the British forces or in Italy.

The following is a summary of casualties up to and including those reported on Aug. 16:

ARMY CASUALTIES

Killed in action	3,501
Lost at sea	291
Died of wounds	1,169
Died of accident or other causes	676
Died of disease	1,546
Total deaths	7,183
Wounded	9,577
Missing, including prisoners	1,481
Total	18,241

MARINE CORPS CASUALTIES

	Officers.	Men.
Deaths	31	817
Wounded	55	1,792
In hands of enemy	..	5
Missing	1	87
	87	2,701
Total		2,788
Grand total of Army and Marine Corps casualties		21,019

Edward R. Stettinius, Second Assistant Secretary of War, accompanied by a numerous staff, arrived in Europe on July 23 to make a general survey of the American supply services and to represent the United States at the conferences of the Interallied Munitions Council. Major Gen. James G. Harbord, former Chief of Staff to General Pershing and commander of the Marines in the first battle of Château-Thierry, was on July 30 appointed head of the supply services of the American Expeditionary Forces. The presence of Mr. Stettinius in Europe and General Harbord's appointment arose from the necessity of more thorough organization to handle the vastly increased supplies required for the army in France.

Largest Naval Appropriation Ever Passed

A Total of $3,250,000,000 Voted in One Year, and Personnel Increased 50 Per Cent.

WHEN President Wilson on July 1, 1918, signed the Naval Appropriation bill, carrying $1,573,468,415, the largest credit ever placed to the United States Navy in a single measure became available. Added to the sums voted in five other separate measures during the previous twelve months, the total amount appropriated by Congress in the year reached $3,250,000,000.

"The many legislative provisions in this bill are entirely satisfactory and sufficient," said Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, in the course of a statement after the President had signed the measure. "Of those latter, I am per-

sonally greatly interested in the provision applying promotion by selection to the staff. The law of 1916 dealt with the line alone, but the seniority rule is as objectionable in one case as in another, and I am glad that Congress has seen fit to dispense generally with a practice which put a premium on mediocrity.

"The bill abolishes the National Naval Volunteers, or, in other words, the Federal Naval Militia, and empowers the President to transfer the members thereof to the Naval Reserve. This legislation was needed for administrative reasons, and a better and more efficient organization is bound to result.

"Perhaps the outstanding feature of the bill is the permanent increase in the enlisted strength of the navy from 87,000 to 131,485 men. Many new ships have been permanently added to the fleet, and many more will be commissioned in 1919, and this increase in personnel is to provide the officers and crews for these permanent additions as they are completed and placed in commission.

"The officers come automatically with the increase of ships and the men to man them. That is to say, the existing law fixes the permanent commissioned personnel at 4 per cent. of the enlisted strength, but, of course, our officers come from Annapolis, and the authorized number will be made up of graduates from the Academy, so it will be several years before the full authorized number of permanent officers needed for the 131,485 increased permanent strength will be commissioned. In the end the new law will give 18 additional Rear Admirals, 72 Captains, 125 Commanders, and over 1,600 in lower grades for service.

"The bill authorizes an increase to 75,000 in the Marine Corps from 30,000, and carries also one new permanent Major General and one temporary Major General, who, with the Major General Commandant, give three officers of this rank to the Marine Corps. It also authorizes, for the duration of the war, six Brigadier Generals, twenty-two Colonels, and twenty-two Lieutenant Colonels."

Reviewing the vast sums appropriated for the navy during the year, Mr. Daniels continued:

"These figures show that during the last twelve months Congress has appropriated, in round numbers, $3,250,000,000 for the support and increase of the navy. These figures recall a statement made something like a dozen years ago by the late Senator Eugene E. Hale, then Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee. In that year the appropriations for the navy had been increased to nearly $100,000,000, and there was some comment upon the large increase. Turning to Mr. Padgett, now Chairman of the House Committee and then a new member, Senator Hale said: 'Mr. Padgett, you may not now believe it, but you will live to see the day when Congress will in one year appropriate as much as $150,000,000 for the navy.' This year Mr. Padgett reported one bill for more than a billion and a half dollars, and in one year Congress has appropriated more than three billion dollars for the navy. Senator Hale had what was called a large vision for his day, but his prediction fell short over three billion dollars.

"Over $220,000,000 is provided for aviation—every penny asked. Further large appropriations for ordnance are made, including provisions for a naval nitrate plant and a large isolated plant for the storage of high explosives. The bill also provides for railroad communication with the powder factory at Indian Head, which is being enlarged. * * *

"At present there is no dry dock south of Norfolk on the Atlantic coast for ships of the latest dreadnought type. The bill directs the construction of such a modern dry dock at Charleston, S. C., the River and Harbor bill having authorized a forty-foot channel to the Charleston Navy Yard. Money is not only provided for completing the big three-year program, but an additional $100,000,000 is made available for additional torpedo boat destroyers, submarine chasers, and other naval craft, as the exigencies of the war may make necessary."

The American Invasion of England

By RUDYARD KIPLING

[An Address Delivered Before American Troops at Winchester, England, July 21, 1918]

SEVERAL years have passed since England was permanently occupied by the armed forces of a foreign nation. On the last occasion—eight hundred years ago—our people did not take kindly to the invaders. I know they did not, because I live a few miles from where the Battle of Hastings was fought, where all the trouble began; and I assure you we are still talking about it. But don't let me take up your time by retailing the local gossip of these parts. Besides, conditions have changed. They will after 853 years—even in England. You may have noticed that we natives do not resent either the presence of your armed forces on our soil, or your buildings such as these—huts, which are one of the visible signs of your occupation. As far as you are concerned, we are a placid, not to say pacifist, community. Why, gentlemen, you could not annoy us if you started in to build pyramids. On the contrary, we should be pleased. We should say: "This looks like business; this looks as if "the United States meant to stay till "they had done their share of the job "thoroughly."

We have been a long time over our present job, and we may be a long time yet. It has been a little bigger than we expected, because this is the first time since the creation that all the world has been obliged to unite for the purpose of fighting the devil. You remember that before the war one of our easy theories was that the devil was almost extinct—that he was only the child of misfortune or accident, and that we should soon abolish him by passing ringing resolutions against him. That has proved an expensive miscalculation. We find now that the devil is very much alive, and very much what he always was—that is to say, immensely industrious, a born organizer, and better at quoting Scripture for his own ends than most honest men. His industry and organization we all can deal with, but more difficult to handle is his habit of quoting Scripture as soon as he is in difficulties.

When Germany begins to realize her defeat is certain we shall be urged in the name of mercy, toleration, loving kindness, for the sake of the future of mankind, or by similar appeals to the inextinguishable vanity of man, who delights in thinking himself holy and righteous when he is really only lazy or tired—I say, we shall be urged on these high grounds to make some sort of compromise with or to extend some recognition to the power which has for its one object the destruction of man, body and soul. Yet, if we accept these pleas, we shall betray mankind as effectively as though we had turned our backs upon the battle from the first.

But you, gentlemen, have not come 3,000 miles to protect Germany. Your little vanguard is here to help her change her heart, and I read a day or two ago the lines on which you propose to change it: "When we went to war with Ger-"many it was with the resolve to de-"stroy German war power. If that pow-"er is inseparable from the German "people, then we are resolved upon "the destruction of the German people. "The alternative is in their hands." That is reasonable and easy to understand. You are going, none too soon, into a world which has been laboriously wrecked by high German philosophy, based on the devil's own creed that there is nothing good or evil in life but thinking makes it so—in other words, that right and wrong are matters of pure fancy.

That belief it will be your privilege to assist in removing from the German's mind. His beliefs are primitive. Except on certain portions of the front, where he has been better educated, he believed that the United States Army does not exist. In the first place, it could not cross the Atlantic; in the second, it was sunk while crossing; in the third, it was no use when it arrived. It

is possible that you may be able to persuade him that he has been misinformed on these points.

Meantime, your invasion of England goes forward according to program day by day. Unlike the other invaders we have known, you bring everything you need with you, and do not live upon the inhabitants. In this you are true to the historical vow of your ancestors, when they said to ours, "Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute." At any other time the nations would be lost in amazement at the mere volume and scope of your equipment, at the terrifying completeness of your preparations, at the dread evidence of power that underlies them. But we have lived so among miracles these last four years that, even though the thing accomplished itself before our very eyes, we scarcely realize that we watch the actual bodily transit of the New World moving in arms to aid in redressing the balance of the Old. We are too close to these vast upheavals and breakings forth to judge of their significance. One falls back on the simpler, the more comprehensible fact that we are all blood-brothers in a common cause, and therefore in that enduring fellowship of loss, toil, peril, and homesickness which must needs be our portion before we come to the victory.

But life is not all gray even under these skies. There is a reasonable amount of fun left in the world still, if you know where to look for it—and I have noticed that the young generally have this knowledge. And there are worse fates in the world than to be made welcome, as you are more than welcome, to the honorable and gallant fraternity of comrades-in-arms the wide world over. Our country and our hearts are at your service, and with these our understanding of the work ahead of you. That understanding we have bought at the price of the lifeblood of a generation.

Progress of the War

Recorded Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From July 18 Up to and Including August 16, 1918

UNITED STATES

All wire systems were put under Government control Aug. 1.

American shipbuilding records were broken in July, when 123 ships of 631,944 tons were launched. Launchings since Jan. 1 amounted to 1,719,536 tons.

Ratifications of the military service conventions between the United States and Great Britain were exchanged at London July 30.

Announcement was made on Aug. 11 that the first American field army was organized, under the direct command of General Pershing.

SUBMARINE WARFARE

The United States armored cruiser San Diego was sunk off Fire Island July 19 by a mine laid by the German submarine U-56.

A German submarine attacked the tug Perth Amboy of the Lehigh Valley Railroad and her four barges off the coast of Cape Cod, July 21. The tug was burned, the barges sunk.

The fishing schooner Robert and Richard of Gloucester was sunk sixty miles southeast of Cape Porpoise July 23.

Three incoming transatlantic liners arriving July 29 reported having been attacked by submarines when about 200 miles off the Atlantic Coast.

The O. B. Jennings, an American tanker, was sunk on Aug. 4 off the Virginia coast.

On Aug. 5 the American schooner Stanley L. Seaman, outward bound, was sunk 110 miles east of Cape Hatteras.

The Diamond Shoal Lightship 71, anchored off Cape Hatteras, was sunk on Aug. 7.

On Aug. 8 the small American steamer Merak, unarmed, was sunk near the North Carolina coast. On the same day the Swedish steamship Sydland was sunk off the coast of Nantucket.

A fleet of thirty fishing vessels was attacked on the night of Aug. 10 sixty miles off Nantucket Island. Ten schooners were sunk.

On the afternoon of Aug 10 a submarine made a mustard gas attack off North Carolina. The crew of the lighthouse on Smith Island was overcome.

The British ship Penistone was sunk and the American schooner Herman Winter was unsuccessfully attacked 100 miles east of Nantucket Aug. 11.

On Aug. 12 the Norwegian freighter Sommerstad was torpedoed off Fire Island.

On Aug. 13 the American oil tanker Frederick R. Kellogg was sunk ten miles off the New Jersey coast.

The coal schooner Dorothy Barrett was sunk twenty miles from Cape May Aug. 14.

On Aug. 16 the American auxiliary schooner Madrugada, bound for Brazil, was sunk off the Virginia coast, and a large oil tank steamer was set afire off Capt Hatteras by a U-boat's guns.

The Japanese freight steamer Tokuyoma Maru was sunk without warning off the coast of Nova Scotia on Aug. 1.

On Aug. 2 the British lumber schooner Dornfontein was held up, looted, and set on fire by a U-boat twenty-five miles southwest of Brier Island, in the Bay of Fundy.

Three American fishing schooners, the Rob Roy, the Annie M. Perry, and the Muriel were sunk off Seal Island, on the Nova Scotia coast. The next day the Nova Scotia schooner Nelson A. was sunk.

Standard Oil Company's tanker Luz Blanca was sunk forty miles west of Halifax on Aug. 5 and the crew shelled after taking to their small boats.

On Aug. 6 the Canadian schooner Gladys M. Hallett was attacked off the Nova Scotia coast, but was towed into port.

The American supply ship Westover was sunk in European waters July 11. Ten members of the crew missing.

On Aug. 3 the American steamers Lake Portage and Berwind were sunk off the French coast.

The Cunard liner Carpathia was torpedoed off the west coast of Ireland July 17, outward bound. Five members of the crew were killed.

The sinking of the British transport Barunga, outward bound for Australia, with unfit Australians on board, was announced by the Admiralty July 19.

On July 20 the White Star liner Justicia was sunk off the North Irish coast in a twenty-four-hour fight with U-boats. Fifteen members of the crew were lost.

The British armored cruiser Marmora was sunk July 23. Ten members of the crew were reported missing.

On Aug. 4 the British ambulance transport Warilda, with about 800 wounded soldiers on board, was torpedoed in the English Channel, with the loss of 123 lives.

Norway lost fourteen vessels, aggregating 15,444 tons through war causes during July. Fifty-five sailors were lost. These losses brought her total losses since the beginning of the war up to 856 vessels, aggregating 1,169,587 tons, with a loss of 1,802 seamen.

France announced on Aug. 13 that the French steamer Djemnah was sunk in the Mediterranean on the night of July 14-15 while bound from Bizerta to Alexandria with troops on board. Four hundred and forty-two lives were lost. Four days later the French steamer Australian was sunk in the Mediterranean, with a loss of twenty lives. Another ship was torpedoed but remained afloat.

Losses to British and allied shipping due to enemy action or marine risks for the month of June totaled 278,629 gross tons, this being the lowest record for any month since September, 1916. The British losses totaled 161,062 tons and allied and neutral losses 114,567. The total losses for the quarter ended June 30 amounted to 946,578 tons. Allied and neutral losses during July totaled 270,000 tons. Total new shipping by Allies in July exceeded 500,000 tons.

The Spanish Foreign Minister announced on Aug. 8 that Spain had sent another note to Germany concerning the torpedoing of Spanish ships. On Aug. 17 word was received that Spain had notified Germany of her intention to compensate herself for future outrages by confiscating a corresponding amount of tonnage from German shipping that had found refuge in Spanish ports.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

July 18—French and American troops counterattack on twenty-eight-mile front from the Aisne to the Marne, advance their line to within a mile of Soissons; British advance on a front of more than a mile southwest of Villers-Bretonneux.

July 19—French and Americans continue advance on Aisne-Marne line; Germans pushed back further; French and Italians make advances southwest of Rheims; Meteren retaken by British.

July 20—All Germans pushed back across the Marne; Franco-British troops repulse attacks between the Marne and Rheims; gain ground in Courton Wood; British force Germans to withdraw from Rossignol Wood.

July 21—Germans evacuate Château-Thierry; French and American forces push across the Marne behind them and sweep them back more than four miles.

July 22—French and Americans resist strong counterattacks between the Marne and the Ourcq and advance, taking Epieds; British increase their gains in the Hebuterne region.

July 23—French advance on both sides of the Ourcq; Franco-American troops south of the Ourcq push Germans back beyond the Soissons-Château-Thierry road; French gain two miles north of Montdidier.

July 24—French and Americans gain two miles north of Château-Thierry; French reach Brecy to the north; Franco-American forces gain toward the southeast; British force German lines back in the Vrigny sector.

July 25—Allies bend German salient on the

Marne on both sides; French and Americans push forward, taking about forty square miles of territory; British and French troops narrow the mouth of the salient to twenty-one miles.

July 26—Allies gain on the Marne front.

July 27—Germans, in full retreat from the Marne salient, fall back three miles.

July 28—Allies cross the Ourcq River, enter Fère-en-Tardenois.

July 29—Allies advance in the Soissons-Rheims salient from two to three miles on a twenty-mile front; Germans abandon the line of the Ourcq; heavy fighting in the Bazancy region; Americans repulse Prussian Guards south of Sergy; Australians strike along the Bray-Corbie road on a two-mile front, advancing 500 yards.

July 30—Americans advance from Sergy nearly two miles, again defeating the Prussian Guards and the Bavarians; French advance northeast of Fère; French capture Romigny; Allies gain ground in the Ardre Valley; Australians clear high ground in front of Amiens.

Aug. 1—Allies strike on ten-mile front northwest of Fère and capture Hill 205 and villages.

Aug. 2—French troops enter Soissons, and with British contingents cross the Crise River, pushing on to a depth of from three to five miles on the whole Marne salient.

Aug. 3—Allies sweep northward on a thirty-mile line behind the retreating Germans, capturing virtually the entire Aisne-Vesle front between Soissons and Rheims, advancing more than six miles at some points, occupying more than fifty villages; Americans enter Fismes; Germans retire west of the Ancre on a front of three or four miles.

Aug. 4—Americans take Fismes by assault; Allies cross the Vesle; south bank of the river completely cleared of the enemy; Germans retire on a ten-mile line between Montdidier and Moreuil.

Aug. 5—Germans fall back at La Bassée, British occupy abandoned trenches; Germans make a stand on the Vesle; Paris bombarded by long-range gun.

Aug. 6—Germans make vain attempts to recover lost position on the Vesle; French advance north of Montdidier toward the Avre and capture positions along the river bank; long-range bombardment of Paris continued; several women and children killed.

Aug. 7—French and American troops force the passage of the Vesle along a front between Braisnes and Fismes. Paris again shelled by long-range gun.

Aug. 8—British and French troops break German line on a twenty-five-mile front in attack from near Albert south to Braches; British thrust to the south reaches Framerville.

Aug. 9—Allies advance five miles more east of Amiens; British advance their whole front in the Lys sector between the Lawe and Bourre Rivers to a maximum depth of 2,000 yards, taking possession of Locon and four other villages.

Aug. 10—French take Montdidier and plunge forward six miles on a thirteen-mile front; British and Americans capture Morlancourt and Chipilly Ridge and drive forward on Bray.

Aug. 11—German counterattacks along the Vesle repulsed; Allies advance their line on the front from Albert south to the Oise; French advance four miles.

Aug. 12—Allies push closer to Roye; Americans, co-operating with the British, reach the outskirts of Bray.

Aug. 13—French resume the offensive between the Matz and the Oise Rivers and gain ground east and north of Gury; Austro-Hungarian troops sent to the western front.

Aug. 14—Germans begin the evacuation of a five-mile front north of Albert extending from Beaumont-Hamel northward.

Aug. 15—Canadians advance between Chaulnes and Roye.

Aug. 16—French and Canadians advance on an eight-mile front from a point west of Fransart to the neighborhood of Lancourt; Germans in the Lys salient evacuate Vieux Berquin and retreat one or two miles on a nine-mile front.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

July 21—Franco-Italians advance in Albania; Point Iozi, on the crest of Mali Silovez, captured.

July 24—Austrians, reinforced, attack Devoli Bandle and Kuci Arch and are defeated.

Aug. 4—Italians reoccupy the Fieri-Berat line.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

July 20—Italians recapture Monte Stabel and reoccupy Corno di Caverto.

Aug. 5—Italians win back the edge of Dorso Alto Mountain.

Aug. 10—French troops penetrate deeply into Austrian intrenchments on Monte Sisemol.

Aug. 13—Italians advance near the Swiss border.

AERIAL RECORD

Repairs which the Germans had made to the Zeebrugge mole and locks were destroyed by allied airmen; two torpedo boats were sunk in the harbor and the canal was blocked again.

During the month of July French aviators downed 184 enemy airplanes, drove 154 out of control, and dropped 550 tons of bombs.

German Zeppelins made an unsuccessful attempt to raid the east coast of England on the night of Aug. 5. One machine was brought down forty miles at sea, another

was damaged, and a third driven off. On Aug. 12 British aviators brought down a Zeppelin in flames off the English east coast.

British aviators, accompanying a naval reconnoitring expedition off the coast of Holland, brought down a German airship in flames north of Ameland. Six motor boats engaged in the expedition failed to return.

British aviators on the nights of July 28, 29, and 30 attacked German railway stations at Offenburg, Rastatt, Baden, Stuttgart, and Sollingen. On Aug. 1 tons of bombs were dropped on the Stuttgart and Coblenz stations. Large portions of the buildings were destroyed and traffic seriously interrupted. The Royal Palace at Stuttgart was damaged, and a newly built ammunition factory at Coblenz was partially destroyed. Karlsruhe was attacked on Aug. 11 and an explosion took place in the Karlsruhe station. The chemical and airplane works at Frankfort were hit on Aug. 12, and twelve persons were killed and five injured.

Sixty-six Austrian airplanes were destroyed and three were brought down out of control by the Allies on the Italian battle-front in July.

A squadron of eight Italian airplanes, commanded by Captain Gabriele d'Annunzio, flew across the Alps to Vienna, 621 miles from their base, and dropped manifestoes. All of the machines returned in safety, except one, which had to land near Vienna-Neustadt because of engine trouble.

Constantinople was bombed by the Allies July 27. Five persons were wounded.

General Pershing notified the State Department on Aug. 16 that a complete squadron of eighteen De Haviland Four airplanes, built in the United States and equipped with Liberty motors, successfully carried out the first reconnoissance flight of American-built machines behind the German lines early in August. They returned without loss.

NAVAL RECORD

Two British torpedo boat destroyers were sunk by enemy mines on Aug. 2. Ninety-seven lives were lost.

A German destroyer was sunk eight miles off Zeebrugge, presumably by a mine, Aug. 9.

RUSSIA

Announcement was made on July 20 that Nicholas Romanoff, ex-Czar of Russia, was shot July 16 by order of the Ural Soviet. The message from Russia announced that a counter-revolutionary movement had been discovered with the object of wresting the ex-Emperor from the Soviet Council, and that the approach of Czechoslovak troops led to the fear that they might seize him. All his property, as well as that of all the other members of the imperial house, was forfeited to the Soviet Government.

The fifth National Congress of Turkestan proclaimed Turkestan to be a republic in alliance with Russia, according to information received July 26. A revolt against the Bolshevist Government broke out Aug. 2.

Announcement was made on July 29 that a treaty had been signed by which the Cossack Governments of the Don and the Astrakhan districts mutually recognized their complete autonomy and promised each other mutual assistance in the annexation of other districts whose possession they considered necessary.

Field Marshal von Eichhorn, the German commander in the Ukraine, and his Adjutant, Captain von Dressler, were killed on July 31 by a bomb thrown at them while they were driving in Kiev. Revolts among the peasants continued, and the Germans discovered a plot to overthrow Skoropadski, the Ukrainian Hetman, and make Archduke William, son of the Austrian Archduke Charles Stephen, King or Hetman of the Ukraine.

General Count Kirchbach was appointed successor to von Eichhorn.

M. Stelschenks, former Minister of Educatoin in the Ukrainian Cabinet, was assassinated at Poltava.

The Czechoslovak armies continued their operations against the Germans and the Bolsheviki. On July 26 they captured Simbirsk, 600 miles east of Moscow. On July 31 they gained possession of a large railway bridge at Syzram, in the Volga region, thus securing communication with Siberia, and on Aug. 1 word was received that they had taken Yekaterinburg. In Western Siberia they mobilized the classes of 1912 to 1920 at Omsk and the classes of 1917 to 1919 at Kurghan. Several cities in the Caucasus and a Black Sea port were captured, according to a report received July 30. Two Russian warships were seized at the port and a steamer sunk. The warships' guns were turned against the port of Novorosisk, where they were seized. Thousands of Italians and Rumanians, subjects of Austria-Hungary, and formerly prisoners of war in Russia, joined their armies.

On Aug. 13 the British Government issued a declaration formally recognizing the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation and the Czechoslovak armies as an allied force engaged in warfare against the Central Powers.

A revolt against the Bolsheviki and in favor of the Allies occurred at Archangel. The Soviet forces fled and allied forces, including American troops, landed. The final defeat of the Bolsheviki took place Aug. 3, when they were repulsed at Ysakagorka, on the left bank of the Dvina. On Aug. 7 the Government of the "Country of the North" addressed a

proclamation to the people of the district declaring the Bolshevist régime at an end.

A Russian wireless message received at London July 23 gave the text of an agreement between the Allies and the Murman Regional Council for the defense of the Murman region against Germany. General Gurko was placed in command of the Entente allied forces.

Conferences were held between Russian and German delegates for the purpose of construing the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. The result of these conferences was a formal renunciation by the Soviet Government of any claims to the provinces of Esthonia and Livonia.

More than 200 Social Revolutionists of the Left were shot by the Bolsheviki for participation in the assassination of the German Ambassador, Count von Mirbach, and in the counter-revolution. Dr. Karl Helfferich was appointed German Envoy to Moscow to succeed von Mirbach.

The allied embassies left Vologda July 25 in response to a message from M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister, declaring that they were in danger from a threatened bombardment of Vologda.

The American Consul at Moscow, De Witt C. Poole, fearful that his consulate would be violated, destroyed his records and turned over American interests to the care of the Swedish Consul General. The arrested Consuls were subsequently released through Swedish offices.

Soviet troops began the evacuation of Moscow on Aug. 14.

An undated dispatch from Vladivostok received at London July 23 said that the Provisional Government of Siberia had submitted to the Allies on July 15 a request for joint military action.

A Provisional Government was established at Omsk. It assumed complete authority in Siberia and proclaimed Siberia's independence, July 23.

On Aug. 3 President Wilson announced his plan to co-operate with the Allies in aiding the Czechoslovak troops and guarding the northern ports from the Germans, and to send a civilian commission to give educational and economic aid.

Aug. 5 Japan announced that troops had been dispatched to Vladivostok.

British troops landed at Vladivostok Aug. 4.

Announcement was made on Aug. 7 that Major Gen. William S. Graves had been selected to command the American Expeditionary Force.

General Kikuzo Otani was chosen to command the Japanese section, a position which would make him ranking officer of the allied expedition.

On Aug. 9 British representatives at Vladivostok, Murmansk, and Archangel published a declaration to the Russian people announcing that the Allies were coming as friends and wanted no territory. On the same day French and Chinese troops landed at Vladivostok.

The Bolsheviki sent an ultimatum to Japan concerning Japanese intervention.

On Aug. 15 Secretary Baker announced that the first contingent of American troops had arrived at Vladivostok. On the same day announcement was made that the allied Archangel expeditionary force had reached Pabereshskaia, 100 miles south of Vologda, and that a British force from Northwestern Persia had reached the Caspian Sea and had taken over part of the defenses of Baku. A British force from India also reached Turkestan, and were in control of the Baku oil fields.

RUMANIA

The Ukrainian Government, July 26, abandoned its claims to Bessarabia, and diplomatic relations between Rumania and the Ukraine were resumed.

The Chamber of Deputies on Aug. 7 voted to prosecute M. Bratiano, former Premier, and four members of his Cabinet for their connection with the entry of Rumania into the war.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Lithuanian German-controlled State Council selected Duke William of Urach as sovereign, under the title of King Medove.

Great Britain, in reply to a note from the Finnish Government, announced that she would not support any party in the Finnish revolution, and would not assist the Russian Army to enter Finland or to support a civil war there.

The von Seidler Cabinet in Austria-Hungary resigned July 21. Baron von Hussarek was appointed Premier.

Turmoil in Bohemia resulted in the execution of seventy-four Czech soldiers and wholesale arrests, according to a dispatch received Aug. 14.

Antwerp was fined 1,000,000 francs and the Burgomaster was deposed by the Germans as punishment for beatings of anti-Belgian propagandists by the Activists on July 11.

Word was received on July 31 that because of a public demonstration over the success of the Entente offensive in the Marne salient the City of Liége was fined and the German Governor ordered the curfew rung at 7 o'clock in the evening for several weeks.

Honduras declared war on Germany July 19.

A bill calling up boys of 18 was passed by the French National Assembly and put in operation Aug. 4.

Louis J. Malvy, former French Minister of the Interior, was found guilty of holding communication with the enemy and sentenced to five years' banishment Aug. 6. The sentence did not carry civic degradation. On Aug. 11 he left Paris for Spain.

The War In the Air

Aerial Supremacy Won and Held for the Allies by Means of Daring Raids and Battles

[Period Ended Aug. 15, 1918.]

DURING the great battle of the Marne salient the French aviation service once more played a memorable part. On the first day of the German drive—July 15, 1918—forty-four tons of high explosive bombs were dropped on the enemy, and during the night fourteen tons more. In the first eight days and eight nights of the battle the total quantity amounted to 317 tons. In the same period the French airmen destroyed 171 German airplanes and burned twenty-eight observation balloons.

Even more valuable was the observation work, which kept the French commanders well informed of the enemy's movements. For example, it was the aerial observers who informed the staff of the fact that the Germans were placing pontoons across the Marne. In addition to throwing bombs, the French aviators fired more than 1,000,000 bullets from their machine guns. The success of the French troops was due in large measure to the co-operation of the airmen.

Summing up the work of the aviation section for the month of July a French official report announced the following results:

> One hundred and eighty-four enemy airplanes were downed. One hundred and fifty-four enemy airplanes were seen falling out of control inside the enemy lines, of which number fifteen had been damaged by the fire of our aircraft guns. Thus 338 enemy machines were destroyed or badly damaged.
>
> In addition, our airplanes set on fire forty-nine enemy captive balloons.
>
> During the same month our bombarding squadrons in the daytime dropped 194 tons of explosives, and in the nighttime more than 356 tons, thus making a total of 550 tons dropped on bridges in the Marne Valley, on enemy troops that had advanced south of the Aisne, and on railroad stations in the region of Laon, Hirson, and Rethel.

The British aerial services did equally well. During the year ended June 30, 1918, enemy aircraft to the number of 2,150 were destroyed on the western front, while Royal Air Force units working with the navy accounted for 623 more. The complete official table, showing 4,102 enemy machines brought down on all fronts during the year, is as follows:

	Crashed.	Driven Down.	Total.	Britsh Miss'g.
West front	2,150	1,083	3,233	1,094
Navy	623	....	623	92
Total	2,773	1,083	3,856	1,186
*Italy	165	6	171	13
*Saloniki	21	13	34	4
*Palestine, &c.	26	15	41	10
Total	212	34	246	27
Grand t'al.	2,985	1,117	4,102	1,213

*Italy: April to June. Saloniki; January to June. Palestine and Egypt: March to June.

In July and August, preceding the British offensive in Picardy, the airmen were still more active, going far behind the German lines in raids on military objectives and still further to the rear to attack German towns. Considerable attention was paid to the German bases on the Belgian Coast.

RAIDS ON GERMAN CITIES

In a series of twenty-five separate raids on German towns the British airmen attacked the railway stations and sidings at Thionville, the poison factory at Mannheim, works and blast furnaces at Urbach, the Benz chemical works and the Gebrüder Giulini munition factory at Mannheim, railway factories at Offenburg, the railway station at Heidelberg, the powder factories at Rottweil and Oberndorf, the furnaces at Wadgassen and Hagendange, and the airdromes at Boulay, Dieuze, and Morhange. Photographs secured during and after the raids showed that these attacks were effective in causing fires and much destruction by explosions.

The constant attacks on Germany had a direct and rapidly growing effect upon the German power of offense and manoeuvre against French sectors of front. The raided area contained, in addition to its vast network of strategic railways, a very considerable number of munition factories. These factories had their full share of attention from the British raiders, but hardly less serious from the German point of view was the damage inflicted, with its consequent dislocation of war traffic, upon the railway connections on which the immense German transport from the Rhine to the western front depended.

On this point the evidence of captured documents and the voluntary testimony of prisoners, repatriated civilians, and others was highly instructive. All went to show that not only was a great and ever increasing amount of German energy, trained man power and war material diverted to the defense of the Rhine towns, but that the interruption of war work caused by the raids became an increasingly serious problem for the German authorities.

According to a report dated Aug. 8, the allied aviators during a raid over Saarbrücken encountered forty German fighting planes, which had been withdrawn from the front to protect German towns.

The British aerial attacks on the Stuttgart and Coblenz railway stations on Aug. 2 were reported to have been the most terrible experienced during the war. Many tons of bombs were dropped, large portions of the stations were destroyed, and serious interruption to railway traffic was occasioned. The Royal Palace at Stuttgart was damaged, while at Coblenz a newly built ammunition factory was partially destroyed. All travelers arriving in Switzerland from across the frontier declared that the terror of these successive raids was increasing in the Rhine towns and that from Istein, near Basle, the exodus of population continued into the interior.

The moral effect of carrying the war in the air into Germany was seen in the protests of the people, which were given expression in a proposal to come to an agreement with the Allies to restrict aerial operations to the actual fighting fronts. German air raids on Paris and towns in England showed a decrease, while allied attacks on Germany increased. Practically the only German attempt to raid England in two months was that made by five Zeppelins on the East Coast on Aug. 5. They were attacked by airplanes about forty miles from the coast. One was shot down in flames and another was damaged. The other three escaped. In the Zeppelin that was shot down there perished Captain Strasser, one of Germany's most successful airship squadron commanders, and his entire crew.

GERMAN CITIES SUBJECTED TO BRITISH AND FRENCH AIR RAIDS. THE BLACK LINE IN THE SOUTHWEST CORNER IS THE BATTLEFRONT

D'ANNUNZIO'S TRIP TO VIENNA

The feat of dropping thousands of copies of an allied manifesto upon Vienna was performed on Aug. 9 by Captain Gabriele d'Annunzio and his patrol of eight Italian machines, all of

which returned safely except one. The total flight was 620 miles, nearly all over enemy territory. The crossing of the Alps was made in a great windstorm at a height of 10,000 feet.

The machines left their Italian base at 5:30 in the morning and reached Vienna at 9:20, descending to within 1,500 feet of the city without being attacked. The people, at first terrified, showed intense curiosity when they found that the Italians were dropping nothing more explosive than propaganda. Crowds filled the streets and scrambled for the manifesto; copies were in such demand that some changed hands for as much as $4 apiece. The text of this unique communication, said to be d'Annunzio's own composition, was as follows:

People of Vienna: You are fated to know the Italians. We are flying over Vienna and could drop tons of bombs; on the contrary, we leave a salutation and the flag with its colors of liberty.

We Italians do not make war on children, the aged, and women. We make war on your Government, which is the enemy of the liberty of nations—on your blind, wanton, cruel Government, which gives you neither peace nor bread and nurtures you on hatred and illusions.

People of Vienna: You have the reputation of being intelligent; why, then. do you wear the Prussian uniform? Now you see the entire world is against you. Do you wish to continue the war? Keep on, then, but it will be your suicide. What can you hope from the victory promised you by the Prussian Generals? Their decisive victory is like the bread of the Ukraine—one dies while awaiting it.

People of Vienna, think of your dear ones, awake!

Long live liberty, Italy, and the Entente!

The Vienna authorities ordered the public to hand over every copy of the propaganda dropped by the Italian airmen, threatening severe penalties for failure to do so.

AIR RAIDS ON PARIS

A summary of casualties suffered by the people of Paris from air attacks during the six months from Jan. 1 to June 30, 1918, showed that the number killed was 141, and wounded, 432. These totals did not include the sixty-six persons who died as the result of a panic in a Paris subway nor those who died later from their injuries.

A statement issued by the United States War Department on Aug. 4 set up the claim that a new minimum record for losses sustained in training flights had been established in American aviation training camps. The report contained the following:

Official records show that from Sept. 1, 1917, to and including July 20, 1918, the losses sustained in the actual flying training of the United States air forces in this country by American units totaled 155, which for each hour of actual flying training was .000305. In other words, the average in round numbers is one man killed for every 3,300 hours of flying in the United States, which is proved by available official statistics to be a new world's record for safety in training airmen in wartime.

Official figures authorized by the Division of Military Aeronautics from Sept. 1, 1917, to July 20, 1918, inclusive, showed the following fatalities in actual flying training sustained by the United States aviation forces in the United States:

Rank.	Number.
Officers	74
Cadets	65
Enlisted men	9
Civilian instructors	7
Total	155

LIEUT. ROOSEVELT'S DEATH

Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt, son of ex-President Roosevelt, was killed in an air fight on the front. A German press report described the encounter as follows:

On Sunday, July 14, an American squadron of twelve battleplanes was trying to break through the German defense over the Marne. In the violent combat which ensued with seven German machines one American aviator stubbornly made repeated attacks. This culminated in a duel between him and a German noncommissioned officer, who, after a short fight, succeeded in getting good aim at his brave but inexperienced opponent, whose machine fell after a few shots near the village of Chambray, ten kilometers north of the Marne.

His pocket case showed him to be Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt of the aviation section of the United States Army. The personal belongings of the fallen airman are being carefully kept, with a view to sending them later to his relatives. The earthly remains of the brave young air-

man were buried with military honors by German airmen near Chambray at the spot where he fell.

An American aviator subsequently discovered the grave at the edge of a wood at Chambray, east of Fère-en-Tardenois. The inscription, in English, read:

LIEUTENANT QUENTIN ROOSEVELT,
BURIED BY GERMANS

A few days later the allied advance swept beyond the point where Lieutenant Roosevelt had fallen, and hundreds of American soldiers visited the grave, removed the German label, and erected a neat cross bearing an appropriate inscription.

Major James B. McCudden, one of the most brilliant British aviators of the war, (see CURRENT HISTORY, July, 1918, Page 87,) was accidentally killed on July 9, while flying from England to France, by falling on the French coast. He had just been promoted from Captain and had to his credit the bringing down of fifty-four German machines.

Lieutenant Nungesser, the second French ace, was cited for the Legion of Honor on July 29, having brought down, according to the official announcement, thirty-one German airplanes and destroyed three observation balloons. He had received many wounds, had been cited fifteen times, and was created an officer of the Legion of Honor for "his superb example of courage."

Aerial activity in the Mediterranean was the subject of a British Admiralty statement issued on Aug. 2. It recorded numerous and effective raids on enemy objectives all the way from Valona to Constantinople. In the Adriatic the Italian air forces were assisted by British air units in raids on the Austrian naval ports of Cattaro and Durazzo. A British communiqué, referring to operations on the Italian front, said that during the month of July sixty-six hostile airplanes were destroyed and three brought down out of control.

The success of the British and French drive on the Somme, which began Aug. 8, was largely due to the work done in the air during the days preceding the surprise attack. The British airmen not only engaged large enemy forces over hostile territory but also defeated them in most signal fashion. On three successive days the British destroyed 15, 26, and 11 German machines, besides driving down eighteen out of control. Twelve British machines failed to return. On the whole front the record for the week in which the drive began was ninety-two enemy machines destroyed and thirty-six driven down out of control. In the same week British bombing squadrons successfully attacked the railway system of the enemy, dropping 140 tons of bombs and causing material damage, which contributed no little to the demoralization of the retreating German forces.

As the battle progressed the airplane activity increased in intensity. The British record for the first four days of fighting accounted for a total of 240 enemy airplanes, as follows:

Aug 8—Shot down 65 enemy machines; lost 49.
Aug. 9—Shot down 61; lost 23.
Aug 10—Shot down 61; lost 12.
Aug. 11—Shot down 53; lost 5.

Hundreds of tons of explosives were dropped on enemy forces and depots in the same period, and bombing planes virtually took the place of heavy artillery in the battle. On the French sectors the same activity prevailed, and by Aug. 14 it was announced that the Allies held complete supremacy in the air over the battle area.

American fliers took a modest but increasing part in this phase of the war. It was stated on Aug. 12 that they had brought down forty German machines since beginning work.

Transporting America's Army Overseas

An Amazing Feat Accomplished at Great Sacrifice of British Trade With Dominions

By SIR JOSEPH MACLAY
British Controller of Shipping

WRITTEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES, TO WHICH IT WAS SPECIALLY CABLED, AUG. 3, 1918
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TRANSPORTING the American Army across the Atlantic is the biggest thing of the kind which has ever been attempted. We in England were not a little proud of the manner in which we transported and maintained our army in South Africa, but in the light of the American movement it must be confessed that the achievement was a comparatively modest one. If I remember rightly, we moved only about 300,000 men from first to last, and we had the whole of the British mercantile marine to draw from, and there were no submarines.

Over 1,000,000 troops have been moved across the Atlantic during the last year or so, in face of an offensive by sea, waged by the enemy with as great a determination and persistency as he has fought with on the western front, and simultaneously we have been moving British and Colonial soldiers to all theatres of the war, and keeping them supplied. Only those who have access to official records can appreciate the character of the enemy's effort to arrest these varied transport movements, and particularly of the American forces, destined for Europe.

He has been able to combine his original purpose and his original plans for attempting to starve out England with his new plans for attacking the transports. Every submarine at the command of the Germans has been sent to sea, manned by the most experienced officers and men.

We make a mistake if we regard the enemy's sea offensive as less important than the military movement on land. The whole German people were led to believe that piracy, practiced with the utmost ruthlessness, would ruin this ambitious transport scheme. What has happened? More than 1,000,000 troops have been carried across the Atlantic and the lives of less than 300 soldiers have been lost.

On the average, about 60 per cent. of the American soldiers have been carried in British ships, and, as I will explain later on, the proportion is rising steadily. The extent of the contribution of British tonnage should be considered not as an isolated act, but in association with the worldwide activities of the British merchant navy, which have gone on simultaneously.

The time has not come when the narrative can be given in full, but it may be remembered that, while the American soldiers have been traveling to Europe, the 7,000,000 British, dominion, and Indian troops, engaged in six theatres of war in France, Flanders, Italy, Saloniki, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt, to say nothing of the garrisons in Malta, Gibraltar, and elsewhere, have been supported with reinforcements, munitions, stores, and food, and their sick and wounded carried. In some cases the fresh men had to be brought from Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

Nor is that all. A large volume of shipping has also been required, and that not in home waters only, by the British fleet, the ships of which are largely dependent on mercantile tonnage for fuel, stores, and even food. The situation, naval and military, changes almost from day to day, and an attempt has been made to vary the organization of the merchant fleet to meet it. It was when all these responsibilities were already being borne that plans had to be made to help carry the American troops.

WONDERFUL TEAMWORK

This transport miracle has only been rendered possible by the efficient organization on the American side and our assistance on this side, which has been rendered with both hands. As to the first point, co-operation was necessary between the military authorities and the railways in carrying troops to the ports, and between the people running the ports and the shipping authorities.

The American genius for organization has been once more exhibited in a new sphere and it has succeeded, in spite of all the difficulties created by the war. If the American railways had not been operated with success the whole transport movement might have failed, because it was essential to quick transportation that the troops should be ready for the ships. That meant economy of tonnage, and economy was very necessary.

The United States possessed only a comparatively small number of ships suitable for use as transports, but the liners in American ports seized from the enemy proved of immense service. It must be one of the ironies of the war, viewed through German spectacles, that so many German ships should have been used in carrying American troops to fight German soldiers in Europe. But when every suitable ship under the American flag had been pressed into the transport service the tonnage was quite inadequate to the need. That is where we came in, willingly and whole-heartedly co-operating to insure the success of the movement of troops.

After the German offensive opened in March we had to make a big effort. I may add that of the 638,000 troops carried in the months of April, May, and June 331,000 were accommodated in British ships.

INTERFERES WITH TRADE

Owing to the rapidity with which the men are now being carried down to the coast we have had to arrange for an even greater contribution of shipping, and it is probable that during the next few weeks nearly two-thirds of the troops will be carried in British ships. We are all working to promote a common cause, and we are not out to pat ourselves on the back for what we are doing. But I might add, since the fact may not be well known, that we are only able to face these new responsibilities by sacrificing, for the time, not only British, but imperial interests.

Ships which, under normal conditions, are engaged in the trade between the British Islands and the Far East, Australia, and India have had to be withdrawn from service, and we have been compelled to sacrifice to a large extent the communications between the mother country and the dominions. Of the manner in which the people of the dominions have bowed to the compelling circumstances it has really been splendid; but there is more in it even than that.

This concentration of shipping has meant the severing of trade associations built up during long periods of years. Every business man well understands the character of that sacrifice, for there is no saying when those abandoned services can be resumed. That statement may suggest the character of the sacrifice which the British people are making in order to facilitate the movement of American troops.

KEEPING ARMY SUPPLIED

It is no good bringing over troops to Europe unless those troops can be kept supplied with all they require. There is always a temptation on the part of those who are unfamiliar with military matters to think of an army in terms of men only, but an army requires an enormous volume of material, guns, airplanes, wagons, ammunition, food, and stores of all kinds.

In June, for instance, 500,000 tons of stores for the American troops were carried across the Atlantic. Horses, in particular, present a very great difficulty, as can be readily imagined, and an enormous number of horses have to be carried.

And that brings me back to the point which I wish to emphasize. The army which is transported has to be kept supplied with all it requires from week to week and day to day. Consequently, the

larger the number of troops transported the greater the burden on tonnage required for supplying that army's needs. The matter can be reduced to a very simple formula:

Roughly speaking, every 1,000 men landed in France is equivalent to 5,000 tons of stores in a year. The Allies are giving, in full confidence, hostages to fortune, with every man of the American Army who is landed on the Continent day by day. However long the war may last, the stream of supplies must be maintained, and, although we hope that the submarine will do no more damage than it has done in the past, provision has to be made for contingencies. * * *

Our shipping problem is still serious, as the reduction of our imports and the scrapping of our foreign trade indicate. We have been able to tide over a critical period only by an intensive effort. This has included the improved organization and employment of British shipping, the better use of neutral shipping, and some acceleration of construction, in association with the development of the convoy system, which has met with admirable results, and the increased success of the measures for attack upon and defense against submarines and mines. In the last respect the co-operation of the American naval forces has been most valuable.

The present position is that, for all practical purposes, all British ships are now under the control of the Government and are working at a limited rate of profit. Ship owners who built up great organizations with ramifications in all parts of the world have made heavy sacrifices. As I have indicated already, we have taken British ships entirely out of the North and South American trade, or transferred them from the Australasian trade to the Atlantic without regard to the sacrifice of old, established connections.

Only by this means has it been possible to concentrate sufficient tonnage in the Atlantic for the transport and supply movements, and at the same time to place tonnage at the disposal of France and Italy; but, as I have said, no slight measure of the improvement in the shipping position has been due to the success with which the convoy system has been worked by the Admiralty in association with the Ministry of Shipping. During the last year nearly 30,000,000 tons of shipping have been convoyed, and the percentage of loss has been only 1.35.

5,000,000 TONS OF STORES

All the armies, in a varying degree, are drawing their strength from the sea. The burden which they are imposing upon shipping is increasing. Ships mean fighting power. There is no greater mistake than for the Allies to think of the war exclusively in terms of soldiers. Soldiers are, of course, essential, but they must stand defeat unless behind them there is an adequate supply of tonnage.

That is where the American authorities have exhibited good judgment. They placed the provision of ships in the forefront of their war program. They realized that with a population of more than 100,000,000 the limiting factor in the military problem was not the number of men who could be trained as soldiers, but the number of men who could be transported to Europe, and kept supplied with all that they needed.

The 1,000,000 mark of the American transport movement has now been passed. That number alone would mean that 5,000,000 tons of stores would have to be transported across the Atlantic in the coming year, but the number of men is being increased rapidly every month, and the 1,000,000 will have become several millions in the next twelve months if the war lasts as long; and as to that, no one can say. But at any rate it is apparent that, as with us in the British Isles, so with the Americans, the military problem, in the last analysis, is a tonnage problem. The war for the Allies is first, last, and all the time a question of ships, and yet more ships.

The Submarine's Increasing Failure

Summary of Recent Activities

[Period Ended Aug. 15, 1918]

LOSSES during June, 1918, to British, allied, and neutral shipping as the result of enemy action or marine risk were lower than in any month since September, 1916. The total was 278,629 gross tons. The complete record of shipping losses for the first six months of 1918 is as follows:

	British Gross Tonnage.	Allied and Neutral Gross Tonnage.	Total.
January	218,528	136,187	354,715
February	254,303	134,239	388,542
March	222,549	176,924	399,473
April	220,709	84,393	305,102
May	224,735	130,959	355,694
June	161,062	114,567	278,629
Total	1,301,886	777,269	2,082,155

The July sinkings, amounting in round numbers to 270,000 tons, as compared with 534,839 tons sunk in the corresponding month of 1917, showed a still greater gain on past averages. The new tonnage constructed in July exceeded the month's sinkings by 280,000. The Entente tonnage sunk in the first seven months of 1918 was 50 per cent. less than that lost in 1917.

The decrease in sinkings by submarines was due to the greater number and effectiveness of the allied naval forces engaged in combating the danger. The naval forces of the European Allies were helped by 250 American war vessels in European waters, according to a statement by Sir Eric Geddes, head of the British Admiralty. German testimony regarding the failure of the U-boats to maintain their level of destructiveness was given by Admiral von Holtzendorff, Chief of the German Admiralty Staff. In an explanation to the Cologne Gazette of the reason why the U-boats were not sinking American transports he said:

> The Americans have at their disposal for debarkation the coastal region from the northern point of Scotland to the French Mediterranean ports, with dozens of debarkation places. Must we put our boats to lurk off these harbors on the chance of getting shot at by the strongly guarded convoys of fast American transports? The convoys do not come with the regularity and frequency of railroad trains at a big railway station, but irregularly, with long interruptions, and often by night and in fog. When one remembers all that, one realizes what little prospect of success it offers to set the U-boats especially at American transports. We must always remember that it is the task of our U-boats to reduce the entire cargo space in the enemy's service, for on this depends his existence and ability to carry on the war.

A few days after making these admissions, Admiral von Holtzendorff's retirement was announced. Admiral Reinhardt Scheer, Commander of the German battle fleet, was designated as the new Chief of the Admiralty Staff.

Further evidence of the growing ineffectiveness of the submarine warfare was furnished in the official figures published by the French Government relating to the French traffic in the Mediterranean. According to these figures, no fewer than 2,060 vessels, chiefly merchantmen, with a total tonnage of 3,500,000, crossed the Mediterranean between Feb. 24 and April 1 under escort. The average number of ships under way, coming to or going from France, was 240. The submarine attacks nevertheless had so diminished in force that only one in four resulted in damage to the ships. The result was that the water traffic steadily increased.

HOSPITAL SHIPS SUNK

Several episodes indicated that, while the German U-boats were losing their power to destroy shipping on a large scale, they were still capable of committing outrages in sinking hospital ships. The British transport Barunga, formerly the German steamer Sumatra, outward bound for Australia with ill and unfit Australian troops on board, was torpedoed and sunk on July 15. Aid speedily arrived, nad there were no casualties.

The ambulance transport Warilda, with 800 wounded soldiers on board, was torpedoed and sunk in the English Channel on Aug. 3. The number of lives lost was 123. Many of the wounded men were stretched helplessly on cots, and a porportion of those killed were in a ward which was wiped out by the torpedo explosion.

The deliberate sinking of the Warilda was regarded as one of the most atrocious of the German crimes against hospital ships. The chief sinkings of this nature—all hospital ships—are summarized in the following list:

Britannic, torpedoed in the Aegean Sea, Nov. 21, 1916, with a loss of 36 lives.

Asturias, sunk in the English Channel, March 20, 1917; 2 lives lost.

Gloucester Castle, sunk in the night of March 30-31, 1917.

Donegal and Lanfranc, torpedoed together, April 17, 1917.

Rewa, torpedoed in January, 1918.

Glenart Castle, torpedoed and sunk in the Bristol Channel, Feb. 26, 1918, with the loss of 144 lives.

Llandovery Castle, June 27, 1918, torpedoed and sunk seventy miles off the Irish Coast, with the loss of 234 lives.

Warilda, torpedoed and sunk in the English Channel on Aug. 3, causing the death of 123 persons, mostly wounded men.

The Carpathia, a Cunard liner of 13,603 gross tonnage, was sunk off the Irish coast on July 17 while returning to America. This was the fifth Cunard steamer lost in five weeks. The largest ship sunk for some time was the White Star liner Justicia, 32,120 gross tons. It was torpedoed off the Irish coast, with a loss of eleven members of the crew but no other casualties. The Justicia was the fourth biggest steamship in the allied service, the fifth largest vessel in the world, and the second largest torpedoed since the war began. The only larger steamship torpedoed was the hospital ship Britannic of the White Star Line, of 45,000 gross tonnage.

The French steamer Djemnah, carrying troops, was sunk in the Mediterranean the night of July 14-15 with a loss of 442 lives. Nevertheless, submarine depredations in the Mediterranean are diminishing. During the April-June period of 1917, when Italy's losses of tonnage were the heaviest, seventeen vessels were lost in April, ten in May, and ten in June. The losses during the corresponding quarter in 1918 were reduced to eight, four, and two, respectively.

After nearly a year it became known, in August, 1918, that Lieut. Commander Schwieger, who commanded the submarine that sank the Lusitania, had been missing from the German Navy since September, 1917. At that date he was in command of the U-88, and was going out in company with another U-boat when those on the other boat heard a chain scraping alongside. The commander of the other boat realized that they were in an unknown British mine field. Almost immediately afterward he heard a tremendous explosion and decided that it would be safer to come to the surface. Nothing was to be seen of the U-88. He tried to get in touch with her by wireless and otherwise, but from that moment she has never been heard of.

IN AMERICAN WATERS

The German U-boat campaign in American waters continued, but without the destruction of any large ships to date. The following were the victims:

The tug Perth Amboy and four barges attacked three miles off Orleans, Mass., on July 21. The tug was burned and the barges sunk by gunfire.

The fishing schooner Robert and Richard of Gloucester, sunk sixty miles southeast of Cape Porpoise, off the Maine coast, on July 22.

The Portuguese bark Porto, sunk 550 miles off the Atlantic Coast on July 27.

The Japanese freight steamer Tokuyama Maru, torpedoed and sunk off the Nova Scotia coast on Aug. 1.

The British schooner Dornfontein held up by a German submarine twenty-five miles southwest of Brier Island on Aug. 2 and set on fire.

Three American fishing schooners sunk off the Nova Scotia coast on Aug. 3.

The Diamond Shoals Lightship 71, anchored off Cape Hatteras, N. C., shelled and sunk on Aug. 6.

The British schooner Gladys M. Hollett held up, looted, and sunk by bombs off the Canadian coast on Aug. 5.

The American steamer Merak sunk off the North Carolina coast on Aug. 6.

The Standard Oil tank steamer Luz Blanca torpedoed and sunk forty miles west of Halifax on Aug. 5.

The American tanker O. B. Jennings sunk off the Virginia coast.

The American schooner Stanley L. Seaman sunk on Aug. 5, when 110 miles east of Cape Hatteras. The submarine was described as the U-132.

Nine American fishing schooners sunk on Aug. 3 off George's Bank, sixty miles from Nantucket Island. Two submarines were reported to have made the attack.

The Norwegian freighter Sommerstad, 3,875 gross tons, torpedoed and sunk twenty-five miles southeast by east of Fire Island on Aug. 12.

The British steamship Penistone, 4,139 gross tons, torpedoed on Aug. 11 about 100 miles east of Nantucket.

The Swedish steamship Sydland, 3,031 gross tons, bombed and sunk on Aug. 8 about 100 miles southeast of Nantucket.

The American oil tanker Frederick R. Kellogg, 7,127 gross tonnage, torpedoed ten miles off Barnegat, N. J., sank in four minutes; seven men killed by the explosion.

The five masted American schooner Dorothy Barrett, 2,088 gross tonnage, sunk with a cargo of coal 20 miles from Cape May, N. J., Aug. 14.

As this list indicates, there were two German submarines operating at widely separated points. The proximity of one of them to the Port of New York had not, up to Aug. 15, made any difference in the arrival or departure of the big transports, which depended on their great speed and number of quick-firing guns to keep the enemy away; nor had the U-boats operating off the Atlantic Coast attempted to tackle a single armed vessel since they made their first appearance on May 18.

The United States armored cruiser San Diego was ten miles south of Fire Island and fifty miles from the entrance to New York Harbor on July 19 when an explosion occurred and sank the ship, with the loss of six lives among the enlisted men. The commanding officer believed that his vessel had been sunk by a torpedo, but the Naval Court of Inquiry, after a full investigation, reported that it was of opinion that the loss of the San Diego was due to an enemy mine. On the day following the disaster six contact mines were located by the naval forces in the vicinity of the position where the San Diego was sunk.

One of the U-boats operating upon the Atlantic Coast made a mustard gas attack off North Carolina on the afternoon of Aug. 10. According to the Navy Department announcement, mustard gas oil was released on the tides which swept in past Smith Island. The gas generated by the floating oil, which is very volatile in the hot sunshine, temporarily put the coast guard station and lighthouse personnel on Smith Island out of commission. Six men were gassed, but no deaths resulted.

NEW CONSTRUCTION

During the period under review there was further progress in counteracting ship losses by the production of new vessels, mainly from American shipyards.

The Secretary of the British Admiralty announced that the tonnage of merchant vessels completed in United Kingdom yards during June, 1918, was 134,159 gross tons. The figures for the five previous months were: January, 58,568; February, 100,038; March, 161,674; April, 111,533; May, 194,274. The output in June was therefore 63,000 gross tons less.

Sir L. G. Chiozza Money, Parliamentary Secretary to the British Ministry of Shipping, stated in the House of Commons on Aug. 8 that the British mercantile tonnage at the outbreak of the war amounted to 18,500,000 gross tons and that the figure after four years of war was 15,000,000 gross tons, a net loss of 3,500,000 gross tons.

American ship production in July, 1918, again surpassed all previous records. According to the figures published by the Emergency Fleet Corporation, 123 vessels, with a deadweight tonnage of 631,944, were sent into the water as follows:

Type of Vessel.	Number.	Deadweight Tonnage.
Steel	67	433,244
Wood	53	187,000
Composite	3	11,000
Total	123	631,944

During July forty-one vessels, with a total deadweight tonnage of 235,025, were completed. Of these, thirty-six were steel ships, with a deadweight tonnage of 217,025, and five were wooden, with a total of 18,000 tons. These do not include two vessels of 15,855 deadweight

tons (together) which were delivered from Japanese yards.

From August, 1917, when the Shipping Board began operations, to Aug. 1, 1918, there were completed and delivered thirty-seven steel contract vessels, with a deadweight tonnage of 245,000, and 210 requisitioned vessels totaling 1,326,156 deadweight tons, making a grand total of 247 ships, aggregating 1,571,856 tons completed and placed in service. Almost half of this tonnage—the actual amount being 775,545 tons—was delivered during the last three months. By months the launchings in 1918 were:

	Deadweight Tons.
January	88,507
February	123,625
March	172,611
April	160,286
May	259,241
June	283,322
July	631,944
Total	1,719,536

NEW AMERICAN SHIPYARDS

These results have been made possible by the completion of many new shipyards. On July 27, 1918, there were 118 fully equipped shipyards in the United States and 44 others partly complete, of which 23 were more than 75 per cent. finished. Many were built from the ground up, while the others were extended and enlarged to such a degree that they amounted almost to new yards. Thirty-seven steel yards which the United States had when the war began had grown to 72 by July 27. The old yards increased from 162 ways to 195. Eighty yards for building wooden ships were in operation or nearing completion. The remainder of the total number of yards were for building concrete ships, a new industry developed by the war need.

Hog Island, the greatest of all shipyards and one of the four Government fabricating yards, was 90 per cent. complete. Bristol and Newark, two other fabricating yards, were almost complete, while Wilmington, N. C., the fourth, was commenced only in May and was still in its infancy. The 118 yards which were complete were distributed sectionally as follows: Pacific Coast, 48; Atlantic Coast, 38; Great Lakes, 16, and Gulf Coast, 16.

The first ship produced by the Hog Island yard, the Quistconck, a 7,500-ton freight steamer, was launched on Aug. 5, 1918. President Wilson was present at the ceremony, and led the cheering as Mrs. Wilson broke a bottle of champagne on the bow and named the vessel.

New records in rapidity of shipbuilding were established in July and August. On July 26 a 3,500-ton steel ship was sent into the water at the plant of the Great Lakes Engineering Company at Ecorse, Mich., fourteen days after its keel was laid. The ship was 263 feet long with a beam of 43½ feet. On Aug. 4 the Invincible, a 12-000-ton steamer, was launched at Alameda, Cal., twenty-four working days after the keel was laid. In building the Invincible 13,784 tons of steel were put in place and about 40,000 rivets driven daily. The Invincible was 457 feet 6 inches in length over all, 56 feet beam and 38 feet deep.

A proclamation was issued by President Wilson Aug. 3, making the United States Shipping Board the dictator of charter rates for practically all shipping of American registry with the exception of vessels on the Great Lakes, inland canals and waterways, and those engaged exclusively in coastwise trade. American citizens were prohibited by the proclamation from chartering any vessel of foreign ownership except with the Government's approval. Up to this time the Shipping Board had been compelled to enforce its edicts as to conditions and rates through its control of the bunker coal essential to ship movement. Under the terms of the proclamation severe penalties were provided for violations of the decisions made by the board. The President's action left the Shipping Board in complete control of the situation, and made it certain that no American ship should fall into the hands of foreigners without the full approval of this Government. A proclamation issued by President Wilson on Aug. 13 made it a criminal offense to sell, mortgage, lease, or deliver an American ship to a foreigner without the consent of the Shipping Board.

How America Has Fed the Allies

By HERBERT C. HOOVER

[UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATOR]

IT is now possible to summarize the shipments of foodstuffs from the United States to the allied countries during the fiscal year just closed—practically the last harvest year. These amounts include all shipments to allied countries for their and our armies, the civilian population, the Belgium relief, and the Red Cross. The figures indicate the measure of effort of the American people in support of allied food supplies.

The total value of these food shipments, which were in the main purchased through, or with the collaboration of, the Food Administration, amounted to, roundly, $1,400,000,000 during the fiscal year.

The shipments of meats and fats (including meat products, dairy products, vegetable oils, &c.) to allied destinations were as follows:

	Pounds.
Fiscal year 1916-17	2,166,500,000
Fiscal year 1917-18	3,011,100,000
Increase	844,600,000

Our slaughterable animals at the beginning of the last fiscal year were not appreciably larger in number than the year before, and particularly in hogs; they were probably less. The increase in shipments is due to conservation and the extra weight of animals added by our farmers.

The full effect of these efforts began to bear their best results in the last half of the fiscal year, when the exports to the Allies were 2,133,100,000 pounds, as against 1,266,500,000 pounds in the same period of the year before. This compares with an average of 801,000,000 pounds of total exports for the same half years in the three-year pre-war period.

In cereals and cereal products reduced to terms of cereal bushels, our shipments to allied destinations have been:

	Bushels.
Fiscal year 1916-17	259,900,000
Fiscal year 1917-18	340,803,000
Increase	80,900,000

Of these cereals our shipments of the prime breadstuffs in the fiscal year 1917-18 to allied destinations were: Wheat, 131,000,000 bushels and rye 13,900,000 bushels, a total of 144,900,000 bushels.

The exports to allied destinations during the fiscal year 1916-17 were: Wheat, 135,100,000 bushels and rye 2,300,000 bushels, a total of 137,400,000 bushels. In addition, some 10,000,000 bushels of 1917 wheat are now in port for allied destinations or en route thereto. The total shipments to allied countries from our last harvest of wheat will be, therefore, about 141,000,000 bushels, or a total of 154,900,000 bushels of prime breadstuffs.

In addition to this we have shipped some 10,000,000 bushels to neutrals dependent upon us and we have received some imports from other quarters. A large part of the other cereals exported has also gone into war bread.

It is interesting to note that since the urgent request of the Allied Food Controllers early in the year for a further shipment of 75,000,000 bushels from our 1917 wheat than originally planned, we shall have shipped to Europe, or have en route, nearly 85,000,000 bushels. At the time of this request our surplus was already more than exhausted.

This accomplishment of our people in this matter stands out even more clearly if we bear in mind that we had available in the fiscal year 1916-17 from net carry over and a surplus over our normal consumption about 200,000,000 bushels of wheat which we were able to export that year without trenching on our home loaf. This last year, however, owing to the large failure of the 1917 wheat crop we had available from net carry over and production and imports only just about our normal consumption. Therefore our wheat shipments to allied destinations represent approximately savings from our own wheat bread.

These figures, however, do not fully convey the volume of the effort and sacrifice made during the past year by

the whole American people. Despite the magnificent effort of our agricultural population in planting a much increased acreage in 1917, not only was there a very large failure in wheat, but also the corn failed to mature properly, and corn is our dominant crop.

We calculate that the total nutritional production of the country for the fiscal year just closed was between 7 per cent. and 9 per cent. below the average of the three previous years, our nutritional surplus for export in those years being about the same amount as the shrinkage last year. Therefore, the consumption and waste in food have been greatly reduced in every direction during the year.

I am sure that all the millions of our people, agricultural as well as urban, who have contributed to these results should feel a very definite satisfaction that, in a year of universal food shortage in the Northern Hemisphere, all of these people joined together against Germany have come through into sight of the coming harvest not only with health and strength fully maintained, but with only temporary periods of hardship. The European Allies have been compelled to sacrifice more than our own people, but we have not failed to load every steamer since the delays of the storm months of last Winter.

Our contributions to this end could not have been accomplished without effort and sacrifice, and it is a matter for further satisfaction that it has been accomplished voluntarily and individually. It is difficult to distinguish between various sections of our people—the homes, public eating places, food trades, urban or agricultural populations—in assessing credit for these results, but no one will deny the dominant part of the American woman.

July 11, 1918.

Canada's Four Years of War Effort

By OWEN E. McGILLICUDDY

EACH succeeding year of the war has only served to harden the determination of the Canadian people to see the conflict through to a successful issue, no matter what the cost in men and money. With her large but sparsely settled territory, Canada has made outstanding sacrifices from the beginning of hostilities on Aug. 3, 1914, until the present time. Up to July 1, 1918, the number of men who had been enlisted for war service totaled 552,601, including 56,081 conscripted since the Military Service act went into force. The toll of dead had reached a total of 42,919, made up as follows: Killed in action, 27,040; died of wounds, 9,280; died of disease, 2,257, and presumed dead, 4,342. The number of missing was given as 384, while of the prisoners of war 2,274 were accounted for. The total number of wounded in the four years was 113,007.

This is Canada's record of her contribution of man power from 1914 to 1918, and yet she is now making greater efforts than ever before, not only to maintain her forces in the field but to further enlarge her quota.

On July 12 a statement was issued from Ottawa by the Hon. Martin Burrell, Acting Minister of Militia and Defense, outlining in very positive terms the necessity for men:

> It has been stated to the Government that the labor situation is such that there is danger of the crops not being entirely harvested unless soldiers can be given leave of absence for this purpose. Already a large number of men have been granted exemption and leave of absence. The grave situation at the front since the initiation of the German offensive last Spring necessitated the most vigorous and rapid reinforcement of our troops. Accordingly, arrangements were made for the sending overseas of the largest possible number of troops, especially during June and July.
>
> There can be no doubt as to the necessity for such arrangements being carried out. The whole situation has been laid before General Mewburn and the Prime Minister, who are in England, and they

were asked whether conditions at the front would warrant a departure from the program laid down. A reply was received last night saying the situation made it essential that the reinforcements arranged for should reach England at the earliest possible moment, and that there should be no departure from the program.

The Government appreciates the many and serious difficulties which in these days of war face the Canadian people in the carrying on of their work, notably in agriculture, so important to the conduct of the war itself. Nevertheless, we cannot shut our eyes to the tremendous gravity of the issues now at stake in France. Nor can we forget the sacrifices which are being daily and hourly made by our own countrymen on the field of battle, in order that our country, in common with those of our allies, may be saved from the evil fate which would befall them should German arms triumph.

With a full realization of all that is involved, the Government recognizes it as a high and imperative duty to see that the reinforcements now arranged for be sent across seas without fail and without delay. The nation has clearly expressed its feeling on this great matter, and we believe the Canadian people, who have committed themselves to so sacred a cause, are determined to suffer such inconvenience and make such sacrifices as are necessary to the end they have in view.

THE FRENCH CANADIANS

With these conclusions as outlined, the Canadian Government proceeded to make another great effort to put further man power in the field. It was assisted by a phase of public spirit that had not been evident in the earlier stages under the Military Service act. Recruits from Quebec began coming to the colors in ever-increasing numbers. There was, and is, a new spirit in old Lower Canada, different from that of a year, or even six months, ago. The French Canadian, who has always been a law-respecting citizen, has changed his attitude since the question of military service is no longer a political question. The people of Quebec, if asked the reason for the change, would doubtless say they were not conscious of any. If you were further to ask, "What is the meaning of this new movement? What has brought forth the recruits?" the answer would in all probability be, "It is the law." That, in short, is the simple logic as Quebec now understands her part in the war. Military service can no longer be escaped, and the young French Canadian prefers to offer himself as a volunteer rather than to go by the compulsory means of conscription. "Nos amis y vont, nous ne somme pas pour tirer de l'oreille," said one 18-year-old who presented himself recently at the recruiting station in Quebec City. "Our friends are going, and we don't want to be taken by the ear."

The various prejudices which have militated against Quebec taking an earlier active interest in war activities may be directly attributable to Henry Bourassa and his political school of Canadian "nationalism." It may be stated here with the greatest positiveness that the Roman Catholic Church, as an organized influence, should not be held responsible for the racial nationalism that has developed in recent years. Nationalist priests there are in abundance throughout Quebec, and for that matter in other provinces in Canada, but it is because they are French Canadian and not because they are priests. Their racialism simply blinds them to their present religious duty and their "everyday" civilian interests. However, the Nationalist problem, as such, is one that existed for some years before the war and will in all likelihood continue for some years afterward.

CANADA UNITED

Probably the best expression of opinion on the situation in Quebec as it exists today was voiced in a speech delivered at Witley Camp July 15 by Fernand Rinfret, a Montreal editor, who, in company with other representatives of the Canadian Press Association, visited England and the west front recently.

We did not come here merely as sightseers, [said he.] We came with the message, "The whole of Canada is behind you." There are no two sentiments in Canada. We are with you first of all. From first to last our differences over recruiting have not been in method, but in principle. The attitude of Quebec has never been one of resistance to the law, but of desire for reference to the people. You may have heard of Quebec rioters. There have been no Quebec rioters. There may have been a few rioters in Quebec,

men whose action was repudiated by none so heartily as the people of Quebec themselves. We French Canadians have a double claim upon you. As we are of French blood, so we are partners in the British Empire. We are Canadian, purely Canadian. Since conscription became the law, nowhere has it been better and more easily enforced than in Quebec. Our French Canadian new recruits will prove worthy of their brothers at St. Julien and Courcelette.

Similar sentiments were expressed at the same luncheon by Charles Roillard of La Patrie, Montreal.

While Quebec, so far, has enlisted in round numbers only 40,000 recruits, it is conservatively estimated that by the end of the year this total will have grown to 80,000 or 85,000. Since the Military Service act was first introduced the Province of Quebec has gradually realized that in wartime the law of necessity admits of little choice. The Navy League, which, as its name implies, is an organization for backing the efforts of the navy in every way, has already obtained 22,250 members

The detailed estimates for the Department of Militia and Defense for the year ending March 31, 1919, show how thoroughly Canada has organized her wartime expenditures. They also show that these expenditures are constantly expanding in an ever-increasing ratio. The estimates in bulk detail are as follows:

	Expenditure in Canada.	Expenditure Overseas.	Total Expenditure.
Pay of 110,000 troops in Canada and 290,000 in England and France	$50,187,500	$70,312,500	$120,500,000
Assigned pay, overseas troops	54,000,000	.....	54,000,000
Separation allowances	21,750,000	6,000,000	27,750,000
Rations, Canada, 50 cents per day; England, 38½ cents per day	20,075,000	21,000,000	41,075,000
Clothing and necessaries	19,080,000	.....	19,080,000
Outfit allowances, officers and nurses	1,000,000	700,000	1,700,000
Equipment, including harness, vehicles, tents, blankets, but not rifles, machine guns, &c.	20,000,000	.....	20,000,000
Ordnance services	.....	1,800,000	1,800,000
Medical services	5,000,000	.....	5,000,000
Ammunition	5,000,000	.....	5,000,000
Machine guns	2,000,000	.....	2,000,000
Ocean transport	4,612,500	.....	4,612,000
Railway transport	11,062,500	450,000	11,512,500
Forage	450,000	.....	450,000
Veterinary service, remounts	.....	3,000,000	3,000,000
Engineer works, housing	2,750,000	1,250,000	4,000,000
Civilian employes	2,920,000	750,000	3,670,000
Sundries, including recruiting, censors, customs dues, &c.	3,000,000	.....	3,000,000
Overseas printing and stationery	.....	300,000	300,000
General expenses overseas	.....	1,800,000	1,800,000
Maintenance of troops in France at 9s. 4d. each per day	.....	115,000,000	115,000,000
Total	$217,887,500	$225,162,500	$443,050,000

To the above figures must be added $73,803,804, which will be spent for war purposes by Federal departments other than that of militia and defense.

The 71,000 separation allowances would require $19,000,000, but the Government expects an increase in the number, and is therefore providing $21,750,000, in addition to $6,000,000 for dependents overseas. In the item for rations, allowance is made for the fact that 140,000 men in France are rationed by the British Government. Accoutrements other than waist belt, water bottle, and haversack are not charged up, as they, too, are provided by England and will not be settled for until after the war.

The item of $450,000 for railway transportation in England does not cover transportation of troops, but merely of officers and men on duty in the British Isles. The transport of troops in England and to France will be charged up to Canada by England after the war.

throughout the Province, and is steadily growing.

These features are sufficient to show the trend of the times. Notwithstanding certain legal quibbles regarding the exemption clauses in the Military Service act, the essential fact is that Canada, as never before, is at last thoroughly united in one common objective. The war has so impressed itself on the imagination of all her citizens that it supersedes all petty political arguments, and will continue to do so until the great conflict now waging in Europe has reached a successful conclusion.

HEAVY WAR BURDEN

The nine Provinces have not only given of their man power as the requirements of war demanded; they have, in proportion to their wealth, lavishly contributed funds which in ratio to population have not been exceeded by any countries outside the immediate zone of war. At the end of the last financial year the gross national debt of Canada stood approximately at $1,700,000,000, and the net debt as quoted at the last parliamentary session by the Hon. A. K. MacLean, Acting Minister of Finance, was $1,200,000,000, as compared with $544,391,368 and $333,996,850, respectively, for the year preceding the outbreak of war.

And the end is not yet in sight. Still heavier sacrifices must be borne by the people of the Dominion, as announced in the parliamentary estimates proposed in connection with war expenditures for the year ending March 31, 1919. These war estimates total $516,853,804, and are made up as follows: Militia and Defense Department, $442,050,000; other departments, $73,803,804. This sum does not cover all of Canada's expenses overseas. For the sake of mutual convenience the transportation of troops in England and to France, and a portion of the equipment, are being financed by Great Britain, and after the war will be reckoned up and charged to Canada, according to her indebtedness on the balance sheets.

The total cost of the war to Canada up to the end of the fiscal year ending March 31, 1919, will be nearly $1,400,000,000. As Canada had a national debt of about $334,000,000 when the war began, little of which has been paid off, the national debt will be about $1,600,000,000 by next March, for the Dominion is doing little more than paying interest on its war debt, and nearly all war expenses have been added to the national debt for future generations to pay.

Since the beginning of the war Canada's expenditure of public moneys on war account, according to the books of the Finance Department, up to July 20, 1918, was as follows:

Fiscal years.	
1914-1915	$60,750,476.01
1915-1916	166,197,755.47
1916-1917	306,488,814.63
1917-1918	345,547,282.75
1918-1919*	37,060,303.05
Total	$916,044,631.91

*To July 19, 1918.

The voluntary contributions to the Canadian Patriotic Fund from the beginning of the war up to June 30, 1918, amounted to $40,149,037.27. This fund, which has been opened annually, has been for the relief of soldiers' dependents who have had to undergo special sacrifices.

In introducing the estimates at the last session of Parliament Sir Robert Borden gave the following figures as showing the sums expended by the various departments for war purposes during the last year, as compared with the estimates for the coming year. Those for last year total up to more than the $302,532,974 already mentioned, as they include sums which have not yet passed through the Finance Department:

	1917-18	1918-19.
Agriculture Dept.	$63,001	$317,000
Canada registration,,	.....	1,000,000
Customs	10,000	10,000
External affairs	19,914	35,000
Finance Dept.	38,847	60,000
Immigration Dept.	30,000	35,470
Interior Dept.	96,670	100,000
Justice Dept.	1,470,000	1,100,000
Labor Dept.	39,480	75,000
Maritime Fisheries	569,298	34,735,470
Naval Service	10,662,982	19,000,000
Post Office	900,000	600,000
Privy Council	30,000	15,000
Public Works	317,500	3,364,000
Railways, canals	1,150,000	700,000
Sec. of State	82,166	60,000
Archives Dept.	13,435	10,000

	1917-18	1918-19
Soldiers' re-establishment	9,303,295	12,000,000
Trade and commerce	121,862	286,664
Militia and defense	279,236,900	443,050,000
	$394,054,740	$516,853,804

WHAT ESTIMATES PROVIDE

The estimates for the present fiscal year were based on the presumption that the operation of the Military Service act would increase the number of troops raised in Canada to at least 500,000, accounted for as follows: First draft, M. S. A., 100,000; Home Defense Force, 10,000; in England, 150,000; in France, 140,000; discharged after service at the front, killed, &c., 100,000.

The troops in France comprise the Forestry Corps, which are used for work in the United Kingdom, all the wounded convalescing in hospitals, the convalescents training for return to the front, troops sent from Canada to England from time to time as reinforcements, and men detailed in Great Britain for working around hospitals and camps.

The total expenditure of $443,050,000 works out to $1,107.62 per man. Earlier in the war the estimate was $1,000 per man. The average pay works out to $1.25 per day for all the ranks. Deducting 100,000 for casualties, the 400,000 remaining on pay would cost $500,000 per day, or a total of $182,500,000 per year. The increase in the amount of deferred pay for troops overseas is estimated at $8,000,000. As men return in increasing numbers from the front the deferred pay will become payable to them in increasing volume, and the Militia Department is considering the best manner in which that payment can be carried out so as to insure that the money handed over will be employed by the men for some useful purpose.

Close analysis of Canada's expenditures will show that the Dominion is more than maintaining her proportion of contributions in men and money which she assigned to herself at the outbreak of war. There has been no slackening off, such as was at first anticipated. The people are meeting their taxes and subscribing to the various war loans with cheerful hearts.

The war expenditures for this fiscal year and the one previous are as follows:

This fiscal year	$516,853,804
Last fiscal year	341,000,000
To date	875,000,000
To end of this year	1,391,853,804

As loans for Canada (exclusive of loans repaid) have totaled $911,000,000 since the war began, and as the new debt for war loan is $875,000,000, it has been obvious for some time that the Government must soon float its second Victory Loan. This has now definitely been decided upon and the next campaign will be inaugurated during the last week of October.

In Honor of America

By ALICE MEYNELL

[In antithesis to Rossetti's "On the Refusal of Aid Between Nations"]

Not that the earth is changing, O my God!
Not that her brave democracies take heart
To share, to rule her treasure, to impart
The wine to those who long the wine-press trod;
Not therefore trust we that beneath Thy nod,
Thy silent benediction, even now
In gratitude so many nations bow,
So many poor: not therefore, O my God!

But because living men for dying man
Go to a million deaths, to deal one blow;
And justice speaks one great compassionate tongue;
And nation unto nation calls "One clan
We succorers are, one tribe!" By this we know
Our earth holds confident, steadfast, being young.

The Agony of the City of Lille

Experiences of One Citizen During the Horrors of German Occupation

Part II.

By MARGUERITE BUCHET

[Translated for Current History Magazine by M. L. Cavenaugh]

WITHOUT the American and Holland Relief Committees we should have died of hunger, and it seemed as if this were the aim of the Germans, for they left the potatoes to rot rather than give them to the population. There were atrocious stomach troubles caused by hunger. It happened in a village near-by that a child, having brought some potatoes, was arrested and struck by a policeman; that cruelty did not seem to satisfy him, so he set his dog on him, and the poor child was badly bitten. Everything else was as expensive as the food; one would have given $20 for a liter of petroleum, but it could not be found even at that price. A single candle cost 20 cents, that is to say five times more than formerly.

The nights are long and painful in Winter, especially when one is hungry, and it is hard to go to bed at 5 o'clock to save the light. Our masters told us the long nights were excellent, quoting the proverb, "Qui dort dine." (Who sleeps dines.)

At the time of the requisition of wines a lady made a gift of several bottles to the poor rather than hand them over to the Germans; she was fined for her action. The quantity of wine consumed at Lille for several days and the amount transported surpass imagination. The fine wines, which in ordinary times were never moved, but kept preciously in their hampers, were hurriedly brought up from the cellars and transferred more quickly still, in order to avoid giving them to those who would profit by them. Some people who had never tasted champagne drank great glasses of it. Wines thirty years old ended their existence, and now every one, even the wealthiest families, drink only pure water! There is no more wine or beer.

One night an officer forced the janitor to go and awaken his master, as the officer demanded lodgings. This was not the only time the Germans disarranged families in their home in the middle of the night. The conquerors, too, often considered themselves the masters in every way, and then: "C'est la guerre!" One day it is an officer who exacts a place with the family at dinner. Again, another demands the bedroom of the master of the house. Even worse, they change the furniture to suit themselves, and paint the floor "iron-gray," the color they seem to love so much. They even cover the family portrait with that of their Emperor!

REBELLIOUS CLOCKS

German time was from fifty to sixty minutes in advance of the French time. Every one of us made it a point of duty not to change his customary habits, the object being to show our conquerors that we were still French and always would he. One day a placard appeared, which read thus: "Public clocks must no longer keep a different time from that of Germany; they should indicate the German hour." Instantly, all the clocks of the public buildings, the churches, and the great houses were stopped: if they could not be French they should not be German. Then another placard appeared, commanding that all the clocks visible in the streets should be kept running and should indicate German time. Up to that moment the clock of Sacre-Coeur, which is in the interior of the church, had continued to keep French time. We had the satisfaction of seeing the clock of the Nouvelle Bourse, on the

Grand Place de Lille, renew the obstinacy of the dear old church of Strasbourg, as it was impossible to make it mark the German time exactly.

CHURCHES REQUISITIONED

By the requisition of our Catholic churches we were wounded in our patriotic and religious sentiments. Sometimes they were used for Protestant services, at others for German Catholic ceremonies. The manners of the invaders at times shocked us. On Good Friday a large number of us arrived at the church at 3 o'clock, the appointed time for the service. We found our church filled with Germans, and we were obliged to wait patiently until their service was ended. They even had not had the courtesy to tell us in advance that they were going to use that church at that hour. They did not even inform the Dean. Later, some one who spoke French announced to us that, for the future, every Sunday morning at 8 and 9 o'clock the church would be used by the Germans.

Heavy sentences were inflicted upon many of our priests. One was shot near Valenciennes; another was condemned to death, and it was only through the effort of Mgr. Chavost that the sentence was changed to penal servitude. Still another was put in prison. His food consisted of bread, water, soup, and black liquid, which resembled coffee. There was neither air nor light in his cell. His food was passed to him through the grating, he was permitted to go out every day for an hour with his head covered with a thick hood. At the end of several weeks he was unrecognizable; he was going to die, and as there was nothing against him for which he could be condemned, they released him. Since his awful punishment, however, the poor priest, who was formerly so ardent and enthusiastic, seems to have lost all power of speech.

FORCIBLE DEPORTATIONS

I have said how the different placards were read with mockery, but the one which appeared on Good Friday was not received in such a manner, but with anguish of soul. It announced the deportations. What impressive silence followed the reading of it! Each one asked himself who would be the victims chosen. A placard had previously appeared, asking the workmen to present themselves, announcing that they would be sent to the zones back of the firing lines, and would be well paid and well fed. Notwithstanding all the alluring promises, the workmen failed to reply; the result was this notice on Good Friday proclaiming "proscription" and declaring that since the people had not accepted the first call willingly, force would now be used. Every one must be ready. Each person could carry thirty kilograms (about sixty pounds) of luggage, including blankets and cooking utensils. The notice ended with the words: "As the decision is irrevocable, it is to the interest of the population to be calm and obedient."

Friday night and Saturday there began the requisitioning of men, women, young men, and young girls. Oh, the frightful nights! How can one tell of this horror in such a way that the world will be able to realize the anguish? What quarter of the town would be exploited next, no one knew. Each one retired in fear and trembling, saying: "Will it happen to us tonight?"

At 3 o'clock in the morning soldiers were posted in certain streets which were dominated at each end by Gatling guns. The Germans entered the houses, and as each member appeared before them they pointed out which ones should accompany them, and told them to be ready to follow in half an hour. Then there was suffering not easy to imagine. I know a woman who saw her husband and her son of 16 years go; she was left all alone, without news of those she loved, for months. Think of the agony of parents in seeing their children depart in such a mysterious way—for what place, and with whom! Imagine the anguish of a mother who had two daughters, one 20, the other 16 years old, when a soldier said to her: "Choose which of the two you wish us to take away." At the end of eight days the proscription was ended. The priests hastened to announce the fact from the pulpits in order to calm the anxiety of those who remained.

SUFFERINGS OF VICTIMS

But what had become of those who had been torn from their homes? A girl who returned in October, six months after her departure, gave us some details. She said about 400 of them, men and women, slept the first night on the dirty straw taken from stables and still filled with the odors of animals. During the first days they were exceedingly unhappy. Generally, they were well fed, but there were terrible things to endure. If one refused to do what was commanded the punishment was severe. Some were beaten; others, who persisted in refusing to submit to the obligatory sanitary visits, disappeared, and no one ever knew what became of them.

In the way of punishment, men were fastened to posts and left there for hours under a beating rain. Some had to endure the "supplice de la caisse," which is as follows: The victim is pressed against a wall with his back to it, his arms are extended by his sides, a plank is placed in front of him from his neck to his feet, other planks of the same length are placed one on each side, the wall forms the fourth; these planks are then secured firmly, so that the prisoner cannot move and he is left there for hours. One man suffered this agony for ten hours on nine consecutive days; at the end of the ninety hours he dropped to the ground lifeless. Does not this torture make one think of savages more than of civilized men?

CRUELTY OF SEPARATION

The rich suffered the same as the poor; the old men, the women, and even children, had to submit to dreadful cruelty. One of our hardest trials was lack of news. No letters could be sent to or received from persons even in other invaded regions. Imagine the anguish of mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, and fiancés! Those who were dear to them were far away, exposed, wounded perhaps, and yet they could know nothing of their sufferings.

One mother had not heard a word from her three sons for more than two years. At rare times news would come by chance. One would learn of the death of a husband or child, but mourning could not even be worn, for fear the Germans would know that a letter had been received. No details could be learned regarding the death of one's nearest and dearest. How distressing it was, and what risks the bearers of news would run! And what a terrible penalty they would pay if discovered! A man who was taken prisoner at the beginning of the invasion told me of his experience. He and his companions were obliged to march the entire day without food, excepting when they arrived at a field of carrots, and their conductors said: "Eat! These carrots are very good." They were taken to a place filled with ammunition and forced to work, guarded closely by the Germans, who told them if their friends, the French, should arrive, they would give them a hot reception.

EXPLOSION IN LILLE

The month of January, 1916, was particularly sad for those of us left in Lille, for at that time occurred the great explosion of a German powder magazine, destroying, in a moment, an entire quarter of the city. Every one was awakened that night horrified, thinking that bombs had surely struck us. Windows were broken everywhere, doors were torn from their hinges, some entirely destroyed. But in the vicinity of the powder mill what destruction, what affliction, what horror! If the great factories, numerous in that part of the city, were in ruins, how much greater was the devastation among the poor homes of the workmen! There were mothers weeping over their blind children, and many persons were buried under the ruins. The explosion was so terrific that at Douai and at Tournai doors were burst open. It was even felt in Holland, near Breda.

Our poor city is still less beautiful since this great calamity. As there is no glass to replace the broken windows, the openings are filled with paper or tarred canvas, consequently the light is still poorer; this causes suffering, but is nothing compared with the record of the wounded and dead, of which latter there were 109 victims. The funeral took

NIKOLAI LENINE

A new portrait of the head of the Russian Soviet Government, whose real name is Vladimir Ilitch Ulyanov

GEORG TCHITCHERIN

Foreign Minister of the Russian Soviet Government

place for all at the same time. It was a pitiful sight; the caskets were placed in one of the squares of Lille, in front of the Church of St. Vincent de Paul. All those of authority were present. From the steps of the church the Archbishop said the prayers and gave absolution. The people wept as the 109 bodies were taken to the cemetery.

How often, indeed, had the poor Monseigneur to console his people! One time it was a bomb from an airplane, which killed a mother of nine children; another time, a part of a church was destroyed, wounding many. There were innumerable accidents of all kinds, caused by the different bombardments and by the aerial warfare, and at such times Monseigneur would hasten through the streets to console and to encourage.

WELCOME AIRPLANES

When the soldiers return from the war they will find much devastation and many vacant places in their home city. Yet, notwithstanding all the misfortunes which the airplanes bring, they are hailed with cries of joy, are cheered and followed with the eye as long as possible, for they are our friends up there—they come from our free France and bring to us a ray of hope; they seem to waft to us the pure air of our country. But tears follow these combats with the German planes; the wounded suffer atrociously before they die.

All this anguish, all these mental and physical sufferings, affect the health. One does not gain in flesh in an invaded region. * * * So many humiliating things are thrust upon us. Every conceivable thing to humble and crush us. No one can even go in the suburbs without a "laissez-passer." One waits through rain to obtain it. The German officer has the courtesy to whistle when he wishes to announce that his lordship is ready to receive in his office those who are waiting. Rich and poor fare alike, only with this difference, that for the rich the price of the pass, instead of the published rate of 1 franc, is 2 francs. Fines are imposed for everything, especially if the Tricolor is displayed in any way, in objects, flowers, &c.; however, they pretended not to see the three workmen who walked side by side, the first wearing a blue blouse, the second a white, the third a red. Our largest theatre, which was not completed at the time of the invasion, was opened by our enemy, and they had the audacity to invite our Mayor to the first presentation. Of course, one is obliged to submit to insults of all kinds.

UNDER GERMAN RULE

Our hostages at times are very unhappy; the régime which they are forced to follow is stupid. They are not treated as if they were men worthy of respect. Those seized on Nov. 1, 1916, especially have to submit to dreadful things. They are awakened by a bugle call at 5 o'clock in the morning. Unfortunate is the one who does not hear the signal and fails to obey. He must endure punishment—perhaps a walk of hours in the snow.

Women are not only punished in this way, but are also obliged to prepare food for the enemy; all receive the same treatment, including wealthy and refined women, the wives of those who were once our rich manufacturers, Magistrates, doctors, lawyers, &c. One refined young woman was put in with the lowest class of women, who were covered with vermin.

What will become of this poor invaded country! The safe deposit boxes in the bank in which the people had placed their most precious things are now guarded by Germans. No one has the right to take anything out except with their permission and at stated times. At Lille you can go to the bank twice a week at the hour indicated. You stand in line and wait until your time comes. The German officer watches the opening of the safe, and also what you take from it, and at times says, "I cannot permit it." He pronounced this famous phrase once when my sister wished to take some money from her box. If you have coupons you can cut them under the vigilant eye of the soldier. An employe of the bank comes down to the vault, makes a memorandum, pays the amount, then the documents are re-

turned to the safe. The German officer never stands at a distance of more than fifty centimeters.

LIFETIME'S SAVINGS GONE

People who have worked all their lives to have a peaceful old age have now lost everything. I, myself, have been obliged to accept the aid of friends. I do not know what would have become of me without their kind assistance. What will happen at the departure of our enemy from the old city? In low voices we have spoken of this to each other. Lately such terrible news has reached us through those who have seen the evacuation of other cities, where not a house, not an inhabitant, remains. Everything is destroyed, everything burned, nothing left but the land, and what a devastated land!

The evacuation is a dreadful thought, the mind is so full of the horrors committed by the Germans at such a time. It is necessary to have seen in order to understand. However, there are proud words in the midst of these sufferings. At La Bassée, in the north, the German commander was astonished at the calmness of the population and said to the Mayor: "Monsieur the Mayor, your people have not the air of understanding their situation; they do not grasp the horror of it." The answer was, "Mon Commandant, they understand perfectly, but they suffer à la Française."

Germany's Debit and Credit

A German-American Summary

THE New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, in an editorial in its issue of Aug. 1, 1918, presented this balance sheet of what Germany had won and lost in four years of ruthless warfare. It is reproduced here as representing the sentiments of German-Americans throughout the United States:

Today four years ago, as Prince Lichnowsky has shown us, the German Military Party, by declaring war upon Russia, brought on a catastrophe under which the world must suffer unspeakably. Four years of gigantic struggle such as history never saw before. And what has Germany achieved during this four-year world war?

On the credit side of her ledger we find:

1. Germany has taken possession of nearly all of Belgium and a part—now growing ever smaller—of northern France.

2. She has taken rich booty and many prisoners.

3. Through the revolution and the subsequent early collapse of the Russian Empire, she has temporarily, through the outrageous treaty of Brest-Litovsk, enslaved the now helpless Russian people who are struggling for liberty.

4. Together with Austria-Hungary, Germany has well nigh destroyed Serbia and Montenegro and crippled Rumania.

5. She has helped Bulgaria and Turkey to increase their territory, and, as former Ambassador Morgenthau says in his series of articles in the current numbers of The World's Work, she encouraged the Turkish military leaders, Enver Pasha, Talaat Bey, and Djemal, to massacre over one million Armenians and other Christian inhabitants of contiguous territory.

6. She has sunk millions of tons of shipping and destroyed property worth billions, showing no regard for the lives of noncombatants, and not even for those of women and children.

7. The Military Party hindered the passage of the Election Reform bill and delayed the progress of democracy in blocking the Reichstag resolution for "no annexation and no indemnities."

All these are the "achievements" of German under the whip of the Military Party. But what do we find on the other side of the ledger?

1. Germany has sacrificed the flower of her arms-bearing youth. Millions of her sons have fallen on the field of battle, have been crippled or taken prisoner—losses which cannot be made good by the greatest victories.

2. She has lost by far the greatest of her colonies in Africa and elsewhere, and has placed a burden of debt upon her people under which they will have to groan for decades to come.

3. She has completely demoralized her domestic commerce. She has brought her people to want and hunger and destroyed her foreign commerce for an indeterminate period. For the last four years her merchant flag has not been seen upon the seas of the world.

4. The acts of her army commanders and statesmen have brought the German name into disrepute in America. For

more than two hundred years German-Americans successfully endeavored to build here a new and happy home for themselves and their descendants, and took care that their name should be respected everywhere. Their industry and sense of duty became proverbial everywhere, and now in bitterness of heart they had to see that they were regarded with distrust. However, through their unshakable loyalty to the United States they have succeeded in retaining the confidence and good-will of their fellow-citizens. This in spite of the doings of the German Military Party.

5. Millions of the people of Germany are firmly convinced, even if they do not dare to speak of it openly, that the defeat of the present autocratic Government would be a blessing for them and their posterity. They have at last seen through the motives of their rulers, whose purposes are selfish and aim at the suppression of their ideas of liberty and the forcing of their hated Government upon the whole world.

For a long time German-Americans were unable to see the peril, and rude was their awakening. Their sense of duty showed them the right course to pursue. They point with pride to their sons and grandsons fighting for them under the Star-Spangled Banner. And they will fight on until every danger is removed and the world relieved of a burden which lies upon it like an incubus. for it is only through the overthrow of the present German Government that the repetition of a similar world catastrophe can be prevented.

Twenty-eight Nations at War

State Department's Alphabetical List, Revised to End of Fourth Year of the Conflict

At the close of the fourth year twenty-four nations, large and small, had declared war on Germany or on Germany's allies, and twenty-eight nations in all were at war. Those which had severed diplomatic relations with one or more of the Central Powers without actually declaring war were Bolivia, Ecuador, Egypt, Peru, and Uruguay. Though Russia and Rumania had been forced to sign peace treaties, and were being divided and exploited by the Central Powers, they were still by no means out of the war. Only sixteen nations in the whole world, counting even tiny Andorra, and totaling less than one-sixteenth of the world's population, remained neutral, namely: Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Andorra, Switzerland, Afghanistan, Abyssinia, Mexico, San Salvador, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

The State Department's list of war declarations and diplomatic severances, revised to the middle of August, 1918, is given below:

Declarations of War

Austria against Belgium, Aug. 28, 1914.
Austria against Japan, Aug. 27, 1914.
Austria against Montenegro, Aug. 9, 1914.
Austria against Russia, Aug. 6, 1914.
Austria against Serbia, July 28, 1914.
Belgium against Germany, Aug. 4, 1914.
Brazil against Germany, Oct. 26, 1917.
Bulgaria against Serbia, Oct. 14, 1915.
China against Austria, Aug. 14, 1917.
China against Germany, Aug. 14, 1917.
Costa Rica against Germany, May 23, 1918.
Cuba against Germany, April 7, 1917.
Cuba against Austria-Hungary, Dec. 16, 1917.
France against Austria, Aug. 13, 1914.
France against Bulgaria, Oct. 16, 1915.
France against Germany, Aug. 3, 1914.
France against Turkey, Nov. 5, 1914.
Germany against Belgium, Aug. 4, 1914.
Germany against France, Aug. 3, 1914.
Germany against Portugal, March 9, 1916.
Germany against Rumania, Sept. 14, 1916.
Germany against Russia, Aug. 1, 1914.
Great Britain against Austria, Aug. 13, 1914.
Great Britain against Bulgaria, Oct. 15, 1915.

MAP SHOWING TERRITORIAL STATUS OF THE WAR AT THE END OF THE FOURTH YEAR. SEE KEY IN LEFT-HAND CORNER

Great Britain against Germany, Aug. 4, 1914.

Great Britain against Turkey, Nov. 5, 1914.

Greece against Bulgaria, Nov. 28, 1916 (Provisional Government).

Greece against Bulgaria, July 2, 1917 (Government of Alexander).

Greece against Germany, Nov. 28, 1916 (Provisional Government).

Greece against Germany, July 2, 1917 (Government of Alexander).

Guatemala against Germany and Austria-Hungary, April 22, 1918.

Haiti against Germany, July 15, 1918.

Honduras against Germany, July 19, 1918.

Italy against Austria, May 24, 1915.

Italy against Bulgaria, Oct. 19, 1915.

Italy against Germany, Aug. 28, 1916.

Italy against Turkey, Aug. 21, 1915.

Japan against Germany, Aug. 23, 1914.

Liberia against Germany, Aug. 4, 1917.

Montenegro against Austria, Aug. 8, 1914.

Montenegro against Germany, Aug. 9, 1914.

Nicaragua against Germany, May 24, 1918.
Panama against Germany, April 7, 1917.
Panama against Austria, Dec. 10, 1917.
Portugal against Germany, Nov. 23, 1914, (resolution passed authorizing military intervention as ally of England.)
Portugal against Germany, May 19, 1915, (military aid granted.)
Rumania against Austria, Aug. 27, 1916, (allies of Austria also consider it a declaration.)
Russia against Germany, Aug. 7, 1914.
Russia against Bulgaria, Oct. 19, 1915.
Russia against Turkey, Nov. 3, 1914.
San Marino against Austria, May 24, 1915.
Serbia against Bulgaria, Oct. 16, 1915.
Serbia against Germany, Aug. 6, 1914.
Serbia against Turkey, Dec. 2, 1914.
Siam against Austria, July 22, 1917.
Siam against Germany, July 22, 1917.
Turkey against Allies, Nov. 23, 1914.
Turkey against Rumania, Aug. 29, 1916.
United States against Germany, April 6, 1917.
United States against Austria-Hungary, Dec. 7, 1917.

Severance of Diplomatic Relations

The nations that formally severed relations with Germany and her allies, whether afterward declaring war or not, are as follows:

Austria against Japan, Aug. 26, 1914.
Austria against Portugal, March 16, 1916.
Austria against Serbia, July 26, 1914.
Austria against United States, April 8, 1917.
Bolivia against Germany, April 14, 1917.
Brazil against Germany, April 11, 1917.
China against Germany, March 14, 1917.
Costa Rica against Germany, Sept. 21, 1917.
Ecuador against Germany, Dec. 7, 1917.
Egypt against Germany, Aug. 13, 1914.
France against Austria, Aug. 10, 1914.
Greece against Turkey, July 2, 1917, (Government of Alexander.)
Greece against Austria, July 2, 1917, (Government of Alexander.)
Guatemala against Germany, April 27, 1917.
Haiti against Germany, June 17, 1917.
Honduras against Germany, May 17, 1917.
Nicaragua against Germany, May 18, 1917.
Peru against Germany, Oct. 6, 1917.
Santo Domingo against Germany, June 8, 1917.
Turkey against United States, April 20, 1917.
United States against Germany, Feb. 3, 1917.
Uruguay against Germany, Oct. 7, 1917.

The Austrian Defeat on the Piave

German Correspondent's Word Picture

A war correspondent of the Neue Freie Presse of Berlin, writing from the Italian front in the last week of June, 1918, described the Austrian defeat at the Piave as follows:

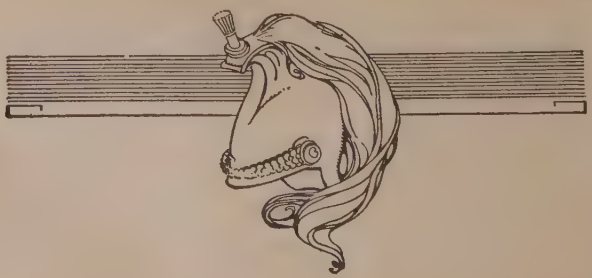
SOUTH of Nervesa, in the plain near San Donà and Capo Sile, Col. Gen. Wurms's storm battalions are over the river and the canal. From Treviso General Diaz sends against them the 30th and 27th Corps, and Lieut. Gen. Croce's corps, newly formed from 18-year-old youths. A most important objective is attained—the summit of the Italian hinge position is thrust through by the storming of the Montello. The rolling up of the whole of the Piave front from here appears possible—indeed, certain.

Nature then pronounces an inexorable

and cruel veto. Heaven opens and the deluge descends. The mountains foam, the crevasses made in them by time overflow as if weeping, and all the waters empty themselves into the Piave, which rises rapidly. The upper bridge is torn away by the irresistible pressure of the water, and the pontoons, loosened by the force of the waters, are driven against the lower bridge and pushed through it. The Italian artillery has in the bridges targets which cannot be missed for long. Fountains like the spouting of whales ascend from the river in ever quicker succession.

Suddenly airmen also appear. They come down silently from a great height in far-reaching volplanes. Now their motors hum again and their machine guns rattle. A hail of steel pelts down on the pontoons, which sink riddled. The guns of the defense bark from the bank and the fragments of their shrapnel endanger the lives of their own men, men whom they wish to protect. One, two, three of the great Caproni bombarding planes descend, shot down on the mud of the Montello. A Nieuport comes down like a torch hurled from heaven—the fafous airman, Major Barracca is a heap of ashes. His list of victories is the same as that of his most victorious Austrian adversary, Captain Brumowsky, who conquered thirty-four opponents. Lieutenant von Hoffmann, in peace time a Ministerial official in Vienna, and his band dash against the biplanes. Like raging bulldogs the English now advance on their furiously swift Sopwiths against our airmen, engineers, artillery, and infantry. Nothing, absolutely nothing, avails. The enemy airmen are too numerous, the enemy's shells too many. Like Sisyphus multiplied a hundred-fold the bridge builders work incessantly; they fall and disappear in the flood without a cry; they launch new pontoons; they think out new methods of transport from bank to bank—nothing helps; absolutely nothing avails. Six times are the bridges and footways completed, six times are they destroyed.

The divisions yonder on the green tortoise of the Montello, which resembles so completely in situation and importance the Podgera heights on the other side of the Isonzo, fight with an uncovered rear, without heavy artillery, without reinforcements in men, munitions, or provisions. Only one thing could now alter everything—namely, to carry the attack so far forward that the Piave crossings fall out of the range of the hostile artillery. Brave Hungarians and Lower Austrians burst out of conquered caverns, officers going first. Both Brigadiers of one division of Chasseurs fall—Major Gen. Bolzano and Brig. Col. Schimmerer. The attacking wedge presses deep into the mountain fastnesses; close to the summit the troops settle themselves firmly in the Italian trenches and caverns and wait not for dismissal or for their places to be taken by reinforcements, nor for munitions and food. Cartridges have been used up, hand grenades hurled away, the reserve ration eaten. What was found of the Italians' provisions was also consumed. Reinforcements, however, only come by driblets. Chains of bearers bring boxes of ammunition from the river to the mountain, airmen throw bags of preserved food over the first line, but always in insufficient quantities. The one footbridge is repaired at last. The weather clears up; but renewed tempests of rain tear the bridge away again. Then the army command took the resolution, a hard but necessary one, to withdraw behind the Piave again.



Allied Intervention In Russia

United States and Japan Send a Joint Force to Siberia—Troops at Murmansk and Archangel

AN agreement was reached in July, 1918, between the United States and Japan, with the concurrence of the other Entente Governments, regarding joint intervention in Siberia. A plan of operations had been under discussion by the various Governments for several months. It was reported early in the year that France, Great Britain, and Italy advocated sending a large military expedition into Siberia and Russia via Vladivostok, but the United States withheld its assent, and Japan refrained from taking any action until it should have our Government's approval. Interchanges between the United States and the Allies continued for months, and it was not until late in July that a course of action was decided upon by the Washington authorities. Official declarations announcing the plan finally adopted were issued on Aug. 3 by the United States and Japan, and are printed herewith.

It was announced on Aug. 7 that Major Gen. William S. Graves, former Assistant Chief of the Army General Staff, had been selected to command the small American Expeditionary Force about to be landed at Vladivostok, and that the force consisted of the 27th and 31st Regiments of Infantry, hitherto stationed in the Philippines, with some additional troops from home ports, making a total of considerably less than 10,000. The Japanese sent an equal force, and Great Britain and France furnished small contingents. General Kikuzo Otani, one of Japan's most distinguished soldiers, was chosen to command the Japanese section, and, by virtue of his rank, became Commander in Chief of the expedition.

The primary object of this force was to lend aid and support to the Czechoslovak Army of perhaps 100,000 men in Siberia and Russia—the strongest Entente fighting element in the distracted country—and to help it in re-establishing order, thus enabling Russia to resume its place in the war against Germany. The Bolshevist Government, with the armed assistance of former German and Austrian prisoners, was opposing the passage of the Czechoslovaks across the continent to the Pacific on their way to rejoin the Allies in France. This situation simplified the problem for the United States. A definite program was agreed upon, which promptly met the approval of the Japanese Government and was concurred in by the other allies.

AMERICAN DECLARATION

The text of the official announcement issued at Washington on Aug. 3 is as follows:

In the judgment of the Government of the United States—a judgment arrived at after repeated and very searching consideration of the whole situation—military intervention in Russia would be more likely to add to the present sad confusion there than to cure it, and would injure Russia, rather than help her out of her distresses. Such military intervention as has been most frequently proposed, even supposing it to be efficacious in its immediate object of delivering an attack upon Germany from the east, would, in its judgment, be more likely to turn out to be merely a method of making use of Russia than to be a method of serving her. Her people, if they profited by it at all, could not profit by it in time to deliver them from their present desperate difficulties, and their substance would meantime be used to maintain foreign armies, not to reconstitute their own or to feed their own men, women, and children. We are bending all our energies now to the purpose, the resolute and confident purpose, of winning on the western front, and it would, in the judgment of the Government of the United States, be most unwise to divide or dissipate our forces.

As the Government of the United States sees the present circumstances, therefore, military action is admissible in Russia now only to render such protection and help as is possible to the Czechoslovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them, and to steady any efforts at self-government

or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance. Whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk and Archangel, the only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may subsequently be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their own self-defense.

FORCE OF A FEW THOUSAND

With such objects in view, the Government of the United States is now cooperating with the Governments of France and Great Britain in the neighborhood of Murmansk and Archangel. The United States and Japan are the only powers which are just now in a position to act in Siberia in sufficient force to accomplish even such modest objects as those that have been outlined. The Government of the United States has, therefore, proposed to the Government of Japan that each of the two Governments send a force of a few thousand men to Vladivostok, with the purpose of co-operating as a single force in the occupation of Vladivostok and in safeguarding, as far as it may be, the country to the rear of the westward-moving Czechoslovaks, and the Japanese Government has consented.

In taking this action the Government of the United States wishes to announce to the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs—not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military force may be obliged to occupy—and no impairment of her territorial integrity, either now or hereafter, but that what we are about to do has as its single and only object the rendering of such aid as shall be acceptable to the Russian people themselves in their endeavors to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory, and their own destiny. The Japanese Government, it is understood, will issue a similar assurance.

These plans and purposes of the Government of the United States have been communicated to the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and those Governments have advised the Department of State that they assent to them in principle. No conclusion that the Government of the United States has arrived at in this important matter is intended, however, as an effort to restrict the actions or interfere with the independent judgment of the Governments with which we are now associated in the war.

It is also the hope and purpose of the Government of the United States to take advantage of the earliest opportunity to send to Siberia a commission of merchants, agricultural experts, labor advisers, Red Cross representatives, and agents of the Young Men's Christian Association accustomed to organizing the best methods of spreading useful information and rendering educational help of a modest kind in order in some systematic way to relieve the immediate economic necessities of the people there in every way for which an opportunity may open. The execution of this plan will follow and will not be permitted to embarrass the military assistance rendered to the Czechoslovaks.

It is the hope and expectation of the Government of the United States that the Governments with which it is associated will, wherever necessary or possible, lend their active aid in the execution of these military and economic plans.

JAPANESE DECLARATION

The declaration by the Japanese Government was as follows:

The Japanese Government, actuated by sentiments of sincere friendship toward the Russian people, have always entertained most sanguine hopes of the speedy re-establishment of order in Russia and of the healthy, untrammeled development of her national life.

Abundant proof, however, is now afforded that the Central European Empires, taking advantage of the defenseless and chaotic condition in which Russia has momentarily been placed, are consolidating their hold on that country and are steadily extending their activities to Russia's eastern possessions. They have persistently interfered with the passage of Czechoslovak troops through Siberia. In the forces now opposing these valiant troops German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners are freely enlisted, and they practically assume a position of command.

The Czechoslovak troops, aspiring to secure a free and independent existence for their race and loyally espousing the common cause of the Allies, justly command every sympathy and consideration from the co-belligerents, to whom their destiny is a matter of deep and abiding concern.

In the presence of the danger to which the Czechoslovak troops actually are exposed in Siberia at the hands of the Germans and Austro-Hungarians, the Allies have naturally felt themselves unable to view with indifference the untoward course of ovents, and a certain number of their troops already have been ordered to proceed to Vladivostok.

The Government of the United States, equally sensible of the gravity of the situation, recently approached the Japanese Government with proposals for

the early dispatch of troops to relieve the pressure weighing upon the Czechoslovak forces. The Japanese Government, being anxious to fall in with the desire of the American Government, have decided to proceed at once to make disposition of suitable forces for the proposed mission, and a certain number of these troops will be sent forthwith to Vladivostok.

In adopting this course, the Japanese Government remain constant in their desire to promote relations of enduring friendship, and they reaffirm their avowed policy of respecting the territorial integrity of Russia, and of abstaining from all interference in her internal politics. They further declare that upon the realization of the objects above indicated they will immediately withdraw all Japanese troops from Russian territory, and will leave wholly unimpaired the sovereignty of Russia in all its phases, whether political or military.

REACHING THE DECISION

In formulating his Russian policy the President consulted mainly with Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court and Colonel E. M. House of New York and Texas, his unofficial adviser on policies connected with the war, and on most other matters of public importance. He also had conferences on the Russian situation with the diplomatic representatives of allied nations and with emissaries of Russian groups of Czechoslovaks.

After the Russian collapse, when Japan, with the concurrence of Great Britain and France, proposed to the United States that Japanese troops should be sent to Vladivostok to protect the interests of the allied nations, the President expressed dissent as to the wisdom of this policy, and the Japanese Government thereupon assumed the attitude that it did not care to make any further overtures and would wait until the Allies could agree among themselves as to what was the best course of procedure. At the same time Japan reserved the right to take measures for protecting her own interests if they were threatened from Siberian territory. Since then no headway had been made by those anxious to bring about allied action to protect Russia from the Germans until the remarkable success of the Czechoslovaks in operations against former German and Austrian prisoners of war in Siberia attracted the attention of President Wilson and furnished the foundation for a move by the United States.

Out of this Czechoslovak military progress grew the foregoing plan of the State Department. The President was anxious to avoid any course that would give ground for the charge that the United States or the other allies contemplated the exploitation of Russia or had any selfish purpose in dealing with that stricken country. When it was apparent that the sympathies of the Czechoslovaks were with the Russian people and that their only purpose in battling through Siberia against the former German and Austrian prisoners of war was to make their way to Vladivostok in order that they might find means of transportation to France and take their place in the fighting line, the President conceived his plan of using the Czechoslovaks as the basis for a policy of clearing Siberia of Teutonic influences without in any way running counter to Russian opinion. Then began the conferences and study out of which was born the plan announced.

NEW SIBERIAN GOVERNMENT

The Russian Embassy at Washington issued a statement Aug. 5 announcing the formation of a new Government in Siberia, which was to form the nucleus of a movement to reunite the Russian people and restore that country to the side of the Allies. The statement follows:

Direct and authoritative information has been received by the Russian Embassy concerning the program and intentions of the groups which have newly revealed themselves in Siberia, and which without bloodshed or violence have succeeded the Soviets, the latter having disappeared naturally by the very fact of the valiant Czechoslovak troops liberating different cities and regions of Russia. It appears at present that the group in Vladivostok, known under the title of "The Siberian Temporary Government," is closely united and, in fact, does not differ in any way from the authorities established in Omsk, which seem to be but a part of the same Government.

The United Siberian Government states that it was elected on the 26th of January, 1916, by the members of a regional Sibe-

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rian Duma—representative assembly. The point where this Government has temporarily transferred its centre is Vladivostok, the other members of it remaining at Omsk. A message from those at Omsk has just been received, stating that owing to combined efforts of the Czechoslovaks and the military organizations of the Siberian Government itself, the following cities have been liberated from the Bolsheviki: Marlinsk, Novo Nicolaievsk, Tomsk, Narime, Tobolsk, Barnaoul, Camipalatinsk, Carcaralinsk, Atchinski, and Crasnoiarsk.

Everywhere the people belonging to different classes and political groups have manifested vivid interest and sympathy with the organization of their army, which is intended to re-establish, together with the Allies, a battlefront against Germany, and the formation of which is proceeding very successfully. Their relations with the Czechoslovaks are brotherly.

To that most valuable information the "Temporary Government of Siberia" adds a public statement of its political aims, which are: The creation of a Russian Army, well disciplined, in order to re-establish, in co-operation with the Allies, a battlefront against Germany. Siberia being an inseparable part of United Russia, the Temporary Government of Siberia believes it to be its first duty to safeguard, in the territory of Siberia, the interests of the whole of Russia, to recognize all the international treaties and agreements of Russia with friendly nations which were in force until Oct. 25, 1917, the moment of the Bolshevist uprising.

The Siberian Government is tending to re-establish government and order in Siberia and to start the reconstruction of a unified Russia and the creation of a central all-Russian authority which would be generally recognized.

AIMS OF CZECHOSLOVAKS

The following document was issued on behalf of the Czechoslovak National Council by Captain Vladimir S. Hurban, and presented at Tokio July 3, 1918, to the Japanese Foreign Minister, Baron Gato—also to the Ambassadors there:

The present situation may be thus summarized: The Czechoslovak fighting forces have been the object of attack on three sides—first, by the Germans, who desire to destroy them; second, by the Bolsheviki, whose aim is to destroy their national organization and who desire that they should join the Red Guards, and third, by the anti-Bolsheviki, who, lacking the courage to oust the Soviets, would have the Czechoslovaks shoulder the task. The result is serious conflicts between the fighting forces of the Czechoslovaks and the Soviets. This conflict must be settled without involving the Czechs in Russian internal affairs for the following reasons: Our forces are acting in Russia according to the orders of the Czecho National Council, which can be modified only by M. Masaryk, the President, in agreement with the members of the council. The order is to transport the forces from the ex-Russian to the French front. The Czechoslovak Army is constituted of volunteers whose object is to fight Germany and Austria, liberate the Czechoslovak nation, and establish an independent State. We shall pursue this course to the last man; we desire above all to exhibit our determination on the battlefields of France.

The Czechoslovaks are a subjugated nation which is only now making the first steps toward liberation by paying blood tribute. It has no moral right to pursue a policy of protection with regard to such a State as Russia. No party in Russia, no class, is capable of establishing anything that will endure. Order must be reestablished by force, a firm, energetic, but friendly and humane protecting force, which would open up to Russians the possibility of refinding themselves. For obvious reasons the Czechoslovaks cannot attempt to accomplish this; therefore their clear duty is to pursue the strategical movement toward France.

THE SITUATION CHANGED

An illuminating explanation of the new situation forced on the Czechoslovaks in Russia was issued July 27, 1918, by the Czechoslovak National Council at Washington, as follows:

There have been so many promising campaigns started in Russia during the last year of which nothing more is heard that the people in this country watch with a certain lack of confidence the successes of the Czechoslovak forces in Siberia and Eastern European Russia.

Will they be permanent or will they come to nothing, as did the ill-fated campaigns of Korniloff, the Don Cossacks, the various Siberian governments and many others? Can the Czechoslovaks stand their ground, a hundred thousand men among a hundred million, and are they not themselves talking about withdrawing from Russia?

It is, of course, well known that the Czechoslovaks are not Russians; that they are a well organized and thoroughly disciplined force recruited from former Austrian soldiers of the Bohemian and Slovak races, who surrendered to the Russians. The Czechoslovak Army in Russia was created in order to fight the Germans and the Austrians, and when Russia deserted

the cause of the Allies arrangements were made by Professor T. G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak National Council and by virtue of that Commander in Chief of the Czechoslovak forces, with the allied representatives in Russia and also with the Bolsheviki to march the Czechoslovaks out of Russia and take them to the western front.

It should be kept clearly in mind that occupation of Russian territory or the restoration of an eastern front was not thought of when these arrangements were made, in February, 1918. It was due to one of those German blunders, like the one that brought America into the war, that the Czechoslovaks, instead of withdrawing from Russia, are now in control of Siberia and of considerable territory west of the Urals.

Under pressure of Austrian and German demands Trotzky tried to disarm the Czechoslovaks and put them in prison camps, with a view of turning them over to the Austrian authorities. The Czechoslovaks, being attacked, had to defend themselves, and as a result found themselves in control of the greatest portion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad and the Volga River. They were like Saul, who went to seek his father's asses and found a kingdom.

A NEW EASTERN FRONT

Professor Masaryk was by this time in America, and the Czechoslovak leaders, under the changed conditions, hesitated as to their course of action. The only orders they had were to take their forces to the Pacific. They had no desire to play policemen in Russia, and they realized that their position could not be indefinitely sustained unless they were assured of a steady flow of supplies. And yet the unparalleled strategic opportunities which their position gave them made a strong appeal to their imagination. This seems evident from the fact that, instead of withdrawing from European Russia, they occupied more cities on the Volga, stretching out their detachments in the direction of the Murman Coast.

A week ago Professor Masaryk received a lengthy cable report from the leader of the Czechoslovak forces in which the following words are found indicative of the present desires of these men:

"In our opinion it is most desirable and also possible to reconstruct a Russia-Germany front in the east. We ask for instructions as to whether we should leave for France or whether we should stay here to fight in Russia by the side of the Allies and of Russia. The health and spirit of our troops are excellent."

Professor Masaryk has since then instructed the forces in Siberia to remain there for the present. The question, however, of staying in Russia or getting out does not depend on the Czechoslovaks alone. That is something which must be decided by the Allies. The Czechoslovak Army is one of the allied armies, and it is as much under the orders of the Versailles War Council as the French or American Army. No doubt the Czechoslovak boys in Russia are anxious to avoid participation in a possible civil war in Russia, but they realize at the same time that by staying where they are they may be able to render far greater services, both to Russia and the allied cause, than if they were transported to France. They are at the orders of the Supreme War Council of the Allies.

ADVENTURES OF CZECH ARMY

Captain Vladimir S. Hurban, formerly of the Russian Army and now an officer of the Czechoslovak forces in Russia, arrived in Washington Aug. 3 from Vladivostok and gave an account of the experiences of his men. He told how after the peace treaty was signed by the Bolshevist Government, a Czechoslovak army of 50,000 men was in Ukraine. The Germans advanced against the Czechs in overwhelming numbers, and the Emperor of Austria sent a special envoy with the promise that if the Czechs disarmed they would receive amnesty and their lands would be made free. The answer was that they would have no dealings with the Austrian Emperor.

A battle with the Germans was fought for four days during the retreat from Kiev, and the Czechs were victorious to a point where the German commander offered a forty-eight hours' truce, which was accepted. In this battle the Czechs lost about 600 men, while 2,000 Germans were buried in one day.

Thus, the Czechs escaped from Ukraine and still maintained friendly relations with the Bolsheviki. They turned over arms, horses, automobiles, and other equipment which had been taken from the Germans to a large extent. Later at Irkutsk a train with 400 Czechs on board, armed with ten rifles and twenty hand grenades, was surrounded by several thousand Red Guards, equipped with machine guns and cannon. At a command in German, the Red Guards began firing. The Czechs jumped

from the train, and in five minutes, Captain Hurban says, all the machine guns were in their possession, the Russian Bolsheviki were disarmed, and all the Germans and Magyars "done away with."

Allied Forces at Murmansk and Archangel

"The Country of the North"

ALLIED intervention had already begun on July 15, 1918, at Murmansk, an ice-free arctic port northeast of Petrograd. The following day Rear Admiral Kemp of the British Navy proclaimed the occupation of the northern section of the Murman Railway by British, American, French, and Serbian forces, and announced that they would advance southward "in accord with the local Soviet authorities and at the request of the local population for help." The American contingent in this little army consisted of a small body of marines.

The primary object of the movement was to keep the large stores of American munitions and supplies at Kola, purchased by the old Russian régime, but never paid for, from falling into enemy hands. To this end the expedition took control of the Murman Railway connecting with Petrograd. Kem, a railway station on the White Sea, was captured, and the allied force continued southward, everywhere welcomed by the inhabitants. The Murman coast was formally declared to be Russian territory under allied protection.

Ambassador Francis and the allied legations removed from Vologda to Kandalaska on the White Sea in order to be within the zone protected by the expedition. M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevist Foreign Minister at Moscow, sent a note to Great Britain demanding the withdrawal of the Allies from Russian soil. It was ignored. Before leaving Vologda the allied legations notified the Bolshevist Government that they did not desire to maintain any kind of connection with the Soviet Government so long as that Government was supporting the German aims on Russian soil.

On Aug. 4 it was announced that allied forces had landed at Archangel, on the south shore of the White Sea, and were in control of the coast from there northward to Murmansk. American troops formed part of the first detachment of this international force; it also included members of the Russian Officers' League. The people of Northern Russia greeted the presence of Americans with enthusiasm, knowing that the United States was without selfish interests in Russia. The population of Archangel received the troops with cheering. An anti-Bolshevist revolution had already taken place in that district, and the leaders of the movement had invited the presence of the allied troops.

The final resistance of the Bolsheviki had come on Aug. 3, when their local forces were defeated at the station of Ysakagorka, on the left bank of the Dvina. In their flight from Archangel they carried away 40,000,000 rubles in money and much other treasure, but left many supplies behind them. The bridges and railway lines were not damaged.

COUNTRY OF THE NORTH

The various anti-Bolshevist elements of the Russian population in the surrounding districts at once organized a Provisional Government of the Country of the North, with headquarters at Archangel, and with the volunteer support of the village Zemstvos of the whole region. The Government was composed of the following nine persons, all members of the former Russian Constituent Assembly: Tchoikawski of Viatka Government, Nomoff of Archangel, Masloff of Vologda, Gonkorsky of Novgorod, Kartacheff of Kazan, Stansenko of Samara, Sikhatcheff, who was the constituent representative from the Northern Russian front; Zoubof, former Assistant Mayor of Vologda, and Starzof, former President of the Archangel Duma.

This new Government on Aug. 7 announced its assumption of power in the following proclamation:

The power of the Bolsheviki is ended. Because of the treason to the country committed at Brest-Litovsk; because of famine, the failure to recognize the rights and liberties of the country; because of pillaging, illegal shootings and constant arrests, the power of the so-called Soviet, of traitors and criminals, is past. The representatives of the so-called people's Government have fled.

At the present moment, in the interests of all Russia, we take upon ourselves the duty of governing the Country of the North.

By this proclamation we inform the inhabitants that from today the power of government is confided to the supreme direction of the Government of the Country of the North, which is composed of members of the Constituent Assembly and representatives of the Zemstvos of this district, which considers itself as the supreme authority from now on to hand over power immediately after Russia has chosen her government and as soon as there is a possibility of freely communicating with her. The aims of the Government are:

1. Regeneration of Russia, the resumption of relations between Russia and other Governments, and the organization of local power with the Government of the North.

2. Defense of the region of the north and the whole nation against all territorial violation by Germany, Finland, and other enemies.

3. Reunion with Russia of the peoples taken from her.

4. Re-establishment of the two organs of the people, the Constituent Assembly, Municipal Dumas and Zemstvos.

5. Re-establishing legal order by the expressing of the will of the citizens and re-establishing political and religious liberty.

6. The security of the rights of agricultural workers.

7. Defense of the interests of labor in accordance with the political and economic interests of the north and the rest of Russia.

8. Suppression of famine.

REGION OF MURMANSK, KOLA, AND ARCHANGEL, WHERE ALLIED FORCES HAVE LANDED, ESTABLISHING THE BEGINNINGS OF A NEW "EASTERN FRONT"

The Government counts upon the Russian, American, and British peoples, as well as those of other nations, for aid in combating famine and relieving the financial situation. It is recognized that intervention by the Allies in Russia's internal affairs is not directed against the interests of the people, and that the people will welcome the allied troops who have come to fight against the common enemy.

The Government, in making the present declaration, calls upon all the people to preserve calm and order.

Ambassador Francis and other allied representatives and their staffs left for Archangel on Aug. 7. The Entente Allies recognized that the permanence of the new Government would depend primarily upon their ability to save the inhabitants from famine. The Red Cross undertook at once to send large supplies of foodstuffs and other necessities, and measures were taken for the shipment of regular supplies from the United States to Archangel.

DECLARATION OF INTENTIONS

British representatives at Vladivostok, Murmansk, and Archangel on Aug. 8 published the following "Declaration of the British Government to the Peoples of Russia":

Your allies have not forgotten you. We remember all the services your heroic army rendered us in the early years of the war. We are coming as friends to help you save yourselves from dismemberment and destruction at the hands of Germany, which is trying to enslave your people and use the great resources of your country to its own ends.

We wish to solemnly assure you that while our troops are entering Russia to assist you in your struggle against Germany, we shall not retain one foot of your territory. We deplore the civil war that divides you and the internal dissensions that facilitate Germany's plans of conquest.

The destinies of Russia are in the hands of the Russian peoples. It is for them, and for them alone, to decide their form of government and to find a solution for their social problems.

Peoples of Russia, your very existence as an independent nation is at stake. The liberties you have won in the revolution are threatened with extinction by the iron hand of Germany. Rally around the banner of freedom and independence that we, who are still your allies, are raising in your midst, and secure the triumphs of those two great principles without which there can be no lasting peace or real liberty for the world. * * *

We wish to aid in the development of the industrial and natural resources of your country, not with a view to exploiting them for our own benefit. We desire, too, to restore the exchange of commodities, to stimulate agriculture, and to enable you to take your rightful place among the free nations of the world. Our one desire is to see Russia strong and free, and then to retire to watch the Russian people work our their own destinies.

Remarkable Work of American Red Cross in Italy

The American Red Cross began its work in Italy with the visit of the commission headed by George F. Baker, Jr., in the Summer of 1917, but the real service, which has thrilled Italy, started at the tragic moment of the Austrian invasion in November. Under the terrible conditions of disease and starvation that followed, Ambassador Page asked Major Grayson M. P. Murphy to send aid quickly. Thus the emergency commission was dispatched to Italy, headed by Major Carey Taylor, assisted by Major Bernan I. Prentice, who expended 11,000,000 lire for immediate relief, besides buying quantities of supplies from France and America, placing orders for $3,000,000 of supplies in Italy and opening warehouses at central points, each with a distribution capacity of 55,000 tons.

Seven weeks later came the permanent commission, headed by Robert Perkins, its work growing in the six months following on an unprecedented scale. There are thirty kitchens, serving 131,000 people; forty-three workrooms, employing over 3,000 women, who are producing about 80,000 garments monthly; eighty-two nurseries, caring for over 13,000 children; nineteen health centres, containing 8,046 children; eighteen children's homes and Summer colonies where sickly children are restored to health and strength in the mountains or at the seaside, containing over 4,000 children, constantly shifting as each regains its health; twelve adult health centres, containing over 500 people, and fourteen workshops, employing about 400 people, who are making lace and shoes, and doing carpentering, &c.

Another form of relief consists of distribution of money gifts. This distribution in the month of April, 1918, reached 6,000,000 lire, granted especially to the needy families of soldiers. The distribution was made by representatives of the American Red Cross.

Motoring day and night, they covered the whole of Italy in three weeks, visiting over 2,000 towns and villages, and aiding 318,000 families. No fewer than 2,500 of these families, especially deserving, receive monthly small donations.

Bolshevists Clash With the Entente

Increasing Hostility Culminates in Arrest of Allied Consuls and Departure of Diplomats

[Period Ended Aug. 15, 1918]

INTERVENTION by allied forces at Archangel and Vladivostok was followed at once by more or less veiled hostility on the part of the Bolshevist Government at Moscow. The Foreign Minister, M. Tchitcherin, sent insistent demands to the American Ambassador, Mr. Francis, and the allied diplomats that they should leave Vologda and come to Moscow. Disregarding these demands, Mr. Francis and his fellow diplomats removed to Archangel on July 25, within the protection of allied arms.

In a final message to the Russian Foreign Minister Ambassador Francis declared he had no desire to leave Russia unless forced to do so, and in any event his absence would be only temporary. The Consuls of the allied countries, he said, would remain in Russia. M. Tchitcherin said that the departure of the Ambassadors would not in the slightest alter the relations of Soviet Russia with the allied countries, and assured the acting American Consul General, Mr. Poole, that there was no reason why the Consuls and citizens of the allied nations should not remain in Russia.

A final message sent to Tchitcherin by Ambassador Francis, as Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, reviewed the correspondence that had led to the removal to Archangel and continued:

> Your message expressing friendly feelings for the people I represent and the desire on your part to maintain relations with them is appreciated, but you will permit me to say that your treatment of me as their representative does not accord with such expressions. While I have refrained from interfering in the internal affairs of Russia, I have considered the Russian people were still our allies and have more than once appealed to them to unite with us in resisting the common enemy. I have, furthermore, recommended to my Government many times to send food to relieve the sufferings of the Russian people and to ship agricultural implements.
>
> A wireless message sent from Washington on July 10 and received at Moscow was delivered to me after last midnight—July 24. It stated that no message had been received from me of later date than June 24 except one sent through Archangel on July 7 advising of the killing of the German Ambassador; it furthermore stated the department had cabled me often and fully. I have received no cable from my Government that was sent after July 3, except two wireless messages inquiring why they did not hear from me. I had cabled fully every day.
>
> Moreover, the press of Vologda, and doubtless the entire press of Russia, had received an order to print nothing from any allied Ambassador or representative without first submitting the same to the Soviet Government. Some journals in Vologda and some in Petrograd did print your first telegram, inviting and ordering the Diplomatic Corps to come to Moscow, and our reply thereto; these were given to the press by myself and for the information of the Russian people, and because I thought secret diplomacy had been abolished in Russia.
>
> Upon hearing that the press was forbidden to publish further correspondence concerning our removal to Moscow, the Diplomatic Corps decided to have printed in pamphlet form in Russian the entire correspondence on the subject, together with some excerpts from the stenographic report of an interview between your representative, Radek, and myself. These pamphlets have been ready for delivery for two days past, but we are informed that the Central Soviet Committee or the extraordinary revolutionary staff of Vologda has prohibited the delivery of the same to us.

ARREST OF CONSULS

The next development came on Aug. 10, when the Bolshevist authorities in Moscow arrested Robert H. B. Lockhart, Acting Consul General of Great Britain in that city, with six Britishers attached to his staff and several French diplomatic agents. The reason for this act, it was intimated, was that British forces had fired upon Bolsheviki at the time of landing at Archangel. Great Britain

promptly responded by placing under arrest M. Litvinoff, the Bolshevist emissary in London. Lenine had stated repeatedly in private conversation on July 29 that the situation amounted to a state of war with the Entente, but had refused to make a formal declaration to that effect. At Great Britain's demand Mr. Lockhart and those with him were released a few days after their arrest.

New light on the crisis was furnished by a series of dispatches which the State Department at Washington received on Aug. 14 from De Witt C. Poole, Jr., the United States Consul at Moscow. After the arrest of the British and French Consuls, Mr. Poole, fearing that his own consulate would be violated, destroyed all his code books and records and turned over the care of American interests to the Swedish Consul General in Moscow. The British and Japanese interests were placed in the same hands at that time. Permission to leave the country was refused to the British and French military missions in spite of a previous promise of safe conduct.

The allied consular body called upon Foreign Minister Tchitcherin for a public statement of what he had told them personally—that his Government desired to continue its relations with the Entente. Mr. Poole's narrative continues:

> On the night of Aug. 2 a reply was received from Tchitcherin. It stated that inasmuch as Lenine's utterances were made behind closed doors in a meeting at which an agent of the Allies could be present only owing to a special courtesy on the part of the Soviet Government, public explanations could not be given about a non-public utterance. As to the members of the military mission, Tchitcherin said that negotiations had been begun with the German authorities to procure safe passage from Petrograd to Stockholm for these officers, passage through Archangel being impossible because British cruisers had already begun the bombardment of the islands covering Archangel.

Referring to the arrests of British and French citizens at Moscow, Mr. Poole said that on the afternoon of Aug. 5 there was a conference between Tchitcherin and the Consuls General of Japan, Sweden, and the United States, with the following results:

First, the Soviet Government gave solemn assurances that allied persons having diplomatic or official character would not be molested; second, Tchitcherin stated that the allied military missions would not be allowed to depart as had already been promised; third, that civil persons arrested were hostages for the lives of Soviet members in territory occupied by the Allies. Tchitcherin said that these persons were civil prisoners arrested in accordance with the practices of war, for internment. He added that no responsibility would be assumed for their future safety because Great Britain and France had attacked Archangel without a declaration of war.

Mr. Poole answered that he was without knowledge of what had taken place in the north, but warned Tchitcherin that the peoples of the allied nations could not be intimidated, and that the initiation of a system of reprisals by the Soviet Government could only result in individual members of the Government being held personally responsible, and in the loss by the Bolshevist cause of whatever respect it might now have in the minds of the civilized world.

On Aug. 15—the date of going to press with these pages—the Lenine-Trotzky Government, under German pressure, still stood on the threshhold of open war with the Entente Allies. There were increasing signs that the whole Bolshevist régime was on the verge of collapse. Soviet troops were reported to be evacuating Moscow, and the gold reserves in the basement of the Kremlin had been removed to an unknown place. Throughout Russia there were indications of uprisings against the Bolsheviki and of growing support for the Entente cause.

WAR WITH CZECHOSLOVAKS

In the middle of July a portion of the Czechoslovak forces, estimated at 40,000 to 50,000 men, held the railway line from Samara to Irkutsk, Siberia. Another portion was in possession of Vladivostok. According to a Vladivostok report half a million prisoners of war were distributed in Siberia, while the main body of the Soviet troops was probably concentrated in the region of Lake Baikal and near Chita. On July 26 the Czechoslovaks were reported to

The British Imperial War Conference of 1918, which held its first meeting in London on June 12. Back row, left to right: A. Meighen, Canada; Sir J. Ward, New Zealand; N. W. Rowell, Canada; Sir G. Fiddes, British Colonial Office; W. A. S. Hewins, M. P., British Colonial Office; Gen. Aston, British War Office; Sir S. P. Sinha, India; H. Burton, South Africa; J. Calder, Canada; H. Lambert, Conference Secretary; E. Harding, Assistant Secretary. Front row, left to right: W. F. Lloyd, Newfoundland; W. F. Massey, New Zealand; the Maharajah of Patiala, India; Sir R. B. Borden, Canada; W. H. Long, British Colonial Secretary; W. M. Hughes, Australia; Gen. Smuts, South Africa; J. Cook, Australia; E. S. Montagu, Secretary for India.

(Western Newspaper Union)

The Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Front row, left to right: Senators Beckham, Chamberlain, (Chairman,) Hitchcock, and Fletcher. The others, left to right: Wadsworth, New, Sutherland, Hoke Smith, McKellar, Weeks, (with mustache,) Sheppard, (below Weeks,) Kirby, and Johnson.

(© Harris & Ewing)

have captured the City of Simbirsk on the right bank of the Volga. Commenting upon the fall of the town, Pravda, the official organ of the Bolshevist Party, said:

> The rising is spreading like a patch of oil on water. May the capture of Simbirsk awaken the sleepers. Simbirsk was one of the bases of the council's power, and also the corn granary. The danger is growing. It is war. The enemy is numerous and well organized. If the fall of Samara has not awakened the workers, may the fall of Simbirsk make the proletariat tremble for the fate of the proletariat revolution.

Several days later the Czechs captured three cities in the Caucasus, and also Syzran, with the aid of the Russian White Guards. Yekaterinburg, where the Czar was executed, was also occupied by them. On July 29 they occupied Shmakova. Early in August, however, General Horvath declared that the Czechoslovak forces were in a desperate position in the region of Irkutsk, where they were surrounded by Bolshevist and Magyar troops, and that they were outnumbered midway between Nikolsk and Khabarovsk.

Four companies of French soldiers and one of Annamites from China and Indo-China arrived in Vladivostok Aug. 9 headed by Commandant Mallet. A company of Czechoslovak soldiers, with a band, greeted them. Courtesy calls were exchanged by General Paris of the French Military Commission; M. André, French Consul; General Diedrichs, commander of the Czechoslovak forces in Siberia, and representatives of the local Russian Government and Zemstvos.

On Aug. 12 the British forces which had been landed at Vladivostok joined the Czechoslovaks at the River Usuri. The Japanese advance forces also effected a junction with the Czechs.

SIBERIAN GOVERNMENT

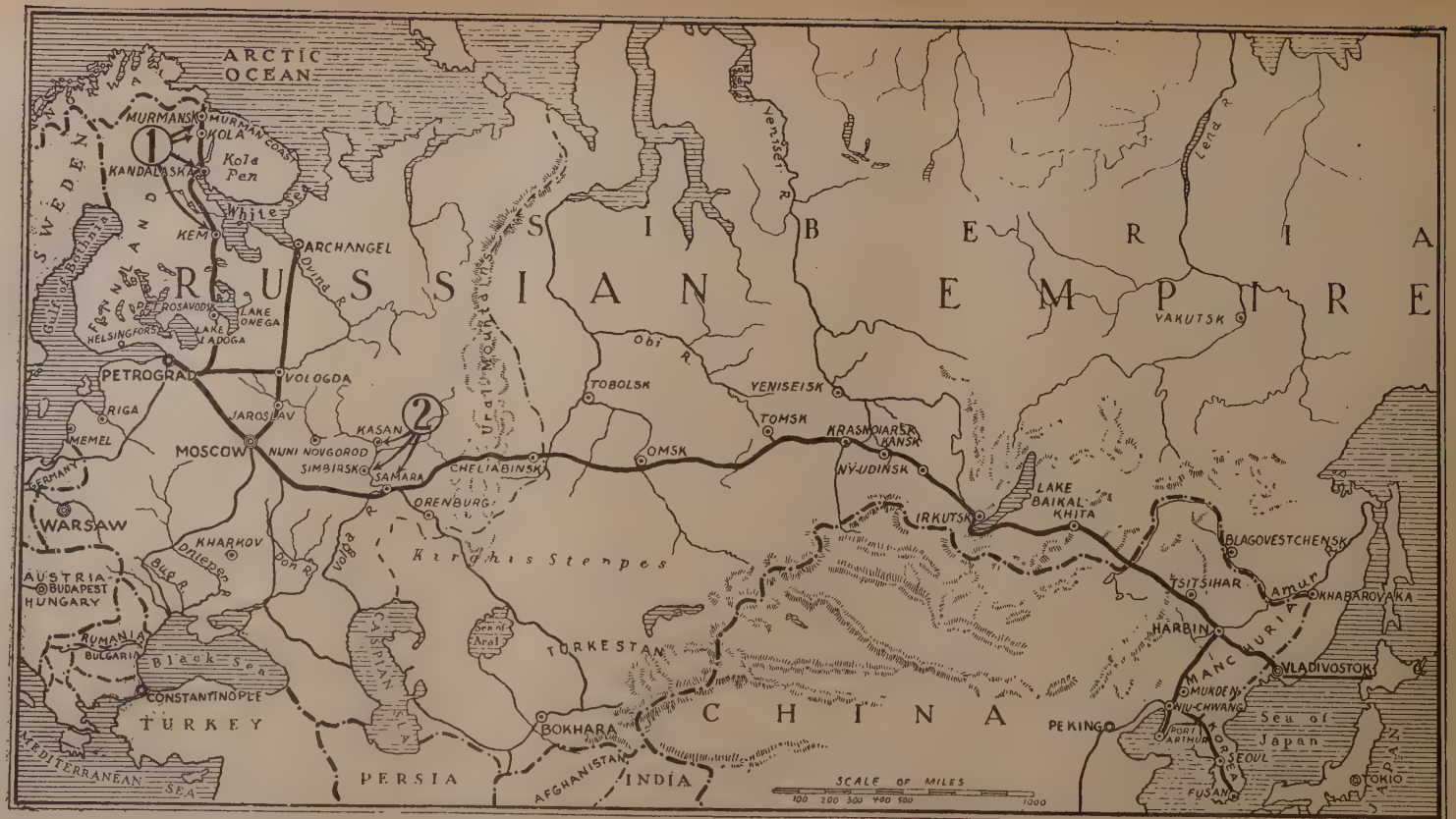
At this writing (Aug. 15, 1918) the non-Soviet centre of Governmental authority in Siberia appears to be the so-called Temporary Government of Autonomous Siberia. This body was elected on Jan. 26, 1918, (Feb. 8, New Style,) in the City of Tomsk at a session of the Siberian Duma in which the various elements of the population were represented. Its head is P. Y. Derber, President of the Council of Ministers. When the Bolsheviki occupied Tomsk, the seat of the Government was transferred to Harbin and subsequently to Vladivostok, after this city was taken by the Czechoslovaks. In April the Temporary Government announced as its program the re-establishment of order in the country, the restoration of the front against the Germans, and the convocation of a Siberian Constituent Assembly. The political situation in Siberia was complicated by the act of General Horvath, who proclaimed himself dictatorial head of a new All-Russian Government. On Aug. 5 he was reported to have opened negotiations with the temporary Government at Vladivostok.

In the middle of June the Soviet Government was reported to have declared war on "the counter-revolutionary Government of Siberia." On Aug. 5 Pravda and Izvestia declared that the temporary Siberian Government intended to declare war on the Soviet Government.

ALLIES AT ARCHANGEL

With the landing of allied forces at Archangel a new anti-Bolshevist Government came into being, namely, the Supreme Government of the Northern Territory. The proclamation issued by it early in August was signed by the members of the abortive Constituent Assembly, representing the provinces of Novgorod, Archangel, Vologda, Viatka, Kazan, and Samara. The new Government abolished all the Soviet institutions and ordered the arrest of the Soviet officials. It re-established the organs of municipal self-government and the zemstvos, empowering them to control the food supply. The judicial institutions were restored and co-operatives, labor unions, and war organizations were allowed to function freely. The new Government continued to carry out the Bolshevist policy of nationalizing various branches of industry and finance.

Late in July the Governments of the Don and Astrakhan regions signed a treaty pledging themselves to work for the formation of the Federal State of Russia and to fight Bolshevism within



MAP SHOWING THE FORMER RUSSIAN EMPIRE, WHICH IS SOUGHT TO BE RECLAIMED FOR THE ENTENTE CAUSE BY MEANS OF ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCES LANDED AT VLADIVOSTOK, MURMANSK, AND ARCHANGEL. (1) INDICATES REGION FIRST RECLAIMED BY ALLIES; (2) SHOWS REGION OF GREATEST CZECHOSLOVAK ACTIVITIES

their territory and in Ciscaucasia. About the same time the Fifth National Congress of Turkestan proclaimed Turkestan an independent republic allied to Russia. The territory of the new State includes the provinces of Semirechensk, Syr-Daria, Turgai, Samarkand, Khiva, and Bokhara.

Late in July the Soviet troops definitely abandoned the City of Orenburg, in Eastern Russia. A new Government, headed by General Dutov, was created in that region.

RUSSIAN SOCIALISTS' APPEAL

On July 31 the representatives of the Social Revolutionary and Social Democratic Parties of Russia issued an appeal to the Socialists of Europe, signed on behalf of the former organization by Nicholas Rusanov and on behalf of the latter by Paul Axelrod, both veteran leaders of revolutionary thought and action in Russia. The appeal proposes an international Socialist commission to go to Russia and make the investigations necessary to answer the following questions:

1. Are we right, yes or no, when we declare that the Bolshevist Government has degenerated into an instrument of reaction and, although it hides behind the words "the will of the workmen and peasants," does not shrink from the most extreme and violent measures of oppression directed against these same workmen and peasants?

2. Are we right when we declare that the Bolshevist Government has now no other aim than to preserve at all costs its own power, and that with this object it is ready to sacrifice all the conquests of the revolution and take refuge in a state of terrorism directed, not against the bourgeoisie, but against the other Socialist parties and the mass of the proletariat and peasants whom they represent, and that, finally, eager to justify itself in the eyes of the foreign conqueror, it has not hesitated in connection with the Mirbach incident to lay at his feet the dead bodies of 200 of its own Social Revolutionary countrymen?

3. Are we right when we declare that Bolshevism has done nothing to apply Socialist principles and has only succeeded in destroying industry and bringing about universal unemployment and starvation?

4. Are we right when we declare that the Bolshevist Government denies us every possibility to open discussion or to struggle for what we consider to be Russia's only hope of salvation, namely, the summoning of the Constituent Assembly and the re-establishing of popular means of local administration—in a word, the placing of all power in the hands of the people?

5. Are the Bolsheviki right when they assert that all other Russian Socialist parties are seeking, not to free the working classes from the despotic oppression of a small minority, but, in concert with the bourgeois and monarchist elements, to bring about a counter-revolution?

NUMEROUS EXECUTIONS

Upward of two hundred Social Revolutionists were executed for participating in the assassination of Ambassador von Mirbach, July 6. Among them were Alexandrovich, Katz-Kamkov, and Miss Spiridonova, all noted revolutionary leaders. The following is an eye-witness account of the German Ambassador's assassination:

Count Mirbach, Privy Councilor Riesler, and Lieutenant Müller were seated with the two Russians at a marble table in the middle of the room. On one side were the Germans and on the other the Russians. All were seated in low leather chairs, which was an advantage for the Russians, as they were thus able to get their weapons ready under the marble table without being observed, while their victims, leaning back in their chairs, offered an easy target. During the conversation the Russians began to turn over the pages of their documents as though in search of some missing paper, and the attention of the Germans was thus distracted by this pause. While Count Mirbach and his colleagues imagined that the Russians were examining the documents they had drawn out their weapons under the cover of the table. They then sprang up with revolvers and began firing, one Russian aiming at Count Mirbach, the other at the two other Germans. Count Mirbach was hit in the back of the head. On hearing the shots people hurried in from the neighboring rooms, and the Russians thereupon took to flight, but before jumping out of the window each of them hurled a hand grenade. Only one exploded, the splinters of which hit Count Mirbach, killing him immediately.

Dr. Karl Helfferich, former German Vice Chancellor, was appointed to succeed von Mirbach as Germany's diplomatic representative in Russia. The new Ambassador went to Russia accompanied by a battalion of German soldiers. It was reported on Aug. 13 that he had fled from Moscow in the dead of the

night, fearing the Social Revolutionists. He had previously informed the Soviet Government that he would move the embassy from Moscow to Pskov for safety's sake. Commenting on this circumstance, the Vossische Zeitung of Berlin says: "The state of things Dr. Helfferich found in Moscow may best be judged from the fact that the Soviet Government, of its own accord, relieved him of the duty of paying the customary official visit on his arrival to deliver his credentials."

BOLSHEVIST TROUBLES

The increasing difficulties facing the Lenine-Trotzky Government were reflected in the following resolutions, adopted on July 30 by a joint session of the Main Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, and a number of labor organizations:

First—The Socialist fatherland is in danger.

Second—The chief tasks at the present moment are the repulse of the Czecho-slovaks and the obtaining of grain.

Third—The most powerful agitation must be started among the laboring classes to explain the gravity of the situation.

Fourth—Vigilance must be increased against the bourgeoisie, who everywhere are joining the counter-revolutionists. The Soviet Government must protect itself, and to that end the bourgeoisie must be placed under control and mass terror put into practice against them.

Fifth—The general watchword must be death or victory, with mass expeditions for bread, mass military organization, the arming of workmen, and the exertion of all strength to fight against the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Speaking before the Main Executive Committee two days previously Lenine had insisted that the foremost task of the revolution was to crush the Czecho-slovaks and their counter-revolutionary partisans. Following him, Trotzky declared that the Czechs could be easily outnumbered by the Red Guards, but that the officers were unreliable. "Every officer in command," he said, "must be watched on both sides by War Commissioners with revolvers in hand."

The Fifth Congress of the Soviets agreed upon the following principles with regard to the Red Army:

Obligatory military training and obligatory service;

The creation of local bodies, such as military commissariats, for regions, provinces, districts, and communes, the formation of which is intrusted to the Local Councils;

Centralization so far as reciprocal relations are concerned;

The registration of all war property and materials;

The formation of autonomous military units is prohibited;

The utilization of experts from among the old army, and their collaboration will become obligatory after the general registration of all ex-officers and technical military experts;

The commissariats are to have constant supervision over the Red Army, so that it may always be in accord with the interests of the régime of the workmen and peasants. The new organization must be permeated with the ideas of the workmen and peasants, and by the spirit of the revolution; military schools will serve for this purpose, to which only elements favorable to the Red Army will be admitted. A revolutionary discipline of iron will be maintained. The bourgeoisie will be employed only for auxiliary service, so long as the exploiting classes are not rendered completely inoffensive.

A manifesto was issued urging the ruthless extermination of counter-revolutionists and declaring that peasants retaining grain would be arraigned before revolutionary courts, while illicit traders would be shot.

ASSASSINATION OF EICHHORN

Field Marshal von Eichhorn, the German commander in the Ukraine, and his adjutant, Captain von Dressler, were killed by a bomb in the streets of Kiev on July 30, 1918, while driving to their headquarters. The assassination was a terrorist act of the Social Revolutionists of the Left. It was committed by a youth of 23 named Boris Danskoi, who was arrested on the spot. Hetman Skoropadski issued a manifesto in which he deplored the fact that "a great friend of Ukrainian independence had fallen by the hand of the enemy." Another act ascribed to the Social Revolutionists of the Left was an explosion at Kiev which resulted in the death of 700 German soldiers. General Count Kirchbach succeeded von Eichhorn as German commander in the Ukraine. He arrived in Kiev early in August.

In the middle of July a great railway strike broke out in the Ukraine. Two hundred thousand men were reported to be taking part in it. The strike was directed against Skoropadski's rule and the Central Powers. The strikers demanded the restoration of constitutional liberties, the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and the stopping of export of food to the Central Empires. They denounced the German punitive expeditions against the revolted peasants. One of their proclamations contained this passage:

> The enemy is despoiling us and stealing our bread in order to continue fighting. All this delays the revolution in the west. Comrades, we have put up with the Kaiser's dogs long enough. Cease railway traffic and thereby help thousands of armed peasants to overrun the towns at a given moment.

The strikers attempted to kill the Railway Minister, and sentenced to death other high officials. M. Stelshenko, former Minister of Education in the Ukrainian Cabinet, was shot at Poltava.

Sporadic resistance of the peasants to their German masters continued. Late in July 75,000 peasants were said to be under arms. Early in August the peasant army in one section of the Ukraine was estimated at 25,000. The Ukrainians resisted the food requisitions by burning their grain supplies and killing their cattle. As before, the Teutons ruthlessly crushed the uprisings. Germany continued to send fresh troops to the country under the pretext of disarming the rebels. The position of the population under the Teuton military rule is one of slavery. According to a report dated Aug. 5 the Austrian military commander in Volhynia ordered all men between the ages of 15 and 50 to do compulsory agricultural work five days a week for eight to ten hours a day.

FINLAND'S ATTITUDE

Observers reported the growth of hostility toward Germany among the masses of Finland as a result of the food situation, and of the recent military reverses of the Central Powers. General Mannerheim, the former commander of the Finnish White Guards, openly pronounced himself against German domination in Finland.

Germany continued its efforts to force a German King upon Finland. According to a dispatch, dated Aug. 13, the election of a King was to take place in September, the candidates for the throne being the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg and Prince William of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. There was strong opposition to the monarchistic idea among the people. The Diet, which, under the obsolete law of 1772, is to elect the King, consists of 102 members instead of 200, all its Socialist members but one having been arrested. Late in June General von der Goltz addressed an ultimatum to the Senate, threatening to withdraw the troops and leave the Finnish Government at the mercy of the revolutionists if it failed to establish the monarchistic order.

On Aug. 4 a Finnish delegation in Berlin presented Emperor William with the Grand Cross of the Order of Liberty. The Kaiser gratefully accepted the decoration and said that he was deeply touched by this token of the union of his country and Finland. In his speech made on this occasion the Kaiser expressed the hope that the Finno-German co-operation in securing Finland's independence might lead to a cordial relationship between two progressive peoples struggling for their freedom. "By our deeds," he added, "we succeeded without much talking in accomplishing what our enemies never tire of proclaiming as their aim, but which they never intend to realize, namely, the protection of small nations in their struggle for freedom."

Peasant uprisings were reported in Esthonia. On July 26 the President of the Provisional Government of Esthonia telegraphed to the French Foreign Minister congratulating him upon the recent allied victories and expressing hope for the liberation of Esthonia. Early in July the Lithuanian National Council published a protest against Germany's annexationist tendencies with regard to Lithuania, stating that the people of Lithuania were ready to oppose such tendencies with all means at their disposal.

DEATH OF FORMER CZAR

On July 20 a Russian Government wireless dispatch announcing the assassination of the former Russian Emperor was received by the Admiralty in London. It read as follows:

> At the first session of the Central Executive Committee, elected by the fifth Congress of the Councils, a message was made public that had been received by direct wire from the Ural Regional Council concerning the shooting of the ex-Czar, Nicholas Romanoff.
>
> Recently Yekaterinburg, the capital of the Red Urals, was seriously threatened by the approach of Czechoslovak bands and a counter-revolutionary conspiracy was discovered which had as its object the wresting of the ex-Czar from the hands of the council's authority. In view of this fact, the President of the Ural Regional Council decided to shoot the ex-Czar, and the decision was carried out on July 16.
>
> The wife and the son of Nicholas Romanoff have been sent to a place of security.
>
> Documents concerning the conspiracy which was discovered have been forwarded to Moscow by a special messenger. It had been recently decided to bring the ex-Czar before a tribunal to be tried for his crimes against the people, and only later occurrences led to delay in adopting this course.

The Lokal-Anzeiger of Berlin published a detailed account of the execution. The condemned Czar was awakened at 5 o'clock in the morning and informed that he would be executed in two hours. Nicholas received the news with outward calmness. He spent some time with a priest in his bedroom and wrote several letters. When the patrol came to take him out for execution, he was found, according to this German account, in a state of collapse. Assisted by the priest and a soldier, he descended the stairs, once sinking to the ground. The former Emperor's last words, uttered just before the executioners fired, are reported to have been: "Spare my wife and my innocent, unhappy children. May my blood preserve Russia from ruin."

Nicholas was transferred from Tobolsk, Siberia, to Yekaterinburg in May, 1918. According to the official account given by Commissary Yakovlev, Commander of the Ural troops, the former Czar left Tobolsk together with his wife, his daughter Marie, Prince Dolgoruki, Professor Botkin, formerly the chief Court physician, and the Court Lady Demidova, while the former heir, Alexis, the other three daughters, Tatishchev, and the remaining attendants, forty in all, remained in Tobolsk.

Having considered the circumstances under which the Ural Soviet took the decision of executing Nicholas, the Presidency of the Central Executive Committee passed the following resolution: "The Russian Central Executive Committee, in the person of its President, accepts the decision of the Ural Regional Soviet as being regular." A decree issued by the Bolshevist Government on July 17 declared all the property, including deposits in foreign banks, of the former Emperior, his wife, his mother, and all other members of the imperial house forfeit to the Soviet Republic.

The Russian press, including Socialist papers, condemned the execution as a cruel and unnecessary act. The allegation that the Czechoslovaks were going to carry off the former Czar was made, according to the newspapers, for the double purpose of bringing disrepute upon the Czechs and furnishing an excuse for the execution.

The Bolshevist "Declaration of Rights"

Draft of Socialist Constitution

THE Lenine Government at Moscow, known to its adherents as the Council of People's Commissaries, prepared in the Summer of 1918 a "Declaration of Rights" and a preliminary draft of a Constitution, both of which were to be presented by a special commission for adoption by the fifth Pan Russian Congress of Soviets. The document was printed in the official Bolshe-

vist organ, Pravda, and its more important parts were republished in German by the Vossische Zeitung of Berlin, from which the English translation given below was made. In reproducing it here CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE leaves the reader to make his own comments on Bolshevist acts as compared with the principles and assertions contained in the document:

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF LABORING HUMANITY.

Approved by the Commission of the Central Committee for drafting the Constitution of the Soviets.

We, the working people of Russia, laborers, peasants, Cossacks, soldiers and sailors, united in the councils of the Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasants', and Cossacks' Delegates, declare in the persons of our plenipotentiary representatives, who have assembled at the Pan Russian Congress of Soviets, the following rights and duties of the working and despoiled people:

The economic subjection of the laboring classes by the possessors of the means and instruments of production, of the soil, machines, factories, railways, and raw materials—these basic sources of life—appears as the cause of all sorts of political oppression, economic spoliation, intellectual and moral enslavement of the laboring masses.

The economic liberation of the working classes from the yoke of capitalism represents therefore the greatest task of our time and must be accomplished at all cost.

The liberation of the working classes must and can be the work of those classes themselves, who must unite for that purpose in the Soviets of the Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasants', and Cossacks' Delegates.

In order to put an end to every ill that oppresses humanity and in order to secure to labor all the rights belonging to it, we recognize that it is necessary to destroy the existing social structure, which rests upon private property in the soil and the means of production, in the spoliation and oppression of the laboring masses, and to substitute for it a socialistic structure. Then the whole earth, its surface and its depths, and all the means and instruments of production, created by the toil of the laboring classes, will belong by right of common property to the whole people, who are united in a fraternal association of laborers.

Only by giving society a socialistic structure can the division of it into hostile classes be destroyed; only so can we put an end to the spoliation and oppression of men by men, of class by class; and all men — placed upon an equality as to rights and duties — will contribute to the welfare of society according to their strength and capacities, and will receive from society according to their requirements.

The complete liberation of the laboring classes from spoliation and oppression appears as a problem not locally or nationally limited, but as a world problem, and it can be carried out to its end only through the united exertions of workingmen of all lands. Therefore, the sacred duty rests upon the working class of every country to come to the assistance of the workingmen of other countries who have risen against the capitalistic structure of society.

The working class of Russia, true to the lagacy of the Internationale, overthrew their bourgeoisie in October, 1917, and, with the help of the poorest peasantry, seized the powers of government. In establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasantry the working class resolved to wrest capital from the hands of the bourgeoisie, to unite all the means of production in the hands of the socialistic State and thus to increase as rapidly as possible the mass of productive forces.

LAND HOLDINGS ABOLISHED

The first steps in that direction were:

1. Abolition of property in land, declaration of the entire soil to be national property, and the distribution of it to the workmen without purchase money, upon the principle of equality in utilizing it.

2. Declaration as national property of all forests, treasures of the earth and waters of general public utility, and all the belongings, whether animals or things, of the model farms and agricultural undertakings.

3. Introduction of a law for the control of workmen and for the nationalization of a number of branches of industry.

4. Nationalization of the banks, which heretofore were one of the mightiest instruments for the spoliation of society by capital.

5. Repudiation of the loans which were contracted by the Czar's Government upon account of the Russian people, thereby to deal a blow to international capital as one of the factors chiefly responsible for the war.

6. Arming of the laborers and peasants and disarming of the propertied classes.

7. Besides all this, the introduction of a universal obligation to work, for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society, is planned.

As soon as production shall have been consolidated in the hands of the working masses, united in a gigantic asspciation, in which the development of every single individual will appear as the condition for the development of all men; as soon as the old bourgeois state, with its classes and class hatred, is definitely superseded by a firmly established socialistic society, which rests upon universal labor, upon the application and distribution of all productive forces according to plan, and upon the solidarity of all its members, then, along with the disappearance of class differences, will disappear also the necessity for the dictatorship

of the working classes for State power as the instrument of class domination.

These are the immediate internal problems of the Soviet Republic.

In its relations to other nations the Soviet Republic stands upon the principles of the first Internationale, which recognized truth, justice, and morality as the foundation of its relations to all humanity, independent of race, religion, or nationality.

The Socialist Soviet Republic recognizes that wherever one member of the family of humanity is oppressed all humanity is oppressed, and for that reason it proclaims and defends to the utmost the right of all nations to self-determination, and thereby to the free choice of their destiny.

It accords that right to all nations without exception, even to the hundreds of millions of laborers in Asia, Africa, in all colonies and the small countries who, down to the present day, have been oppressed and despoiled without pity by the ruling classes, by the so-called civilized nations.

The Soviet Republic has transformed into deeds the principles proclaimed before its existence. The right of Poland to self-determination having been recognized in the first days of the March revolution, after the overturn in October the Soviet Republic proclaimed the full independence of Finland and the right of the Ukraine, of Armenia, of all the peoples populating the territory of the former Russian Empire, to their full self-determination.

In its efforts to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the Soviet Republic declared itself a Federal Republic and offered to the laborers and peasants of every nation the opportunity to enter as members with equal rights into the fraternal family of the Republic of Soviets (through action taken) independently in the plenipotentiary sessions of their Soviets, to any extent and in whatever form they might wish.

TO WAR AGAINST WAR

The Soviet Republic has declared war upon war, not only in words, but also in deeds; and in doing so it formally and in the name of the working masses of Russia announced its complete renunciation of all efforts at conquest and annexation, as well as all thought of oppressing small nations. At the same time the Soviet Republic, to prove the sincerity of its purposes, broke openly with the policy of secret diplomacy and secret treaties, and it proposed to all belligerent nations to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free self-determination of peoples. That standpoint is still firmly adhered to by the Soviet Republic.

Compelled by the policy of violence practiced by the imperialisms of all the world, the Soviet Republic is marshaling its forces for resistance against the growing demands of the robber packs of international capital, and it looks to the inevitable rebellion of the working classes for the solution of the question of how the nations can live peacefully together. The international Socialist rebellion alone, in which the laboring people of each State overthrow their own imperialists, puts an end to war once for all and creates the conditions for the full realization of the solidarity of the working people of the entire world.

Taking its stand upon the principles of the Internationale, the Soviet Republic recognizes that there can be no rights without duties and no duties without rights, and therefore proclaims at the same time with the right of the working classes in a rejuvenated society the following outline of their duties:

1. To fight everywhere and without sparing their strength for the complete power of the working classes, and to stamp out all attempts to restore the dominion of the despoilers and oppressors.

2. To assist with all their strength in overcoming the depression caused by the war and the opposition of the bourgeoisie, and to co-operate in bringing about as speedy a recovery as possible of production in all branches of economy.

3. To subordinate their personal and group interests to the interests of all the working people of Russia and the whole world.

4. To defend the Republic of the Soviets, the only socialistic bulwark in the capitalistic world, from the attacks of international imperialism without sparing their own strength and even their own lives.

5. To keep in mind always and everywhere the sacred duty of liberating labor from the domination of capital, and to strive for the establishment of a world-embracing fraternal league of working people.

In proclaiming these rights and duties the Russian Socialistic Republic of the Soviets calls upon the working classes of the entire world to accomplish their task to the very end, and in the faith that the Socialist ideal will soon be achieved to write upon their flags the old battle cry of the working people:

"Proletarians of all lands, unite! Long live the socialistic world revolution!"

II.

GENERAL PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALISTIC FEDERAL REPUBLIC

The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialistic Federal Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship over the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry, the power of the Pan Russian Soviet authority, the crushing of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of the spoliation of men by men and the introduction

of socialism in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a State authority.

1. The Russian Republic is the free socialistic society of all the working people of Russia, united in the urban and rural Soviets.

2. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character will be united into autonomous regional associations ruled by the sessions of the Soviets of those regions and their executive organs.

3. The Soviet associations of the regions participate in the Russian Socialistic Republic upon the basis of federation, at the head of which stand the Pan-Russian session of the Soviets and, in periods between the sessions, the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee.

III.

CONCERNING THE RUSSIAN SOVIETS

Section First: Concerning the Suffrage

I. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens of the Russian Socialistic Soviet Republic of both sexes who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of the election:

1. All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society and are members of the trades associations, namely:

(a) Laborers and employes of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, and agriculture.

(b) Peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who hire no labor.

(c) Employes and laborers in the offices of the Soviet Government.

2. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

3. Citizens of the two previous categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

II. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

1. Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase of profits;

2. Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, and so on;

3. Private merchants, trade and commercial intermediaries;

4. Employes of communities for religious worship;

5. Employes and agents of the former police, the gendarmerie corps, and the Ochrana; also members of the dynasty that formerly ruled in Russia;

6. Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also deaf and dumb persons;

7. Persons who have been punished for selfish or dishonorable misdemeanors.

IV.—VII.

PRINCIPLES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RUSSIAN STATE.

The Government is based upon the smallest settlements, (villages and hamlets,) the inhabitants of which may elect one representative to each 100 persons.

The rural Soviets are under the authority of the Soviets of the Volosts, (districts,) and these latter under the Soviets of the Ujesd, (larger regions.)

The urban and Ujesd Soviets elect delegates to sessions of the Government or Oblast Soviets. Each of these bodies chooses independently its own Executive Committee.

The keystone of the whole Constitution is embraced in:

VIII.

CONCERNING THE PAN RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF THE SOVIETS

1. The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets consists of representatives of the urban Soviets, (one delegate for each 25,000 voters,) and representatives of the Government congresses, (one delegate for each 125,000 voters.)

2. The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets will be called together by the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year.

3. The extraordinary Pan Russian Congress will be called together by the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative or upon the demand of the Soviets of districts embracing at least one-third of the entire population of the republic.

4. The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets elects the Central Executive Committee of not more than 200 members.

5. The Pan Russian Executive Committee is responsible to the Pan Russian Congress of Soviets.

6. The Pan Russian Congress of Soviets is the highest power in the republic. In the periods between its sessions that power is represented by the Pan Russian Central Executive Committee.

It is further provided that the Central Executive Committee shall be divided into eleven colleges for administrative functions. These are:

1. Foreign policies.
2. Defense of the country, (army and navy.)
3. Social order and security, (militia,) census of the people, registration of societies and associations, fire department, insurance, organization of the Soviets.
4. Justice.
5. Public economy, (with sub-sections for agriculture, industry and trade, finances, railways, food supply, State property, and construction.)
6. Labor and social welfare.
7. Education and enlightenment of the people.
8. Public health.
9. Post, telegraph, and telephone.
10. Federal and national affairs.
11. Control and auditing.

Moscow's Misery

A Graphic Picture of the Desperate Situation in the Russian Capital

The following account of life in Moscow in the Summer of 1918 was furnished The London Times by an Englishwoman who had been serving for three years with the Russian Red Cross, and who returned to England in July, 1918:

STOI!" (Halt!) A hand clutched my arm and pulled me behind an iron railing into a small courtyard. "Don't be frightened," the voice continued, "you are safe here!"

"What is the matter?" I inquired hastily of the little sheep-skinned *dvornik* (yardman) at my side.

"It's only the Red Guards," he reassured me.

Scarcely were the words spoken when a volley resounded startlingly near. "Poiimali," shouted some distant voice, "we've caught him!"

I moved toward the railing; some 500 yards up the street several armed figures could be seen bending over something lying on the ground. One of them, happening to catch sight of us, waved his rifle threateningly. "Get away, or we'll shoot!" We got away accordingly.

"That's the second they've had this evening in this street," the *dvornik* informed me as he conducted me through a backyard route to another street, "and they say there are still two more to be caught."

"The second what?—which two more?" I was entirely in the dark.

"Two more thieves."

"Oh!" suddenly enlightened, "the Red Guards are shooting down thieves?"

"Yes," he chuckled, "and these thieves are Red Guards, too!"

Curious! The Red Guards trying to establish order. The same old story, "Set a thief to catch a thief!" Such was my welcome to Moscow after an absence of four months. Evidently the town had little improved since those dark days of the civil war in October, 1917. Her inhabitants certainly had quieted down—and I was surprised to find them so passive, so indifferent to famine and the fratricidal warfare around them. February was drawing to a close, Spring was at hand, and still the Bolshevist power was at its height. The intelligent classes were suffering indescribably. A kind of stupor lay on them, they bowed the head and submitted. Daily came the "decrees" from the Soviet, commanding, demanding, threatening; all were read through submissively, meekly.

"Rouse yourselves," some would say, "if we must die, let us die fighting."

"What can one do against 50?" would come the answer.

"Yes," warned another, "endurance and patience only are necessary. Soon the eyes of the people must be opened."

So they waited, their patience tried to the utmost, their nerves strained to breaking point. Banks were in the hands of the Red Guards, all pensions withheld, all investments and percentage papers pronounced invalid. Land proprietors were driven from their estates, country houses pillaged and burned, the spoil divided among the soldiers, and the land taken over by the peasants. Many noblemen's families were obliged to leave at a moment's notice, thankful to escape with their lives, and seek refuge in the towns. Here they would find a lodging as best they could, accepting any work, however humble, to enable them to continue their existence.

DEGRADATION OF THE "BOURGEOISIE"

A labor bureau was opened in Moscow, and in this way work was found for the most needy. In the streets it was no uncommon sight to see gentlewomen in dilapidated attire selling newspapers. One, a professor's daughter, whose husband had been killed by the Bolsheviki

in the Crimea while still in hospital, made a five-mile walk every morning, braving the inclemency of the Winter weather, in order to deliver newspapers, and in this way gain sufficient to keep herself and her children alive. Not long ago this bureau was shut down by the Bolsheviki; "the hour had come to starve the bourgeoisie" they decided. Even the leading newspapers were suppressed, and their offices and large stores of papers confiscated. Officers, dressed as civilians, were to be seen pasting posters on walls. In a house adjoining ours, the duties of house porter were fulfilled by an old General; for this work he received 80 rubles (nominally $40) monthly, and a small room under the staircase. In the same house a young officer had accepted the post of stoker, receiving 40 rubles monthly and a daily dinner. Many officers received quite large salaries for guarding the houses of the "intelligensia" against the Red Guards.

Such was the misery of the intelligent classes that they, in the depths of despair, would sometimes refer to the German invasion as their only chance of salvation. Often would they reproach me, "Why do not the Allies help us in our need?" "Have we then fallen so low that they must reject us altogether?" and again, "How can England look on so calmly when the existence of our country is at stake?" They were indeed difficult questions, nor could I answer them. One woman, military through and through, the wife of a prominent General in the Russo-Japanese war, and mother-in-law of a General whose name all Russia has had on its lips, maddened by some fresh outrage on her fellows, bowed her head before the icon of Christ, and, crossing herself, repeated: "Grant, God, Oh! grant, God, that the Germans may come quickly to deliver us from our countrymen." "Nor can the disgrace be greater than now," she added bitterly. Even under the shelter of one's own roof the feeling of safety was never wholly present. After dusk it was dangerous to venture into the streets; not only was one liable to be searched by the soldiers prowling about for prey, and have one's purse stolen, but overcoats, especially the "shuba" (fur coat), were stripped off their owners without the slightest ceremony.

A girl friend of mine had a singular but disagreeable adventure. The soldiers requisitioned her fur coat, her high snow boots, and her dress, then calling an "izvoztchik," put her into the cab, telling the man to drive her home quickly in order that she should not catch cold!

Night and day the houses of the "bourgeoisie" (according to the version of a Red Guard a "bourgeois" was any one who possessed clean hands and a white collar) were never proof against the Bolshevist so-called "obiesk," (search.) Under the pretext of the confiscation of firearms many flats were completely ransacked, all valuables seized, and in case of resistance on the part of the owners the soldiers were at liberty to respond with their recognized "samo-sud," (self-judgment.) One Russian laughingly said that, on awaking in the morning, it was always a pleasant surprise to find he had not been knifed during the night. Stolen goods might actually be seen hawked around the streets for sale in broad daylight. A market place in Moscow in those days would have put a Chinese bazaar in the shade, and the commercial talents of the soldiers filled all with wonder. At a wave of the hand a soldier could sell you a herring, 1 ruble, a pair of goloshes, 30 rubles, and a Maxim gun, 75 rubles.

At the stations the belongings of the passengers permitted to travel were examined, and all firearms and eatables confiscated. The latter, no sooner in the hands of the Red Guards, were put up for auction, and a few rubles, added to a certain amount of bold strategy, often enabled the traveler to rebuy his goods.

The daily ration of bread for each person was one-eighth of a pound; sometimes two potatoes were given instead.

Austrian and German prisoners were at large. Many a party was to be seen sauntering about the streets. Nobody paid any attention to them, and they came and went at their will.

Then one day came the news of the German invasion, followed by the incomprehensible call of Lenine and Trotzky—

"Comrades! To arms for the honor of your country!"—and swiftly on this the signing of the peace treaty at Brest-Litovsk.

The horror and shame experienced by the intelligent mind knew no bounds. "Now," it realized, "are we disgraced for ever in the world's history." Descriptive of the situation was a conversation I overheard some days later in a tramway car, in which a standing place could be obtained only by violent pushing or a veritable hand-to-hand fight.

"Order! Oh! for order," sighed an old man of the mujik type.

"We shall soon have order," rejoined some one cynically—"the Germans are coming, they will bring order with them!"

A silence followed, then came the same voice again. "They may be here in a week, look to it that you buy all the flowers you can to welcome them! The flower shops will soon be doing a fine trade!"

A middle-aged woman of refined features suddenly turned her head, and bitter lines were playing about her mouth.

"Yes," she said, "when the Germans come we shall buy flowers, but they will be to lay on the grave of a mighty empire that has fallen!"

The Birth of a Nation

First Raising of the Jugoslav Flag in Washington and the Addresses Delivered

IN connection with the Fourth of July (1918) celebration in Washington the Jugoslavs raised for the first time officially their flag of unity and independence in the national capital. They intended to mark therewith the turning point in their struggle for freedom, the point which emphasizes that there can be no more division between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, constituting the Jugoslav Nation; that their unity is an accomplished fact for which they will fight, and that this fact must be taken into account and given the final imprimatur at the future peace conference. The new flag, in which the arms of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia are interwoven, symbolizes long strivings in the past, all centred toward national unity and independence.

Many thousands had gathered in the grounds of the Agricultural Building to witness the flag raising. The procession, carrying the flag, started from New York Avenue. It consisted of hundreds of Jugoslavs in their national costumes, and of hundreds of Sokols (Jugoslav gymnastic societies) in their picturesque uniforms. The flag itself was carried by four girls representing Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and America. America was represented by little Betty Baker, daughter of the Secretary of War. The arrival of the flag on the grounds was greeted by Jugoslavs and Americans with loud cheers, and the Jugoslav National Orchestra played the Serbian anthem. The spectators included Miss Masaryk, daughter of Professor Masaryk, the leader of the Czechoslovak movement.

SERBIAN MINISTER'S SPEECH

The Serbian Minister to the United States, Liubomir Michailovitch, raised the flag amid a storm of cheers and addressed the assembly as follows:

> When the founders of this great Republic, on this very day 142 years ago, proclaimed their independence, they proclaimed the principles which, one day, will conquer the whole world. These principles of the liberty of person and of government were first clearly expressed in the American Revolution, which deserves to be called the cradle of modern liberty. The Declaration of Independence is the statement of the noble rights of liberty. America has created a system of principles which is today the ideal of the entire civilized world. This system does not find its expression only in the Government of the United States, but also and especially in the democratic education of its citizens, who have made their country the most enlightened in the world.

America has become the refuge of all who are oppressed. It has become the home of liberty. There is therefore nothing surprising in the fact that we, oppressed peoples, have found protectors in these representatives of modern liberty. But it is not only protection that is given us, they have taken up our defense. Today on the battlefields of Europe there are already a million of these defenders of the liberty of the world. They will be followed by another million, and by yet more millions, until that association of criminals composed of the German, Magyar, Turkish, and Bulgarian hordes, whose one thought is to crush the freedom of the civilized world, has been destroyed.

Pan Germanism is a dangerous system. While we were all working for the peaceable progress of our respective countries, and for the progress of humanity, Pan Germanism was preparing all its forces to impose its rule on the entire world by brutal force. When the Germans found allies in Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey they declared war on the civilized world. We in Europe defended ourselves for three years, and then this country saw that the liberty of the world was in danger; faithful to its principles, it came to our aid. * * *

The heart of this Pan-German system is Austria-Hungary. Her very existence is due to a reign of force over oppressed nationalities. Austria-Hungary was given the task of blazing the way for Pan Germanism toward the East. She would have succeeded if we Slavs had not barred her route, and when our resistance threatened to cause the collapse of the German plan, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, the centre of this resistance. This world war did not begin by accident between Austria-Hungary and Serbia; upon the issue of the clash between these two States depended the victory or the defeat of the Pan-German plan. Free and democratic Serbia was the model of what we Jugoslavs desired to create for our country, but its realization meant the downfall of Austria-Hungary.

Germany, therefore, undertook to save Austria-Hungary by destroying the only free part of the Jugoslav countries, Serbia. But our enemies were mistaken. They have destroyed the frontiers of Serbia, but they have united our nation—have united Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—in the struggle against the enemies of liberty. We have become united under the yoke of the enemy. Proof of this national union is our flag. We have raised this flag of liberty and union. Let us swear to be always ready to die for it.

When the Serbian Minister concluded, the Jugoslav Choral Societies sang the Jugoslav anthem, and then Dr. Bogumil Voshniak, member of the Jugoslav Committee in London, made the following speech:

Thirty million human beings, the Slav and Latin subjects of the Hapsburg autocracy, are prepared to shake off in open revolt a shameful yoke, and they are addressing the American people and the Allies: "Help us in this final struggle, whose issue is for us death or complete independence." In this hour the victims of autocracy are looking from their dungeons, from their scaffolds, to a city beyond the ocean, to this your capital, from which President Wilson proclaimed the gospel of world democracy. Before they are hanged or shot the victims of the Hapsburgs cheer the ideals of democracy, of free and independent Jugoslavia.

The Jugoslavs are receiving the torch of civic liberty from the hands of America. An old building, the dying empire of Austria-Hungary, is already on fire. This empire was a menace to the freedom of every country in the world, and consequently also to American freedom. Between Americanism and the Austro-German spirit is no compromise; they exclude each other, as death life, water fire. Therefore, America must struggle until this spirit is defeated.

It is not a mere chance that America and the Anglo-Saxons give the lead to all nations who wish to free enslaved peoples. This tendency has its own ancient traditions. Remember that Lincoln said in 1861 in the Independence Hall of Philadelphia: "The Declaration of Independence gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time." The fathers of the Declaration of Independence signed that Magna Charta for all peoples on earth.

The raising of the new flag of the Jugoslav State is a festival of brotherhood. Not by conquest, but by common consent, by a social contract, seven millions of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes of Austria-Hungary, who long unanimously for complete independence, will merge with the Serbs of Serbia in a new Commonwealth. The new flag symbolizes the dawn of a better, more generous, more human relationship among all nations. We can expect that after the war the words of Emerson will be realized: "New men, new thoughts, new lands."

The Jugoslav Committee, representing the Jugoslavs of Austria-Hungary in the allied countries, worked from the beginning of this war for the lofty vision of Jugoslavia. Her standard we carried on the painful roads of exile. Today Jugoslavia is no more a vision, it is on the way to be fact. We and millions, wait-

ing in suffering and stress the day of redemption, hear today from Mount Vernon the voice of the seer and democratic prophet. This voice gives comfort and courage and unflinching will to be victorious.

BOHEMIA AND POLAND

The Jugoslavs have been in this war the first to preach in Western Europe rebellion against the Hapsburgs. They greet the two sister nations with which they share the same destiny. In these days the Czechs, who lost their independence in the battle of the White Mountain, have been recognized as an independent nation. We Jugoslavs are happy that Poland and Bohemia, after centuries of reverses, have regained their international position in the society of nations. We pledge here solemnly that Jugoslavs will work harmoniously and in brotherly understanding with independent Bohemia and Poland in one great purpose: the complete destruction of Prussianism.

But after victory our flag will never be the standard of militarism, as our Commonwealth will be peaceful, without imperialistic aims. This will be the flag of a nation which, in productive work, in energetic labor, in the arts of peace, in the strife of intellectual life, in equality and social solidarity, sees the highest form of noble citizenship.

Eternal justice demands that the death of all who died for the redemption of the whole nation shall not be in vain. Their sacrifice will be rewarded only if future generations shall be happy under this new flag. * * * The sun is rising behind the tomb of Washington and behind the Capital. This is the new sun of a new era. The new age is forged in the battlefields of Europe and wherever rebels are fighting in this colossal ordeal. In this solemn hour we raise this flag of present revolt, but of future peaceful reconstructive work.

Dr. Voshniak was followed by Milosh Ivanovitch of the Montenegrin Committee for National Unity, who said:

As the representative of the Montenegrin Committee for National Unity, I am happy to greet the Jugoslav flag, the sign of Jugoslav national unity. The five-centuries-old ideal of our nation—freedom and unity—was also the unbroken ideal of our mountainous little Montenegro. There in those mountains the spark of freedom was kept from one Kosovo to another. It was kept to develop into a mighty fire to destroy the monster Austria, on whose ruins a free, united and democratic Jugoslavia must be erected. Out of the blood of millions of martyred fighters for the freedom of our nation there arises this flag of unity, and the national dream becomes reality.

* * *

THE OATH OF FEALTY

The next speaker was Don Niko Grskovitch, President of the Croatian League in the United States, and Vice President of the Jugoslav National Council, who invited the assembled Jugoslavs to take a solemn oath to serve the new flag until death. He said:

Our first bow to thee, Star-Spangled Banner of Freedom, for thou art leading the struggle for truth and justice against might and injustice. Our first thanks to noble America, who received us like a mother when perfidious Austria dragged us away, bare and hungry, from our homes. Thank you to Heaven, proud eagles of Columbia, for you are today taking under your wings the bowed but not broken spears of our struggling nation, our spotless colors, our flags soaked in blood of countless martyrs. You fill our hearts with joy, you strengthen our souls, you give us strength and determination to hold out in the struggle until this flag flies over our free country. * * *

Let us raise our hands and swear to our flag of unity that we will sacrifice everything, even our lives, to make her a worthy daughter and comrade of the Star-Spangled Banner, to which we, who swore fidelity to her, shall remain forever faithful, and in which our whole nation recognizes its protector.

Let us swear by the milk of our mothers, by the love of our brides and sweethearts, by the blood of our children, by the sight of our eyes, and by all which is dearest to us, that we will remain faithful citizens and thankful guests of America.

Let us swear by the graves of our martyrs and heroes, by the Peter Mountain and by Kosovo, that under the protection of the flag of freedom and led by the flag of our unity, we will revenge the innocent blood of Peter Svashitch, of the nine Jugovitch, of Lunder and of Adamitch. So help us God the Avenger!

Let us swear by the depths of the Adriatic, by the heights of Durmitor, by the snowy peaks of Triglav, that we will defend this our flag of unity with our brains, our hearts, and our blood, that we will love her and hold her sacred and ready to be proudly raised over the ruins of Belgrade, over our beautiful Zagreb and over white Ljubljana. Whoever becomes faithless to thee, flag of unity, may be judged by the God of our fathers, and punished by the revenge of our martyred nation. And as free as our flag flies today in the free air of America, so free may it fly over a proud, free, and independent Jugoslavia!

The Czechoslovaks Recognized as a Nation

Their Armies on Three Fronts

THE war has brought about two separate though closely related movements among the Slavic populations of Austria-Hungary for independence. While the south Slavs in the Balkans and in the neighboring provinces of Austria-Hungary have organized a new nation to be known as Jugoslavia, (pronounced Yugoslavia,) centring about Serbia and its King, the isolated Slavs in northern Austria-Hungary, known as the Czechs of Bohemia and the Slovaks of Silesia, have vigorously pushed a similar movement of revolt against the Dual Empire, demanding complete independence. Both movements during the Summer of 1918 attained proportions that commanded international attention.

At the beginning of the war the armies of Francis Joseph contained about 600,000 Czechoslovaks, (pronounced Checkoslovaks,) that is, 600,000 western Slavs who were compelled by the Austro-Hungarian Government to fight against their Slavic kindred of Russia. It is estimated that at least 350,000 of these passed—not without peril—into the Russian and Serbian camps, ready there to fight against their oppressors. In Russia alone at the close of the fighting on that front there were 300,000 of these willing prisoners of war, and the majority of them had been organized into fighting units and were doing heroic service on the side of the Allies. Theirs were almost the only units to remain unaffected by the Bolshevist ideas that disintegrated the Russian armies. During the débâcle that followed in July, 1917, General Brusiloff said of the Czechoslovaks: "Abandoned at Tarnopol by our infantry, they fought in a way that ought to make the whole world fall on its knees before them."

When the whole Russian front crumbled at the time of the Bolshevist peace of Brest-Litovsk these hundreds of thousands of patriotic western Slavs were left stranded, but at the word of one man, Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, Chief of the Czechoslovak National Council, with headquarters at Washington, they reorganized and started to march across Russia and Siberia in order to cross the Pacific and Atlantic and fight the Central Powers again in France. How the Bolshevists, at Germany's behest, tried to disarm them and sent German ex-prisoners to fight them—in vain—is told elsewhere in these pages. It is estimated that at least 100,000 of these Czechoslovaks are still under arms in Russia and Siberia, and that others are joining them. This is the force to whose aid the Japanese and American expedition has been sent. Smaller Czechoslovak units are fighting in France and in Italy under their own flag. The total of these three armies in August, 1918, was estimated at 150,000.

RECOGNIZED AS A NATION

The movement to win independence for the Czechoslovaks was led by Professor Masaryk from the first day of the war, and through the Czechoslovak National Council, which now has its headquarters at Washington, the movement has won a place among the recognized war aims of the Allies. France and Italy were the first to give the new nation formal recognition, and Great Britain followed a few weeks later.

On June 30, 1918, President Poincaré of France, with a large company of Government officials, journeyed to the war zone to make a formal presentation of the Czechoslovak flag to the soldiers of that nationality. On this occasion M. Pichon, the Foreign Secretary, addressed a letter to the Czechoslovak National Council in which he said:

> At the moment when the first unit of the autonomous Czechoslovak Army of France is preparing to quit its quarters and, having received its flag, to proceed to man a sector amidst its French brothers in arms, the Government of the Republic deems it equitable and necessary to proclaim the rights of your nation to independence. * * * For long centuries the Czechoslovak nation possessed the incomparable blessing of independence. It

was deprived of it by the violence of the Hapsburgs allied with Germanic Princes. The historic rights of nations are imprescriptible. It is for the defense of these rights that France, attacked, is fighting today, together with her allies. The cause of the Czechs is specially dear to it. * * *

In the name of the Government of the Republic I express the sincerest and warmest wishes that the Czechoslovak State may soon become by the common efforts of all the Allies, in close union with Poland and the Jugoslav State, an impassable barrier to Germanic aggression and a factor of peace in a Europe reconstructed according to the principles of justice and the right of nationalities.

Professor Masaryk, Chief of the National Council, replied:

Recognition of the independent Czechoslovak State means the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, reducing Germany to her own national forces. The independent Czechoslovak State is the final check to Pan-German schemes of a Berlin-to-Bagdad route. The anti-German barrier formed by the Czechoslovak State, Poland, Jugoslavia, Rumania, and Italy is also the surest help to Russia and the small nations now under Austro-German domination. Russia, separated from the Germans and the Magyars, can develop without direct German interference.

PRESIDENT POINCARE'S SPEECH

The President of France, in presenting the colors, said in part:

When the Government of the French Republic created the Czechoslovak Army and recognized, with its allies, the authority of the Czechoslovak National Council, it desired at the same time to give proof of its gratitude to brave soldiers, many of whom had enlisted at the beginning of the war under the French flag, and to consecrate the legitimate independence of a nation that has never succumbed under the burden of misfortune and has never resigned itself to foreign domination.

From the first day on which Austria, faithful servant of German ambitions, threw an outrageous ultimatum into the face of Serbia, and, not content with deliberately humiliating a defenseless neighbor, suddenly attacked her in order to give Germany an opportunity, so long sought, for a double declaration of war against Russia and France, we had no inclination to treat as enemies the Czechs who were living in France, especially the young students attending our universities. We knew their sentiments and desires. We trusted in their friendship. Most of them, far from taking refuge in neutrality and indifference, immediately sought the honor of fighting beside us, and for nearly four years they have distinguished themselves by their bravery in Flanders, in Picardy, in Champagne, everywhere that their French commanders sent them; they have won the most beautiful citations and deserved the most glorious rewards; they have found once more, after so many centuries of oppression and suppression the warlike ardor of Jean Ziska, of Procopus the Great, of George Podiebrad.

This little nucleus of volunteers grew rapidly. Czechs forcibly incorporated in the Austro-Hungarian armies and succeeding through prodigies of will in getting free of their chains, other Czechs coming from all parts of the world at the call of their brothers, gradually grouped themselves under the auspices of the National Council and ended by forming armed units sufficiently numerous and homogeneous to be united in a distinct army and to receive a national flag.

Officers and soldiers, the flag that I hand you today is for you henceforth a rally sign and an emblem of hope. When you see floating freely in the breeze of France the two flags of Bohemia, when you see here the old lion of your ancestors and the image of the three Slovak Mountains, let imagination transport you to the valleys of the Elbe and the Moldau, think of the long sufferings of your native country, hear the familiar voices that are adjuring you to deliver your enslaved firesides at the point of the sword.

The history of Bohemia is that of a long resistance to Germanic penetration. Neither violence nor deception has shaken your national will. You have never known discouragement. Your fathers have transmitted to you the flame that never dies and you have followed with growing confidence their task of liberation. * * *

On May 30, 1917, in the Reichsrat, the Czech Deputies proclaimed the resolution of their nation, including the Slovaks of Hungary, to unite in an independent State. On Jan. 6, 1918, the same Deputies, assembled at Prague with the representatives of the Diets of Bohemia, of Moravia, and of Silesia, solemnly asserted the rights of the Czech countries and declared that a peace which did not bring justice to their oppressed people would mark the beginning of a new and stubborn conflict. On April 13—still a memorable day—the Deputies of the Czechoslovak Nation and those of the Jugoslav Nation, the latter speaking in the name of the Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs, met in your charming capital and made a joint agreement, through an oath worthy

of being engraved in bronze, to suffer and struggle relentlessly to free their peoples from the foreign yoke and bring into the dust the old imperialistic Europe, covered, as they said, with the maledictions of humanity. More recently, on May 16, 1918, Prague celebrated the centenary of the laying of the first stone of the National Theatre, and there were present 200 Jugoslav delegates, the Mayors of Zagreb and Ljubljana, the Socialist leaders of the Slovenes and Croats, besides Poles, Italians from Trent, Rumanians from Transylvania; and all, despite the brutalities of the police, swore to devote their lives and wealth to obtaining State unity for their respective nations, at the same time, despite imprisonments and arbitrary suppression, acclaiming the Entente Powers and singing the "Marseillaise." How could France remain deaf to those cries or insensible to the groans of these victims?

BRITISH RECOGNITION

The British Government on Aug. 13 issued a declaration formally recognizing the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation and the Czechoslovak armies as an allied force regularly waging warfare against the Central Powers. The text is as follows:

> Since the beginning of the war the Czechoslovak Nation has resisted the common enemy by every means in its power. The Czechoslovaks have constituted a considerable army, fighting on three different battlefields, and attempting in Russia and Siberia to arrest the Germanic invasion. In consideration of their efforts to achieve independence, Great Britain regards the Czechoslovaks as an allied nation and recognizes the unity of the three Czechoslovak armies as an allied and belligerent army waging regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany. Great Britain also recognizes the right of the Czechoslovak National Council as the supreme organ of Czechoslovak national interests and as the present trustee of the future Czechoslovak Government to exercise supreme authority over this allied and belligerent army.

Professor Masaryk, on behalf of the National Council, sent the following reply to Secretary Balfour:

> This step is conclusive evidence for all oppressed nations of Austria-Hungary and Europe of the earnestness with which your nation is waging this war as one for the liberation of the oppressed nationalities. Our nation, when entirely free, was in close political and spiritual union with the English Nation; this war restored this union. Our liberated nation will be an effective barrier to Pan-German aggression and a faithful ally of the combined fighting democracies.

The United States up to that time had not formally recognized the Czechoslovak Nation, though the State Department had implied a friendly attitude in its announcement of help for the Czechoslovak Army in Siberia.

The Czechoslovaks of Bohemia and Moravia

By E. JORDAN

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THE Czechoslovaks enter history in the second half of the ninth century. At that time they were a part of the great Moravian Empire of Svatopluk. They had already come in conflict with the Germans. It was a German intrigue that caused the failure of the great project of St. Methodius, the apostle of the Slavs, to give the Slavs a national liturgy in union with Rome, and to make them the third branch of the universal Church. By this event the Slavic world was condemned to religious dismemberment, to partition between Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, which has been one of its misfortunes. Then at the beginning of the tenth century the Hungarian invasion destroyed the Moravian Empire and cut off the South Slavs from the North Slavs. The eternal enemies of the Slavic race were already at work.

After the tenth century Bohemia, under its national Dukes of the Przmyslides family, became subject to German influence. From Germany it received, partly by force, Christianity of the Latin rite; for Germany religious propaganda has always been a means of domination. The Dukes felt the attraction of a civil-

ization that was then superior to their own; in return for the title of King they allowed themselves to be incorporated in the empire. Such was the policy, rather dynastic than national, of the great Przmyslides of the thirteenth century, Ottokar I., (1197-1230,) who was the first to get the full title of royalty; Ottokar II., (1253-1278,) who conquered Austria, Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, acquisitions that would have made a bridge between the North Slavs and South Slavs.

Bohemia was half Germanized. At the Court among the nobility the German language and customs prevailed, and the cities were full of German merchants. We find here one of those cases of ethnographic conflict between the upper and lower classes, between the cities and the farming districts, so frequent in Eastern Europe, and so deplorable. At length the exploitation of the mines and the exhaustion of the forests led to an intense German colonization of the mountainous regions surrounding Bohemia. Bohemian ethnography began to take on the aspect it has since kept. A certain national spirit was preserved, however, and Ottokar II. knew how to appeal to it at the moment of beginning the struggle against the founder of the Austrian dynasty, Rudolph of Hapsburg, in which he was to lose his life and Bohemia her conquests, (battle of Marchfeld, 1278;) witness his alliance with the Polish Princes, based, as the treaty states, "on nature and on kinship of blood"; witness also his appeal to the Polish people: "If Bohemia, your thoroughfare, is conquered, these insatiable Germans will get their greedy hands on you also."

The foreign dynasty, French as much as German, of the Luxemburgs, favored a Czech revival. This was especially the case under Charles IV., (1346-78,) a German Emperor, but "a father-in-law for Germany, a loving father for Bohemia," as Maximilian said long afterward; if by the Golden Bull he confirmed the subserviency of Bohemia to the empire, he also established its autonomy and privileges. He gave back to the Czech language, which he loved to speak, the status of an official tongue; succeeded in having Prague, hitherto a dependency of Mayence, erected into an Archbishopric; founded there a monastery of the paleoslavic rite, built the new city, soon peopled mainly by Czechs; founded (1348) the University of Prague, embellished his capital with admirable monuments, the work of Frenchmen or inspired by French models; in a word, he raised Bohemia into the first rank.

Under his successor, Venceslas, began the Hussite movement, which was as much national as religious. It started with a reform of the university charter which placed the Czechs in control and caused the Germans to depart. Huss created Czech literary prose. Race hatred, quite as much as orthodox zeal, brought down the German crusade on Bohemia. "What cause of war have they against us," asked a Prague manifesto, "save the eternal hatred which they cherish against our people?" The Hussite wars left Bohemia devastated and depopulated, but profoundly conscious of its nationality.

Unfortunately the Czechs could not maintain a national royalty, like that of which the reign of Podiebrad, (1458-71,) was an interesting example. In 1526 the States of the kingdom elected as their ruler King Ferdinand I. of Hapsburg, brother of Emperor Charles V. An accursed date, and the beginning of denationalization!

Ferdinand I. declared his crown hereditary and independent of the States, but this was nothing compared with the events of the seventeenth century. In 1618 Bohemia rose against Ferdinand II., and when he vanquished the Bohemians in 1620 at the White Mountain he avenged himself by the most terrible acts of repression. Twenty-seven nobles were beheaded and 659 others exiled, all their property confiscated, with two-thirds of the feudal tenures and domains of the cities; adventurers formed a new nobility in place of the national nobility; the middle class being ruined, the Czech element found itself reduced to the lower classes. The new "Constitution" established absolutism and assured to the German language—at first along with the

Czech, but soon in preference to it—the status of the official language.

Bohemia at least still remained Bohemia, a State united to the other domains of the Hapsburgs by a tie that was wholly personal. The Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI., the act of 1749 by Maria Theresa, the centralizing and Germanizing reforms of Joseph II., the adoption in 1804 of the title of Emperor of Austria, tended to deprive Bohemia of the last remnants of its individuality.

The national consciousness was obliterated. The few remaining patriots despaired of the future. In 1790 Pelcel said that in fifty years it would be hard to find a Czech. In 1810 Dobrovsky wrote to Kopitar: "Our nation's cause is lost if God does not help us." In 1827 Jungmann wrote: "We seem to have the sad fate of being at once the witnesses and the accomplices of the annihilation of our mother tongue."

The work of resurrection, however, had already begun. As in the case of many other oppressed peoples, it was literature and learning, ever quicker than political action to win freedom, which, rummaging in the past for the beginnings of the race, restored to it, so to speak, its soul. Dobrovsky, creator of Slavic philology in his "Paleo-Slavic Principles," (1822;) Jungmann, who made the Czech language again a living tongue with his "Czech Dictionary," (1834-39;) the poet Kollar, singer of the "Daughter of Slava," (1824;) Chafarik, a Slovak, author of "Slavic Antiquities;" Palacky, whose great "History of the Czech Nation" began to appear in 1836 —these were the "Czech awakeners."

There came the crisis of 1848. This people, which had so much to complain of against the Hapsburgs, never entertained any blind hatred in regard to them. Against the tendencies of the Parliament of Frankfort, much more Pan German than liberal, the Czechs felt that Austria was in a certain sense the condition of their existence. Hence the famous saying of Palacky: "If Austria did not exist, it would have to be invented." Bohemia was rewarded, as was Croatia, for having aided the Hapsburgs against Hungary. But Austria did not wish to regenerate itself by a loyal federalism. Even its reverses did not convert it. After 1859 it was the centralizing constitution of 1861 whose electoral system was cleverly devised to keep down the Slavs. After 1866 it was the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867, whose spirit regarding the Slavs was expressed in the brutal threat of Beust: "We will stick them up against the wall," and in his words to the Hungarian delegates: "Keep your hordes, we will keep ours."

Since then Bohemia has worn itself out in efforts to obtain justice. It has seen too many promises violated to retain the smallest illusion. What it can expect from the Germans, and from an Austria more and more subject to Germany, has been stated by Mommsen, a great German, and his intellectual superiority only renders more characteristic the hateful brutality of his language: "The Czech skull does not understand reason, but it understands blows. It is a matter of a life-and-death combat."

The Czechs of Bohemia, to whom must be added the Slovaks of Hungary, constitute a group of almost 10,000,000 people, whose intellectual activity and economic progress are alike brilliant. Are they always to be refused the right of free development? The world has suddenly realized that the war is both a terrible danger and a unique opportunity for these people. The victory of the Central Empires would be the realization of Pan German dreams, the Germanization of Austria, the enslavement of the Slavs. Their defeat will mean liberation. Bohemia has shown that she realizes this. The measures that Austria and Hungary have adopted in the Czech and Slovak districts surpass anything that Germany has done in Alsace; that tells the whole story. All political life suspended, political parties dissolved, their leaders imprisoned or exiled, three-quarters of the newspapers suppressed, more than a thousand condemned to death, including many women, a system of confiscations and hostages, Germanization to the limit —this is the state of affairs that must be abolished.

Kerensky's Attitude on Intervention

Speeches in London and Paris

ALEXANDER KERENSKY, former Premier of Russia, was driven from power by the Bolshevist revolution at the beginning of November, 1917, and had to flee for his life and remain in hiding through the ensuing months. How he escaped detection and finally reached England may not at present be explained. Kerensky reached London in the latter part of June, 1918, and early in July went to Paris. In both places he met with much friendliness, and some opposition, the latter mostly from the ultra-radical Socialists, and in both places he delivered addresses advocating joint intervention of the Entente Allies in Russia.

The appearance of Kerensky before the Labor Party Conference in London, on June 27, was preceded by some opposition to hearing him, but in the end he was enthusiastically invited to address the body, which included delegates from France, Belgium, Sweden, and other countries. After kissing the British labor leader, Arthur Henderson, on the cheek—to his obvious surprise—Mr. Kerensky spoke as follows in Russian, and Mr. Henderson later read this translation:

Yesterday one of the members of the conference asked the Chairman, "What right has Kerensky to be present at the conference?" I shall answer the question myself. I am here not as a matter of right, but as a matter of duty. It is my duty, as a man who knows all that truth which for a long time did not reach the ears of the peoples of Western Europe and America. You must know it, because in the great and terrible world war the most vital interests of the allied countries are inextricably interwoven; and the fate of a country which bore the burden of a front which was greater in length than all the combined fronts of the other Allies cannot be a matter of indifference for the future of all the Allies, just as for her it cannot be a matter of indifference what is the internal and external situation of the countries which for all these years have shared with her the vicissitudes of fortune.

I did not come here to beg or to complain. The Russian people has in times gone by passed through trials like the present, and has always emerged from these trials strengthened and renewed. And now, bending under the merciless onset of Germany, which has skillfully exploited in its interests the heavy legacy of our old régime, Russia, bleeding at every pore, still opposes the enemy's invasion. I bear witness here that the Russian people will never recognize the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which is hurling Russia into the abyss of annihilation.

For three years the Russian Army, the Russian soldiers, had to fight an enemy, perfectly equipped and cruelly merciless, without proper arms, sometimes with sticks in their hands, under conditions which no one outside Russia can imagine. It is not to be wondered at that, having repeatedly suffered and borne the blows of the enemy, having in their turn again and again hit him hard, thereby saving the western front, the Russian soldiers, for whom their own country, under the Czar's Government, was a stepmother, were the first among the belligerents to faint in the struggle.

The great Russian revolution instilled new courage into the tired spirit, but could not immediately revive the macerated bodies, and it was a thousand pities that the warning voices coming from Russia were not at the time heeded by the western allies.

A GERMAN PEACE

The treacherous calls of peace by Germany were not unmasked, and the mass of the Russian soldiers, incited by genuine fanatics and by German agents, were taken in by the false appeals only to feel on their own backs all the bitterness of a German peace. The Ukrainian peasant understood how the Germans secured the independence of small nationalities, when German bayonets and chemical vapors were employed to rob him of his last crust of bread and to reinstate all the atrocities of the old régime. The Russian peasant, when he returned to his village that was cut off from the fertile provinces of Russia which supplied her with essential provisions of victuals, understood what annexations and contributions mean. The Russian workmen, too, realized their position when, in their thousands, they were thrown out of work. They understood then the meaning of the dictatorship, not of the proletariat, but over the proletariat, who have lost all the political rights which the revolution gave them, and who again live under the police terrorism of the old régime.

The Russian workingmen, together with other classes of Russians, strongly pro-

test now against the tyranny that again reigns in Russia. Probably most of you have recently seen in the papers the resolution that the Moscow workmen have passed demanding the reinstatement of democratic institutions and the termination of tyranny. As I have said just now, the workmen protest against tyranny. But I do not insist on that description of the state of affairs now existing in Russia.

To my astonishment some very serious European political men consider the régime as democratic—the régime which has dispersed the Constituent Assembly, abolished freedom of speech, made human life the easy prey of every Red Guardsman, destroyed the liberty of elections even in the Councils of the Workmen, and made an end of all the institutions of self-government that have been elected by universal suffrage. If this method of dealing with the population may be considered democratic, then I may be permitted to ask what may be the essence and the characteristic features of genuine reaction?

The Bolsheviki, or by whatever name they themselves now wish to be known, claim that the present state of Russia is a dictatorship of the proletariat, although the most ruthless repression is applied against the Democratic and Socialist parties in Russia and the toiling masses. War has been organized against the helpless population, and every Russian citizen who refuses to recognize this method of government as perfect is declared a counter-revolutionary. That is the position of affairs in Russia. Here you might ask me the perfectly reasonable question how this state of things can be maintained if it is opposed by practically the whole population. This precisely is the question the reply to which reveals the rôle of that unseverable connection which exists in time of war between the internal state of affairs of a country and the general international situation.

RESULTS OF BOLSHEVISM

I have no desire to attempt an estimate of the personal motives of certain individuals or to attribute ill-will to causes that have led to great catastrophes—the most imperfect method of explaining historical events. The motives of men are of no importance; it is the actual result of their actions that matters. Now the actual result of the acts of Bolshevism, whose strength mainly lay in the disorganization of the wornout masses of soldiers, was merely to be the vanguard of the triumphing German imperialism.

At the present time it is equally advantageous to German imperialism to create strong reactionary powers in the rich provinces which can supply raw material and fuel, and to favor decomposition and anarchy in the very heart of the country. To reach this aim Germany must paralyze the Russian centre. That is the true inwardness of the connection between the interior affairs of Russia and this or that result of the world war. Thus the interests and the fate of the Russian people receive a special significance and value for the whole world, and more particularly for the interests of the world's democracy.

The Russian people alone may not be able to overcome the ghoul of international reaction that is holding them by the throat. Perhaps abandoned by all, Russia will perish from want of blood. But she will never of her own will submit to the humiliation and shameful treason of Brest-Litovsk. It is for you, the oldest and most mature democracies of the whole world, to settle the question whether it is or is not possible to remain a calm spectator of that unheard-of tragedy.

I have finished. It may be that tomorrow calumny and slander will begin its work again, and attempts will be made to deny the truth of all I have said today. But, comrades, I would never have crossed thousands of miles of the Arctic Ocean to tell to the western lands and America a single word that I did not profoundly know to be the absolute truth.

KERENSKY IN PARIS

At an important meeting of the Permanent Administrative Commission of the French Socialist Party, held in Paris July 3, M. Kerensky spoke for two hours on behalf of allied intervention in Russia. He said in part:

At its beginning the Russian revolution seemed destined to mark a great epoch in the nation's history. Today the benefits of the revolution have been sacrificed, and Russia is losing all that her newborn democracy had won. All her lower instincts have been exploited by those whose duty it was to guide her toward the right, and the disorganization of all the essential machinery of the nation's life has rendered the present crisis still graver and almost without issue.

It was amid extreme confusion, in which individual egoism held the upper hand, that Russia last year faced the question of the necessity for national defense. Every one knows what happened. Russia is now paying very dearly for the ignorance and credulity of her masses.

Today Russia has the choice of two attitudes: Either to prepare a counter-revolution with the reactionary elements, or to shape a situation that will permit the democratic elements to assume the

mastery while leaning for support upon the democratic forces of the western nations. We refuse to serve the schemes of the reactionaries, who think that the first step toward establishing their affairs is to promote those of Germany. We prefer a longer road, which, though bristling with obstacles, leads to combat with Prussian militarism.

Some of you are astonished that the Constituent Assembly could be dissolved. It should be remembered that this was accomplished through the masses of demoralized soldiers for whom the Constituent Assembly represented the obligation to continue the war. * * * At the present time official Russia is not Russia. The first duty is to arouse national sentiment in a people that has abandoned itself to evil ideas; and to help save Russia the French Socialists should not play the game of international reaction which the Bolshevist activities are really supporting. All Socialists, from Plekhanoff to the internationalist Martoff, consider that the Bolshevist régime—which under the name of socialism is following the worst methods of Czarism—is the gravest danger for socialism, because the bourgeoisie is exploiting its deeds to discredit our ideals.

At present all the rich regions of old Russia are in the hands of the Germans; at Moscow von Mirbach speaks as the master. We find ourselves facing these alternatives: Either Russia must enter into an alliance with Germany, as advocated by the reactionary elements, who desire for Russia what Skoropadsky obtained in the Ukraine; or the democratic and patriotic bourgeois elements must obtain control with the aid of the democrats of the Entente.

There is an analogy between the present situation in Russia and that of France under the great Revolution, when the armies of the imperial coalition had penetrated deep into the country. The French Revolution did not surrender. In 1871, also, the movement of the Commune, though revolutionary, was a movement of national protest; the defeatists were at Versailles, not in the ranks of the Communists. Compare their attitude, comrades, with that of the Bolsheviki, who have signed a peace ten thousand times more humiliating than that of 1871.

M. Kerensky on July 9 addressed a session of the French Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs, at which there was a large attendance of Senators and Deputies of all political parties. He again described the situation in Russia and depicted the dangers incurred through the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, followed as it was by Germany's ever-tightening grip on the country. He advocated immediate joint intervention on the part of the Allies with the object of continuing on Russian soil the common struggle against the Central Powers.

Kerensky and Korniloff

Two Important Documents Which Indicate a Betrayal of Korniloff

IN reply to a statement made at Paris by former Premier Kerensky, in which he asserted that he did not betray General Korniloff for the reason that "he was never in the plot with him," Comte Gaston de Mérindal, a French publicist, made public two documents, the authenticity of which he guarantees. The first is the statement made at headquarters to the Chiefs of the Military Missions of the Entente by General Lukomsky, head of the General Staff, on Sept. 9, 1917, (Old Style, Aug. 29.) The second document is the statement made on Sept. 24, 1917, to the same missions by General Alexeieff, (at that time Chief of the General Staff,) whose patriotism, whose fidelity to the Allies, and whose honor are proverbial throughout Russia. These two statements, moreover, agree entirely with that made to Comte de Mérindal by General Dukonin a few days before his assassination. Dukonin succeeded Kerensky as Generalissimo.

LUKOMSKY'S STATEMENT

The statement of General Lukomsky is as follows:

The most recent events of the month show that the Committee of Workmen and Soldiers constitutes an absolute obstacle in the way of the reconstruction of the army, which, within two or three weeks, will be in such a state as to com-

pel us to end the war, and will be the cause of great disasters all over Russia.

In view of the situation General Korniloff unceasingly warned the Government of the necessity of establishing a strong authority, which alone would be capable of saving Russia, and, while restoring order, would make success assured, together with the maintenance of fidelity to the Allies.

The Minister-President and the Minister of War, after pourparlers, in which they took the initiative, signified their consent, and promised to proceed to the Stavka in order to form a Government and take the measures desired. On Aug. 26 (Old Style) they advised General Korniloff by direct telegraphic communication that they expected to leave on the Sunday in order to be at the Stavka on Monday, the 28th. Further, the Commander in Chief summoned the President of the Duma (Rodzianko) and sundry political leaders in order that they might confer together respecting the constitution of a strong and united National Government combining the best elements in the country.

On the morning of Sunday, the 27th, General Korniloff received a telegram urgently summoning him to Petrograd after he should have deputed the command to the Chief of Staff, General Lukomsky. The latter telegraphed in reply to the effect that, in view of the consent of the Minister-President, and seeing the gravity of the situation, certain arrangements had been made and orders given. These were in course of execution, and it was too late to change them. Consequently, he was unable, even for a very short period, to undertake the responsibility of replacing General Korniloff.

The Russian high command considered that it could not accept responsibility for any catastrophes that might overtake the country should the Provisional Government go back on its decision to form, with General Korniloff, a strong National Government of Defense capable of restoring order in the army and in the country, and of fulfilling its obligations toward the Allies.

General Korniloff assured the Provisional Government that he had no personal ambition, and that his sole desire was to form a strong Government representing the whole country in order to save Russia and preserve the liberty that had been won.

ALEXEIEFF'S STATEMENT

The still more definite charge made by General Alexeieff is in these terms:

> One of the reasons why I am relinquishing the high responsibilities with Which I have been intrusted is my difference of opinion with Kerensky as to the course of the Korniloff trial.
>
> It is now proved by documents that Kerensky and Korniloff had come to an agreement to stifle by force the Maximalist menace, and to establish a Dictatorship (Gouvernement dictatorial.) With this object in view, Korniloff, in perfect accord with Kerensky, had begun to assemble trustworthy troops around the capital.
>
> I do not know what were the motives that caused Kerensky, while this coup was in progress, to abandon Korniloff and to throw in his lot with the Petrograd Council of Workmen and Soldiers.
>
> Consequently, Korniloff is neither a reactionary nor a traitor; he acted in accord with the Provisional Government for the purpose of increasing its strength.
>
> It is for this reason that I wished the trial to be held publicly, before an ordinary military tribunal, when all documents would be openly produced. Kerensky, who is particularly in fear of these documents, intends to intrust the trial to a special military court composed of three officers and three soldiers.
>
> I could not associate myself with conduct of this kind, and I retired. When giving me my congé Kerensky asked me if I definitely renounced my intention of lending my assistance at a time fraught with danger for Russia.
>
> My reply was: If the Korniloff trial ends in the way that justice demands, and if I find the circumstances such as will not compel me, as at the present moment, to outrage my conscience, I shall always be ready to devote my whole life to the service of Russia.

In making public these documents Comte de Mérindal concludes with these words: "Every one, I think, after reading these two statements, will agree with me when I assert that in deserting and betraying General Korniloff Kerensky betrayed not Russia only but the Allies as well."

The Chinese-Japanese Military Alliance

By W. REGINALD WHEELER
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THE present situation in Russia is of vital concern to the Allies. It is of special importance to the two Oriental members of the Alliance, Japan and China. The northern boundaries of the Chinese Republic are contiguous for hundreds of miles with the boundaries of Siberia; any German penetration there would be felt at once in China. Japanese shipping, which includes practically all the vessels on the Pacific, would be menaced at once if the Germans gained control of Vladivostok.

Further, in its larger aspect of German control of Russia's resources and territory, presaging the establishment of a vast empire stretching from the North Sea to the Pacific, the Japanese see an alarming menace. Japan cannot take military measures to meet this menace unless it has the consent and support of its neighbor on the mainland, and, consequently, negotiations have been proceeding for some months leading up to a military agreement of a defensive nature between China and Japan. The agreement was signed May 16, 1918; the first public announcement was made in Tokio, May 30. The whole affair has been shrouded in much secrecy and has been the cause of endless comment and even suspicion in both countries; it has a direct bearing on the aim and future of the allied cause in the Far East; consequently, the nature of the agreement and the history of the negotiations leading up to it are of interest to all the allied nations.

JAPANESE DEMANDS

The first report concerning the proposed agreement became current in China in the Spring of 1917. Unfortunately it was associated in the minds of the Chinese with Group Five of the Twenty-one Demands made by Japan in January, 1915. These demands mainly dealt with certain privileges and concessions which Japan desired of China; they were divided into five groups. The fifth group was the most severe, involving certain rights which, if granted to Japan, would infringe the sovereignty of China and make it practically a vassal nation. In detail this group included the following:

> Article 1. The Chinese Central Government shall employ influential Japanese advisers in political, financial, and military affairs.
>
> Article 2. Japanese hospitals, churches, and schools in the interior of China shall be granted the right of owning land.
>
> Article 3. Inasmuch as the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government have had many cases of dispute between Japanese and Chinese police to settle cases which caused no little misunderstanding, it is for this reason necessary that the Police Department of important places (in China) shall be jointly administered by Japanese and Chinese or that the Police Departments of these places shall employ numerous Japanese, so that they may at the same time help to plan for the improvement of the Chinese Police Service.
>
> Article 4. China shall purchase from Japan a fixed amount of munitions of war (say 50 per cent. or more) of what is needed by the Chinese Government, or there shall be established in China a Sino-Japanese jointly worked arsenal. Japanese technical experts are to be employed and Japanese material to be purchased.
>
> Article 5. China agrees to grant to Japan the right of constructing a railway connecting Wuchang with Kiukiang and Nanchang, another line between Nanchang and Hanchow, and another between Nanchang and Chaochou.
>
> Article 6. If China needs foreign capital to work mines, build railways, and construct harbor works (including dockyards) in the Provinces of Fukien, Japan shall be first consulted.
>
> Article 7. China agrees that Japanese subjects shall have the right of missionary propaganda in China. [Refers to preaching Buddhism.]

In its ultimatum of May 7, 1915, Japan, under threat of force, demanded the acceptance of the first four groups of the Twenty-one Demands and agreed to hold the fifth group in abeyance, with the exception of the article in relation to Fukien Provinces, saying, "The Japanese

"Imperial Government will undertake to "detach Group Five from the present "negotiations and discuss it separately "in the future." Commenting on this clause, a leading journalist in the Orient, Putnam-Weale, has said: "It is this "fact which remains the sword of "Damocles hanging over China's head; "and until this sword has been flung "back into the waters of the Yellow Sea "the Far Eastern situation will remain "perilous." The Twenty-one Demands had been prefaced by the statement that they were being made for the purpose "of maintaining the general peace in Eastern Asia," and it was not surprising that, when Japan began negotiations for a military alliance last year, many Chinese began to fear that the long-dreaded "sword of Damocles" was about to fall.

DREAD OF ALLIANCE

The first specific mention of the proposed alliance was made in the Peking Gazette, the most influential native newspaper, on May 18, 1917. The editor, Eugene Chen, was a fiery supporter of the republic and an opponent of the Japanese. In a leading article entitled "Selling China" he asserted that the Premier Tuan Chi-jui was contemplating making an agreement with Japan which would involve practically all the concessions mentioned in the original Group Five. Mr. Chen was promptly arrested and thrown into prison without a trial; later his newspaper was suppressed and its property confiscated. Subsequently Mr. Chen was pardoned and made his escape from Peking; but his accusation lingered in the minds of the Chinese public and became associated with any mention of a military alliance with Japan.

Matters remained at a standstill until the Spring of 1918, when reports again began to circulate, saying that the agreement was soon to be made. The wildest and most extravagant stories became current. The statement was freely made that the northern officials were selling China for their own interests. In March it was recorded that a preliminary agreement had been signed, and protests from all parts of the country were sent to Peking. Finally, on May 16, an official statement from both Peking and Tokio was published announcing that an agreement had been reached.

The fears of the Chinese were heightened by the fact that the officials would not publish the terms of the alliance. Similar secrecy had surrounded the serving of the Twenty-one Demands in 1915, and many alarmists recalled this fact. The editor of the chief native newspaper in Peking committed suicide, saying that he would not live to become a slave of a foreign country. The Chinese students in Japan attacked the embassy in Tokio and then left in a body for China. The leaders of the Southern Party in China telegraphed Peking that they would give up their opposition to the Central Government if it would cancel the agreement. Even in Japan there was much adverse criticism of the secrecy maintained by the Imperial Government.

Finally, this feeling grew so strong that on May 30 an official statement was made concerning the agreement. It took the form of a denial of the many rumors which had arisen, rather than a clear exposition of the agreement itself. It mentioned certain notes which had been exchanged on March 25 between the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chinese Minister in Tokio. These notes were of the greatest importance, as they stated that the military agreement had relation only to the hostile penetration into Russian territory, and the assurance was given that Japanese troops, stationed within Chinese territory for the purpose of defense, would be completely withdrawn upon the termination of the war. The period within which the notes were to remain in force was to be determined by the military and naval authorities of the two powers. The notes follow:

MR. CHANG TO VISCOUNT MONOTO

Tokio, March 25, 1918.—I have the honor to communicate to your Excellency that the Government of China, believing that in the present situation co-operation with the Government of Japan on the lines hereinafter indicated is highly important in the interest of both countries, have authorized me to approach your Govern-

ment with a view to arranging for such co-operation.

1. Having regard to the steady penetration of hostile influence into Russian territory, threatening the general peace and security of the Far East, the Government of China and the Government of Japan shall promptly consider in common the measures to be taken in order to meet the exigencies of the situation, and to do their share in the allied cause for the prosecution of the present war.

2. The methods and conditions of such co-operation between the Chinese and Japanese armed forces—in the joint defensive movements against the enemy for giving effect to the decision which may be arrived at by the two Governments in common accord under the preceding clause—shall be arranged by the competent authorities of the two powers, who will from time to time consult each other fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest. It is understood that the matters thus arranged by the competent authorities shall be confirmed by the two Governments and shall be put into operation at such time as may be deemed opportune.

Viscount Motono replied on the same day with an identic note recapitulating Mr. Chang's statements and adding:

The Imperial Government, fully sharing the views embodied in the foregoing proposals, will be happy to co-operate with the Chinese Government on the lines above indicated.

VISCOUNT MOTONO TO MR. CHANG

Tokio, March 25, 1918.—With reference to the notes exchanged on March 25 between the Governments of Japan and of China on the subject of their joint defensive movements against the enemy, I have the honor to propose on behalf of my Government that the period within which the said notes are to remain in force shall be determined by the competent military and naval authorities of the two powers. At the same time the Imperial Government is happy to declare that the Japanese troops stationed within Chinese territory for the purpose of such defensive movements against the enemy shall be completely withdrawn from such territory upon the termination of the war.

MR. CHANG TO VISCOUNT MOTONO

Tokio, March 25, 1918.—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's communication under today's date, proposing on behalf of your Government that the period within which the said notes are to remain in force shall be determined by the competent military and naval authorities of the two powers. I am happy to state in reply that the foregoing proposal is accepted by my Government. I am further gratified to take note of the declaration embodied in your communication under acknowledgement, that the Japanese troops stationed within Chinese territory for the purpose of defensive movements against the enemy shall be completely withdrawn from such territory upon the termination of the war.

JAPAN'S OFFICIAL STATEMENT

These notes were undoubtedly the foundation of the reports current during the last of March in China. They show how extravagant some of the rumors were. In addition to them the Japanese Government issued a supplementary statement categorically denying all such interpretations of the agreement. The statement follows:

Having regard for the steady penetration of hostile influence into Russian territory, jeopardizing the peace and welfare of the Far East, and recognizing the imperative necessity of adequate cooperation between Japan and China to meet the exigencies of the case, the Governments of the two countries, after frank interchange of views, caused the annexed notes to be exchanged, March 25, between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chinese Minister in Tokio.

In pursuance of the purport of the notes the Imperial Government subsequently sent Commissioners representing the imperial army and navy to Peking, where they held conferences with the authorities of the Chinese Army and Navy. The negotiations progressing smoothly; two agreements were concluded, one relating to the army being signed May 16, and the other relating to the navy May 19.

These agreements only embody concrete arrangements as to the manner and conditions under which the armies and navies of the two countries are to co-operate in common defense against the enemy, on the basis of the above-mentioned notes exchanged on March 25. The details of the arrangements, constituting as they do a military secret, cannot be made public, but they contain no provision other than those pertaining to the object already defined. Currency has been given to various rumors, alleging that the agreements contain, for instance, such stipulations as that a Chinese expedition is to be under Japanese command; that Japan may construct forts in Chinese territory at such places as she may choose; that Japan will take the control of Chinese railways, shipyards, and arsenals, and even that Japan will assume the control of China's finances; will organize

China's police system; will acquire the right of freely operating Chinese mines producing materials for the use of the arsenals, &c. It cannot be too emphatically stated that these and similar rumors are absolutely unfounded.

May 30, the 7th year of Taisho,
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Tokio, Japan.

MILITARY DETAILS

In this statement there is no definite information given concerning the details of the military arrangement. Considerable speculation has taken place in regard to them. President Feng was rumored to have shown these details to a delegation of students who came to him to protest against the agreement. Various versions have been published unofficially; a translation of one of the most likely versions was printed in Millard's Review of the Far East on May 25, which reads as follows:

Article 1. In view of the penetration of enemy influence into the eastern territory of Russia, and of the likelihood of the peace of the two contracting parties being disturbed thereby, China and Japan mutually agree actively to undertake the obligations of war participation by measures designed jointly to guard against the action of the enemy.

Article 2. The two countries shall mutually recognize and respect the equality of the other regarding position and interests in carrying out joint military measures.

Article 3. When it is necessary to take action based on this agreement, orders will be issued by both China and Japan to their troops and people, calling on them to be frankly sincere in dealing with each other in the area of military operations; and the Chinese officials shall co-operate and assist the Japanese troops in the area involved so that there may be no hindrance to military movements. Japanese troops shall on their part respect Chinese sovereignty and shall not cause any inconvenience to the Chinese people by violating local customs and traditions.

Article 4. Japanese troops in Chinese territory shall withdraw from China as soon as the war is ended.

Article 5. If it be found necessary to send troops outside of Chinese territory, troops will be jointly sent by the two countries.

Article 6. The war area and war responsibilities shall be fixed by mutual arrangement of the military authorities of the two countries as and when occasion arises in accordance with their respective military resources.

Article 7. In the interests of convenience, the military authorities of the two countries shall undertake the following affairs during the period necessary for the execution of joint measures:

1. The two countries shall mutually assist and facilitate each other in extending the means of communications (post and telegraph) in connection with military movements and transportation.
2. When necessary for war purposes construction operations may be carried on, and the same shall be decided, when occasion arises, by mutual consent of the chief commanders of the two countries. The said constructions shall be removed when the war is ended.
3. The two countries shall mutually supply each other with military supplies and raw materials for the purpose of jointly guarding against the enemy. The quantity to be supplied shall be limited to the extent of not interfering with the necessary requirements of the country supplying the same.
4. Regarding questions of military sanitation in the war area, the two countries shall render mutual assistance to each other.
5. Officers directly concerned with war operations shall mutually be sent by the two countries for co-operation. (The two countries shall exchange staff officers for military co-operation?) If one party should ask for the assistance of technical experts, the other shall supply the same.
6. For convenience, military maps of the area of war operations will be exchanged.

Article 8. When the Chinese Eastern Railway is used for military transportation, the provisions of the original treaty relating to the management and protection of the said line shall be respected. The method of transportation shall be decided as occasion arises.

Article 9. Details regarding the actual performance of this agreement shall be discussed by mutual agreement of the delegates appointed by the military authorities of the two countries concerned.

Article 10. Neither of the two countries shall disclose the contents of the agreement and its appendix, and the same shall be treated as military secrets.

Article 11. This agreement shall become valid when it is approved by both Governments after being signed by the military representatives of the two countries. As to the proper moment for the beginning of war operations, the same shall be decided by the highest military organs of the two countries. The provisions of this agreement and the detailed steps arising therefrom shall be-

come null and void on the day the joint war measures against the enemy end.

Article 12. Two copies of the Chinese and of the Japanese text of this agreement shall be drawn, one of each shall be kept by China and Japan. The Chinese and Japanese texts shall be identical in meaning.

RECEIVED WITH RELIEF

The main feeling in the Orient concerning the alliance is one of relief, and of surprise at the long period of secrecy that has shrouded the negotiations—a secrecy which tended to increase any misunderstanding which might have arisen. An occasional explanation of this secrecy by Japanese, as well as Chinese, writers is that Japan attempted to gain more than what is contained in the final agreement; that her original plan had to be modified by the counterproposals of the Peking Government. There is also a tendency to criticise the statement for not being more explicit. Thus, according to The Japan Advertiser of May 31, "Mr. "Yuko Hamuguchi, prominent member "of the Kenseikai, remarks that the "agreement has caused a misunderstand- "ing and much excitement among many "Chinese, and, though an official state- "ment has now been published, the agree- "ment will remain as much a conundrum "as ever, inasmuch as the important "clauses are kept secret. It seems prob- "lematical whether the official statement "just published will have the desired ef- "fect in removing the suspicion of the "Chinese."

On the other hand, there is a general appreciation of the promises of Japan to retire from Chinese territory when military necessity permits, and a feeling that, because of the alliance, Japan and China are the better prepared to do their part in the final phases of the great war. Thus The Japan Advertiser comments editorially upon the alliance; its views are seconded by the hopeful-minded press of the Orient: "The categorical denial "of the rumors so widely current in "China is a conclusive reply to the sen- "sation mongers who have been so active. "The present emphatic disclaimer will "have great value in restoring China's "confidence in Japan, and may mark "a turning point in the relations of the "two countries. That may be counted "positive gain, in addition to the con- "founding of malicious rumors. * * * "The other positive gain is that the way "is clear for whatever action may be "called for by further enemy penetra- "tion of Russian territory. * * * "There is ample justification for the "agreement, and the Allies will sincerely "rejoice that the way is clear for action, "if action should be necessary."

[At the end of July China was in increasing danger of invasion by a force of 12,000 Bolsheviki who were threatening to pursue General Semenoff across the Manchurian border into Chinese territory. On July 29 the State Department at Washington formally announced a new policy permitting American bankers to make loans to the Chinese Government so that China might be better able to defend itself against enemy forces approaching its borders. It was understood that $50,000,000 would be advanced and that the United States had gone into this arrangement on condition that British, Japanese, and French bankers should make similar loans to China. When the Japanese sent their levy of troops to the allied expeditionary force, which landed at Vladivostok early in August, China also sent a few companies as its part in the expedition, in accordance with the foregoing military agreement.—EDITOR.]

Rumania's Humiliation

Oppressive Exactions of the Conquerors Are Added to Desperate Economic Conditions

By a Journalist at Bucharest (July, 1918)

ACCORDING to the peace conditions, the demobilization of the Rumanian Army began immediately after the signature of the peace preliminaries. A German Demobilization Commission was appointed to supervise the Rumanian Headquarters, and German officers were attached to each division to see that the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled "to the letter." The Rumanian Army

leaders, General Prezzan and General Averesco, resigned immediately.

The strength of the Rumanian Army was reduced from 250,000 to 30,000 men. The effectives of the infantry regiments were reduced from 4,000 to 200 men, and of the mounted regiments to 120 only. Each man was allowed a rifle and 160 rounds of ammunition. The remaining arms and munitions were placed in stores guarded by German and Rumanian troops. For police purposes the Rumanians were allowed to keep mobilized in Bessarabia two divisions; but both were the so-called Dobrudjan divisions—that is, divisions recruited from the mixed population of the Dobrudja, where there are Rumanian, Turkish, Bulgarian, and Armenian elements.

The demobilized men were allowed to go to their homes in Wallachia and Oltenia in groups under very strict German control. There the situation was a most humiliating one. Officers and men were allowed to wear the uniforms, after having taken off their badges of rank or stripes. All, without consideration of the rank they had in the Rumanian Army, were compelled to salute the German soldiers, even the privates. This humiliation impelled most of the Rumanians to try to return to Moldavia, but not many succeeded owing to the strictness of the Germans.

A train now runs between Jassy and Wallachia, but only few can travel, for, although peace has been concluded for several months, there is still a frontier between Moldavia and the occupied territory. Rumanians are only allowed to go to Wallachia with special permits through two points, Marasesti and Braila, and the Germans keep a very strict watch on the whole line which separates Moldavia from the invaded territory. People are allowed to go to their homes only with the kind permission of the German Kommandantur in Bucharest.

The "rectification" of the frontier demanded by the Central Powers has given an opportunity to the Austrians to rob Rumania of another source of her natural wealth. According to the map drawn by the Austrians and naturally accepted by the Rumanians, all the ridges of the Carpathians have been surrendered to the Austrians. Thus all the virgin forests which covered these mountains and belonged to the Rumanian State have passed into the hands of the foe. The loss suffered by the Rumanian Nation by this "rectification" of the frontier may be estimated at well over $500,000,000.

The economic conditions of the country are desperate. Owing to the very difficult circumstances only a small area of land has been cultivated this year; drought prevailed throughout the Spring and the crops will yield practically nothing. The population, crowded together, underfed, and depressed, suffers the most terrible hardships, and all kinds of epidemics have broken out again. The Rumanian Nation is beginning to realize better now what a "German peace" means.

[A dispatch from Bucharest to the Weser-Zeitung on July 25 stated that the King of Rumania had been ordered to place all Rumanian territory under martial law, owing to the conditions of intense unrest. Field Marshal Mackensen, the German commander in Rumania, when asked how many divisions he could release to go to the western front, replied on July 30 that it would be unsafe to remove any troops, because of the excited condition of the Rumanian people. Under German pressure the Rumanian Chamber of Deputies at Jassy, according to an official report, voted on Aug. 7 to prosecute J. J. C. Bratiano, the former Premier, and four members of his Cabinet for their connection with Rumania's entry into the war. A Parliamentary Inquiry Commission had recommended this action. Amid scenes of excitement the reply of Mr. Bratiano and of the accused members of his Cabinet was read in the Rumanian Parliament. They declared they did not recognize the moral or legal authority of a Parliament composed of "traitors and deserters," adding: "With full confidence we look forward to the final consequences of this war and with pride to the judgment of history."]

Constantine's Treachery

THE Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs on July 6, 1918, conveyed to the Examining Magistrates at Athens in the case of the ex-Ministers MM. Skouloudis, Lambros, and others an authorized copy of the translation of telegrams sent on Sept. 23 and 24, 1915, by M. Passaroff, then Bulgarian Minister in Athens, proving that King Constantine had before the Bulgarian offensive against Serbia confirmed to Bulgaria Greece's neutrality.

The first telegram sent by M. Passaroff to Sofia describes an interview with King Constantine, who asked him for what reason Bulgarian divisions had been mobilized.

M. Venizelos, [said the King,] thinks that you mean by your mobilization to occupy Macedonia, Nish, Pirot, and the Morava Valley. The occupation of Macedonia would constitute a casus foederis according to the treaty between Greece and Serbia. The occupation of Nish, Pirot, and the Morava Valley would destroy the equilibrium of the Balkans.

M. Passaroff replied:

The policy of M. Venizelos in regard to the equilibrium of the Balkans is negative and sterile. It is impossible to arrest the progress of the Bulgarian people, young, industrious, full of life, and capable. Its neighbors must not impede its progress. While the British were occupying themselves with sport, the French with the theatre, and the Russians with vodka, the Germans were working, and we see them accomplishing miracles.

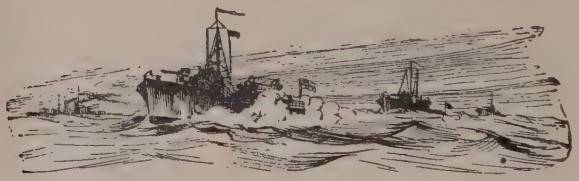
The King said:

I am fully in agreement with you, and I hold that when you go to occupy Serbian Macedonia we have no reasons to intervene, since the casus feoderis cannot apply after what you have heard. If you take Pirot, Nish, and the Morava Valley you will not become much greater thereby. We cannot oppose such a course, for we should have to declare war for foreign territory. We are going to act now with Austria and Germany. It would therefore be suicide if in opposing you we were to declare war against two great powers. I did not agree to the proposal of M. Venizelos that we should oppose you with our troops and with those of the Entente, for if the Entente has plenty of troops it will send them against the Dardanelles, and not against Bulgaria. I beg you to declare to your Czar that in your action against Serbia you will have no opposition from our side. We shall not shed our blood against you and against Germany to save Serbia.

Please assure your sovereign and your Government that I have summoned you in order to make this declaration to you and to ask of you the following service: M. Venizelos is endeavoring to prepare difficulties and even disagreeable coups de theatre for me. I want to deprive him of the possibility of making a show with the casus foederis regarding Serbia. I therefore request you to declare to the Minister for Foreign Affairs here on behalf of your Government that you have nothing against Greece and to declare that you will occupy Serbian Macedonia acting in conjunction with Germany. M. Venizelos demands from me the mobilization of two army corps on your frontier. I shall not consent.

M. Passaroff adds: "Finally, the King "asked me to help him in his struggle to "get rid of M. Venizelos."

The above assurances of the King were conveyed to Sofia not through the usual official channel but directly to King Ferdinand through his private secretary. This document furnishes the evidence, heretofore missing, of the motives which underlay the fictitious Greek mobilization in September, 1915.



Great Britain's War Record

Four Years' Fighting Reviewed in Eloquent Detail by the British Prime Minister

By DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

[Address Delivered in Parliament Aug. 8, 1918. Text Cabled to The New York Times. Copyrighted by Current History Magazine]

WHEN the British Empire decided to throw the whole weight of its might into the greatest war the world has ever witnessed, it did not do so because it believed that British soil was to be invaded or even threatened with invasion, but because of an outrage upon international right. Had it not taken that decision the whole course of the war would have been different. The history of the world for generations to come would have taken a different course. I do not wish to exaggerate in the least the part which the British Empire has in the conflict, but a mere glance at the events of the last four years will show how great and how decisive its influence has been upon the turn of those events.

When the war began we had the most powerful navy in the world. It was as powerful as the three next navies of the world, and when units of command are taken into account it was more powerful than the three next navies, but we had the smallest army of any great power in Europe. We had an obligation of honor with France that, if she were wantonly attacked, the United Kingdom would come to her support. There was no compact as to what forces we should bring into the arena. In any discussion that ever took place in this country or outside there was no idea that we should ever be able to employ a greater force than six divisions. When there was a discussion in the House about the British expeditionary force the maximum was the six-division limit. Whatever the arrangement was, I think history will say that we have more than kept faith.

There is real danger in the more minutely and constantly described events on land to overlook the part which the British Navy is playing in this conflict. There are two great struggles being carried on, one on land and one on sea. One is carried on almost before our eyes. Incidents are pictured from day to day by men who are engaged especially for the purpose of describing them. Every turn in events is portrayed. Not like the other struggle; that takes place on a vast wilderness of sea over hundreds of thousands of square miles, with no one to witness it or to describe it except those who take part in the fierce struggle.

It has been prolonged four years without a break. No darkness arrests it. No weather and no Winter stops it. The navy goes into no Winter quarters, the fight is going on without cease.

I do not think that many realize that that is the decisive struggle of the war. Upon its issue the fate of the war depends. If the Allies are defeated on land the war would not be over until they are beaten at sea. So the Germans can never triumph, and in the main this momentous deciding struggle is carried on by the British Navy. There is a disposition even here to take the British Navy for granted, exactly as we took the sea for granted, and in this there is no real effort to understand the gigantic effort which is involved in constructing, in strengthening, in increasing, in repairing, in supplying, in maintaining, and in manning that great machine.

When the war started, the British Navy had a tonnage of 2,500,000. It now has 8,000,000, including the auxiliary fleet. Every trade route of the world is controlled by its ships. Take the blockade alone. From Shetland to Greenland, from Greenland to Iceland, from Iceland to the coast of Norway, the most savage waters in the world, always angry—for four

years these seas have been incessantly patrolled by the British fleet, who have set up an impenetrable barrier. Elsewhere British shipping has been engaged in patrolling, mine laying, mine sweeping, escorting, chasing submarines over vast and trackless areas. They have destroyed at least 150 of these ocean submarine pests, more than half in the course of the last year.

VITAL FOR VICTORY

I will give you a figure which indicates the gigantic character of the work done by the British Navy. In the month of June alone ships of the British Navy steamed 8,000,000 miles. To this must be added the great efforts of the mercantile marine which has now become a branch of the British Navy. It faced the same dangers in caring for the Allies as well as ourselves.

Most of the American troops who have so gallantly acquitted themselves in France in the recent conflicts were carried on British ships.

It is difficult to make those who do not understand ships comprehend what a gigantic effort it means to keep this immense machine going. There is rather a tendency to divide our efforts into two branches—men for the army, ships for the navy. I wonder how many people understand the number of men required to man and maintain the British Navy and the British mercantile marine. It is at least 1,500,000; probably 800,000 or 900,000 were men of military age. We have made every attempt to comb out when there was a great pressure, but we found that it was impossible to do so without letting the British fleet down. And to let the British fleet down was to let the Allies down.

The Germans, during the last two years, have made two distinct attempts to force a decision, one on the sea, the other on land. They attempted the land offensive, because the sea offensive failed, but they knew that the sea offensive would be the more vital of the two. The land offensive might have been disastrous; the other, if it had succeeded, would have been final. If the submarines had succeeded, our army in France would have withered away, no Americans could have come over to assist us, ammunition could not have been sent across, nor the necessary coal and material to enable France and Italy to manufacture munitions. France and England would have been starved. The war would have been over before that stage could have been reached.

I am not minimizing the great assistance rendered by the great navies of America, France, Italy, and Japan, but the British fleet is so incomparably greater, and its operations are on a scale of so much greater magnitude, that I dwell specially on this in order that the mainstay of these special efforts should be realized.

The American Naval Mission which came over here the other day saw a good deal of the efforts of the British Navy, and were immensely struck with the vastness of the work which was being done. They were specially anxious that steps should be taken to make known not merely here, but in America, the gigantic character of the task which is being undertaken.

Unless the Allies had been completely triumphant from the outbreak of the war at sea, no effort on land would have saved us. The British fleet was mainly responsible for that complete triumph. Any destruction of our resources which would have impaired in the least this triumph would have been ruinous to the cause of the Allies.

AN ARMY OF 6,250,000

I will now say a word about our effort on land. Our military effort has to be subject to our resources in men and material. We had difficulties to confront us. We were not a military nation in the sense of the nations of the Continent. We had a small army. What have we accomplished? Since August, 1914, including those already with the colors, this country has raised for the army and navy in Great Britain alone no less than six and a quarter million men. Most of these were raised by voluntary recruiting, a most unexampled feat in the history of any country. In a word, in order to give an idea of what this means, if the United States of America were to call to the colors the same number of men in proportion to her population, it would mean nearly fifteen millions

The stone bridge across the Marne at Château-Thierry, where American troops distinguished themselves in June, 1918

(French Pictorial Service)

A French town wrecked by the retreating Germans. A Canadian ammunition tramway has been built through the ruins

(© Underwood & Underwood)

of men. The dominions have contributed a million more. India has sent 1,250,000 men since the beginning of this war.

With regard to the present military situation, its essential facts are well known, but perhaps I may be permitted to summarize them as they appear to one who has been working inside. In reference to the great endeavor which has been made in this country during the last four months, what is the position? On March 21 the enemy had been relieved of all apprehensions on his eastern front by the peace of Brest-Litovsk. He had brought all his best divisions from the east. He was combing out the best men from the remaining divisions and bringing them to the west. Most of these men had enjoyed a long rest on the eastern front, and had devoted their time to training and preparing specially for the great blow which was to be directed against the allied armies.

On March 21 we had in front of us the flower of the German Army, rested, trained specially, and equipped for the campaign. Our troops were tired by a prolonged offensive under the most exhausting conditions any troops ever fought under. Practically the whole British front was new ground, which had been won from the enemy. There had been no time to set up defenses, and these tired troops, instead of resting, had to dig defenses.

Considerable American forces had been expected by Spring. As a matter of fact, on March 21 there was only one American division in the line. There were three or four divisions behind the line, who were brought up after the attack began.

MANY ANXIOUS MOMENTS

The weather conditions were the most favorable for the enemy that they could have possibly chosen. United command was not an established fact, in spite of all endeavors to achieve it, and each General was mainly concerned with the defense of his own front, so when the blow came the reserves of the allied army as a whole were not available to meet it where it fell.

What was the object? The object was to attain a military decision this year before the American Army could come up. How was that to be achieved? First of all, by driving a wedge between the two armies; then, having separated the British and French forces, overwhelming the British Army, and afterward dealing with the French Army.

That was the plan. If the first of these objects had been attained, and the British Army had been overwhelmed, the American forces could not have arrived in time to save the French Army. That was the German calculation, and let us not forget, in the light of what happened afterward, that it was not such an impossible estimate.

But how did the German plan prosper? There have been four hard months of such fighting as has never been seen on the face of this globe, not merely in the magnitude of the armies, the losses inflicted and sustained, the valor displayed, but in the issues which hung in the balance.

What has happened? At first, the German Army achieved considerable success. We had anxious moments, very anxious moments, and those who knew the most were most anxious. The losses were considerable in men and in materials and in numbers of prisoners captured, far beyond any anticipation which could have been made and which we could have been called upon to provide for. Had they not been immediately made up, the second German blow might very well have overwhelmed the British Army.

GIGANTIC SHIPPING FEAT

Before the battle was over, in a fortnight's time, 268,000 men were thrown across the Channel, one of the most remarkable feats of British shipping, and of organization of our British transport for the War Office. In a month's time 355,000 men had been thrown across the Channel. A fresh gun had been put back for every gun that was lost, and every deficiency in a machine gun not merely supplied, but the number increased, and at this moment there are more guns and more machine guns than the army in France ever had.

It was the first German miscalculation. They had calculated that we could not do it, and we owe a debt of gratitude to a section of the press for misleading the enemy. He were foolish enough to believe it. The Germans believed we had no men to make up the deficiency, and they made their plans accordingly and attacked.

They hit here, they hit there. They hit in the south, they hit in the centre, they hit in the north. Why, they thought they were destroying the British Army and that there was nothing behind it. In six weeks they were hurled back, fought to a standstill by the British Army. They were defeated in two or three of the most sanguinary battles of the war, and they were left in unhealthy salients under the fire of our guns and with extended lines.

Their purpose was to overwhelm the British Army. They declared it, and they announced in all their inspired press that they were doing it. By May 1 they had left us to go south to make another attack. They knew it could not be done. It is one of the finest chapters of tenacious valor in the whole his story of the British Army.

Our losses were great. We took a step which only the emergency could have justified, that is, the sending of lads of 18½ years, who had received five or six months' training, into the line.

I remember coming at 9 o'clock one dark night from Boulogne after I had been to see the Generals. I saw these boys coming up

by torchlight from the boat straight to France. No sooner were they there than these lads had to face veteran and victorious troops. No veterans ever fought with greater courage and with greater splendor than these lads to help hurl back these legions that had fought to destroy the British Army. We must all be proud of the boys who so upheld the honor of their British native land and helped to save the cause of the Allies from disaster.

GALLANT FRENCH ARMY

After an experience of six weeks' fighting —it is a remarkable fact when you know what the German plan was—they left the British Army alone for three or four months. They may and probably will come back, but that is because they have failed elsewhere.

No one knows better than those who fought in that campaign how invaluable was the aid received from the gallant French Army in both these great battles. I only dwell on the part which the British forces took because in the main the fighting was theirs and the losses were in the main theirs. After the first of May the enemy turned off to attack the French. There never has been since the 21st of March an offensive conducted by forces of the same magnitude.

In the first attack on the French Army they won a considerable success. What has happened since then? Not merely have they been fought to a standstill, but General Foch—or if I may call him by his new title, and I am sure everybody will join in sending a message of congratulation on the title he won by such skill, such resource, and such genius—Marshal Foch, by his counterstroke, which is one of the brilliant events of the war, has driven the enemy back. The enemy, who was to capture Calais and Paris by dates which vary according to the temper of the prophets from May to August—August being the latest—to capture Paris, destroy the British Army, and overwhelm the French, is now retreating.

The danger is not over, but he would be a sanguine man on the German General Staff who would now say that General Ludendorff's plan of campaign would succeed in its objective and enable Germany to obtain a military decision.

The Germans calculated that we could not make up our losses, and that the Americans could not be brought over. Look what has been done. In February the Americans brought over 48,000 men, I think. In January it was still fewer, and the German General Staff, which seems fairly well informed, came to the conclusion that if what was said in the British press of our having no men was true, and they knew what was being brought over in American ships was true, and if what a certain section of the press said about our having no ships was true, then the destruction of the allied army was a certainty. That was one of the uses of a good press. It is a mistake to contradict them. That was their second miscalculation.

CALL TO AMERICA

Now, what happened? Soon after the blow on March 21 the British Government made a special appeal to President Wilson to send men over, even if they were not formed into divisions, so they could be brigaded in British and French formations. President Wilson responded by return cable. It was prompt, it was decisive, but he stipulated that we should do our part of the carrying. It was true that we had no ships to spare, but we impressed upon the Shipping Controller the necessity of getting every American soldier over, and he pulled ships out of trades where they were quite essential—in order to carry over the American troops. Do not let any one imagine we have ships to spare, because there has been a loss of 200,000 tons per month in essential cargoes, which means 2,500,000 per annum—with the result we have just seen.

I forget how many thousand troops have been brought over since the battle, mostly in British ships. In July 305,000 Americans were brought over, of which 188,000 were carried in British ships. That was the second element in the restoration of the situation, because every one knows how valiantly these troops have fought. It is not merely that they fought with courage, every one expected that of the American Army, but they have fought with a trained skill that no one ever expected or had a right to expect. The men are brave, but the officers, who after all are not trained officers in the ordinary sense of the term, have shown skill and knowledge and management of their men under trying conditions which you could hardly expect from men who have not had a good deal of the experience of war.

That is one of the most remarkable facts in the fighting of the American troops at the present moment. What is the other element that has made for success? Unity of command, at last achieved, but after a long struggle. The word Generalissimo is a misleading one. There is no Generalissimo in the real sense of the term. A Generalissimo is a man who has complete command over his army and appoints Generals and dismisses Generals, controls not merely the fighting in the field, but the troops behind the lines. That is not the position of General Foch, and it is not a position he aspired to. In the ordinary sense of the term that has not happened, and I am still of the opinion that it is not desirable that it should obtain. No one has claimed it or asked for it. What has been established has been merely strategic command, and that has answered every purpose, as the Germans know too well to their cost.

Our first experiment in this direction was last year when General Nivelle was Commander in Chief of the French Army. He

was in command of the greater army and was chosen to command the whole, and apart from that we were fighting on French territory.

General Nivelle was an exceedingly able and experienced officer. He was the man who commanded in the struggle around Verdun which resulted in a disastrous defeat for the German Army, and he had a great strategic plan for a combined attack on the German Army in April of last year, and he was the first General in this war who devised the plan of attack on a wide front which the Germans have followed with such success since then. And when the attack took place unity of command was established during the battle, but it was to come to an end after the battle was over.

There has been a good deal of controversy about the French part in that battle, and that I shall not enter into.

VALUE OF VIMY RIDGE

Taking the battle as a whole, 50,000 prisoners were captured and 400 to 500 guns; large tracts of territory, some of it of first strategic importance, were captured. So far as the British part in the battle is concerned it was an attack on the left of the allied armies on the heights of Vimy. The British part of the battle was the biggest success won by the British armies since 1914.

Members will recollect that it ended in sweeping the German troops away from the heights of Vimy, from which the prolonged attacks by the French Army in 1915 had failed to dislodge them. It has been since like a great bastion, which the Germans could neither capture nor turn, and every effort they have made has ended in a most sanguinary repulse, and as long as it was in British hands it made difficult and impracticable to carry out their great operations for severing the British Army and ultimately destroying it.

Think what a difference it would have made if some of Vimy Ridge had been in the hands of the Germans on March 21. It would have made all the difference in the world. That was the first experiment in unity of command, and it achieved great results, especially for the British Army.

Then came the various efforts at Versailles, and afterward the unfortunate controversy which raged around the efforts in February of last year. We had no time to reap the benefit of it before the great blow fell. The controversy was in the army itself, but the Germans succeeded by their blow in convincing the most obdurate of the essential need of unity of command, and from the moment that General Foch assumed strategic command the fortunes of the allied armies were restored. There have been, perhaps, mishaps like the Château-Thierry disaster since, but by masterly handling of reserves of French, Italian, and American troops, as well as British, he gradually baffled the German efforts, and it has ended in the disastrous retreat from the Marne, which has produced such a wealth of confidence and enthusiasm in allied countries and such depression in enemy lands.

It is too early to predict that the German effort is exhausted, and it would be a mistake for us to imagine it. There is no use in fostering false confidence. The Germans have still powerful forces in reserve; not so many as they had, but although it is too early to say that their efforts are over, it is not too early to say that the chance of March 21 will not come to them again.

Those conditions cannot now be reproduced for the German General Staff. The Americans have already a powerful army, and a tried army, and a victorious army in France equal to the best troops in the field, and growing every day, and there will be no break in the increase of that army until America will have an army not far short, if at all, of the German Army itself.

On the other hand, Germany can never maintain the same number of divisions. They are already reduced since March 21. They are now begging for Austrian support—rather humiliating for the great German Army, the army which was to destroy the allied armies by May.

Some of Germany's allies are now becoming a burden to Germany, rather than a support. They are now becoming disillusionized as to German invincibility. Germany promised great things to her allies this year. We can see the effects. Suddenly there was a withdrawal of all peace tenders. When you probed you found they were not there. What had happened? Germany said to her people, "Don't you worry about peace; we can dictate it in a few months. We mean to have a great offensive in the west that will destroy the allied armies."

Peace talk suddenly ceased. You could not hear a whisper, and the tinkle of the telephone bells stopped.

The great promise has failed. The economic position of the Central Powers and their allies is one of despair, and their harvests are not too good, and they are short of many essentials. Militarily they are past the height of their endeavors. At sea they know they have failed.

READY TO HELP RUSSIA

Russia has been a great disappointment. Russia has become a tangle to their feet. Russia is broken into a number of diffused but ill-defined entities that make the part of diplomacy exceedingly difficult. In relation to that vast country there is no de jure government there. They attempted to set up one by election. No sooner did the election take place than the Constituent Assembly was dispersed by force.

The idea that we are behaving hostilely toward a great democratic government has nothing in common with the facts of the case. There is no democratic government

in Russia now. Whatever its professions it is a government by force, and our only policy was to deal with the de facto government, and that is not easy. We have not the slightest desire to interfere with the Russian people, and we have certainly no intention of imposing upon them any particular government. That is a matter entirely for themselves, but when we see Germany imposing her authority on large tracts and exploiting or attempting to exploit them to the detriment of the Allies, against the will of the people, we feel at any rate that the Russian people ought to be free to decide for themselves.

Recent events, violent as they are, demonstrate that they regard the Germans as marauders, and the Russian people is more and more seeking allied assistance. We shall not hesitate to render every help in our power to liberate them from this cruel oppression.

POLICY IN SIBERIA

The Czechoslovak movement is a very remarkable movement. The only desire of the Czechoslovaks was to leave Russia and to come to the west to fight for the Allies. They asked us for ships, and we made arrangements to get ships to bring them away. I say this because I wish to make it clear that we are not exploiting the Czechoslovaks in order to interfere with Russian internal affairs. We took ships away from very important and essential work elsewhere in order to send them to Vladivostok.

Acting undoubtedly under German duress, the Bolshevist Government refused to allow them to get to Archangel and Vladivostok. If the Czechoslovaks have now become the centre of activities which are hostile to the Bolshevist Government in Russia, the Bolshevist Government have themselves to blame and no one else. The first thing they asked the Czechoslovaks to do was to disarm. They would have been lunatics if they had handed over their arms. You cannot blame the Czechoslovaks for getting assistance whenever and from wherever they could in order to save themselves.

We are told that Siberia is Bolshevist. If that is so, why do not the Siberians support that Government? They could not get a decent sized army, and so German and Austrian prisoners have been ordered to attack the Czechoslovaks and to prevent them getting to Vladivostok.

I want to make that clear, because there has been some criticism of the action of the President of the United States in the decision he has taken in conjunction with Japan to send forces to Vladivostok in order to rescue the Czechoslovaks from the plight that they have been put into by the organization of German and Austrian prisoners of war.

I have only a few words to say about what has been said about peace. There are people who seem to consider any effort to make peace as in itself dishonorable and treason to their country. That attitude must be steadfastly discouraged, but is this a moment —I put it to those who only want an honorable peace—when such a peace could be made?

Why did we go into the war? Because the instinct and conscience of the British people told them that something, which is fundamental to human happiness and to human progress, was put in jeopardy by the great military power of Germany. That will remain indelible as long as the caste that made the war is in supreme command in Germany. Has there been any change in that respect?

Let us take recent events, such as the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, when some German statesmen went in, I believe, with intention of negotiating a peace which, according to their minds, would be fair. What happened? As soon as there was any indication that there was to be anything but a humiliating and drastic peace imposed upon Russia, the German high command swept aside Count von Hertling, von Kühlmann, and Czernin, and imposed their own terms.

The next step was the humiliating and enslaving peace imposed upon Rumania.

The third test was what happened after Baron Kühlmann's speech in the Reichstag, in which he ventured to say things which I should have thought perfectly obvious to any one who had witnessed the course of the war from the point of view of the Germans. In a few days he was swept away.

What did that mean? It meant that the people who made the war were still prosecuting their sinister aims. You cannot have peace as long as they are predominant in the councils of our chief enemy.

WARNS OF PEACE TRICKERY

I believe in a league of nations, but whether a league of nations is going to be a success or not will depend upon the conditions under which it is set up. Some of us here have been members of representative assemblies for a generation. Every one knows that when any great decision is to be taken what determines it is not so much what is said as the fact that there is some power behind it which takes a certain view and has the power to enforce that view. It is the electorate here.

In any league of nations let us take care that it is not the sword. The same thing might conceivably happen to a league of nations unless you started under favorable conditions. You might enter it, the Germans not saying it in words, but saying in their actions, "We have invaded your lands, we have devastated them; we have trampled you under foot; you failed to drive us back; you made no impression upon our armies, they were absolutely intact when peace was declared; had it not been for our economic difficulties you would never have

won, and we will take great care next time that we shall not be short of rubber, corn, and other essentials."

Every time you came to a decision the Prussian sword would clank on the council table. What is the good of entering into a league of nations of that sort? We all want peace, but it must be a peace which is just. It must be a peace which is durable. We don't want to put this generation or the next through the horrors of this war. To be durable, it must be just. It must be more; there must be a power behind it, a power that can enforce its decrees, and all who enter that conference must know that inside that league such a power does exist. And when you have demonstrated even to the enemy that such a power does exist, durable peace will then come, but no sooner.

President Wilson and the League of Nations

By HERBERT H. ASQUITH

Former Premier of Great Britain

[DELIVERED AT THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB, LONDON, JULY 4, 1918]

IT would be too sweeping a generalization from the facts of history to assert that great occasions always produce, or find, great men. It may be that the case of America is one of rare good fortune. But it is a fact that in the supreme crises of her national history the man whom she most needed for inspiration and for guidance has always appeared. The War of Independence might have had a different course, and would almost certainly have had different consequences in its immediate after-history, but for George Washington. He was a great statesman, as well as a great soldier. The new state of things, he wrote very soon after he became President, was to be, in the first instance, in a considerable degree, "a Government of accommodation, as well as a Government of laws"—a wise and perfect sentence.

Nearly a century passed, and, in a still more terrible ordeal, America again found the right leader in a man untried and almost unknown—Abraham Lincoln. In the closing paragraph of perhaps his most famous speech—the second inaugural—he used the memorable words: "With malice towards none, with charity "for all, with firmness in the right, as "God gives us to see the right, let us "strive on to finish the work we are in, "to do all which may achieve and cherish "a just and lasting peace among our- "selves and with all nations." In what more fitting language could we today express what is worthiest and best in the spirit of the Allies?

Washington and Lincoln are illustrious names, which have passed into history. We must not attempt to anticipate its final judgment upon men still living, whose lifework is not yet complete. But I will venture to say of President Wilson, who has been the head of the American Government in times hardly, if at all, less testing than any in its annals, these two things: First, he has taken and carried with him his people in the greatest decision of our age; next, he has laid before the world the grounds for that decision; the reasons which not only justified but compelled it, the spirit in which it was adopted; the aims, not narrow or local, but worldwide in their scope, at which it is directed, in State papers which are worthy to live side by side with the most sagacious and inspiring utterances of his most famous predecessors.

The critics, if there are any left, who were inclined to blame the President for delaying his intervention seem to me to show lack both of knowledge and of imagination. The direct participation of America as an active belligerent in a European war was a new departure in policy, alien to the traditions and prepossessions of her people. It is, moreover, the first time in history that a great democracy, organized not for war, but for peace, separated by thousands of miles from the nearest theatre of action, has been invited, and has resolved, to take up arms in a quarrel in which it had no scintilla of territorial or material interest, and no bond, direct or indirect, of treaty obligation. To embark

upon and, still more, to carry through such an enterprise, the first condition of success was national unity, unity of conviction, unity of spirit, unity of effort. That condition President Wilson secured. It could only have been secured by a rare combination of insight and of patience, and that, in spite of all the obstacles that lay in his path, he did secure it, will always give him an undisputed title to a high place in the gratitude and the reverence of those who love right and cherish freedom.

But it is one thing to embrace a good cause, which many of us have done in our time—it is quite another to push it to a victorious issue. If any cause, good or bad, is to hold its own in these days on the battlefield—on sea and land, under the sea, and in the air—it must be equipped not only with the strongest battalions and the best and fastest ships, not only with an adequate organization of transport and supply, but with a superiority in all the manifold mechanical devices for aggression and defense which the hellish ingenuity of modern warfare has at its command. We, in this country, know well by our own experience how severe a task that is in a community bred on the traditions and in the habits of the Anglo-Saxon race. America, too, has had her difficulties. They have not stifled but stimulated her energies; and the presence here tonight of my friend and guest, Admiral Sims—of General Biddle—and of the many officers of the two great services over which they respectively preside, gives us a welcome opportunity of acknowledging our unbounded admiration for the magnificent contribution which America has made, is making, and, as we know, will continue in even increasing measure to make to the common cause.

And here again we may gratefully trace the guiding hand and the driving will of the President. I am not sure that the world does not owe its greatest debt to President Wilson for helping men whose vision is naturally apt to be blurred and even blinded by the smoke of the battlefield to lift up their eyes and to look through it and beyond it. It is very difficult in time of war to keep a steady head or even a clean tongue. It is not the least of President Wilson's services to the allied cause that he does both.

After all, we cannot ask ourselves too often or too searchingly what it is that we are fighting for. During the first month or six weeks of the war I said, quoting a phrase of Mr. Gladstone's, that the "enthronement of the idea of public right" was the best definition we could have of the ends of our war policy. And that idea, I added, could only be realized by a "real international partnership, based on the recognition of equal rights, and established and enforced by a common will." I venture to recall those words, lest it should be supposed that what we now speak of as the League of Nations was a mere afterthought. But there can be no question that President Wilson has done more than any statesman of the Entente to concentrate the minds, not only of his own people and of the Allies, but of neutral nations, and I will add, so far as they are allowed to hear and know the truth, of the enemy peoples themselves, upon this as our dominating and worldwide aim. It is this which, apart from, and in addition to, the special claims and special interests of this or that nationality, justifies the sacrifice which the great democracies are making of their blood and their treasure, of the best resources of their manhood, of the brightest promise of their youth.

We hear talk of a "clean peace." There can be no clean peace which does not clear away the causes of war. That is the true crusade to which we ought to consecrate our devotion and our energies. My noble friend, Lord Grey—who from his experience and character speaks among European statesmen with unique authority—has pointed out in his recent pamphlet some of the practical conditions, positive and negative, to which any such league or partnership must conform. Our enemies, both in Germany and Austria, are apparently for the moment too much preoccupied with intestine difficulties to look around or ahead. If we could penetrate beneath the surface we should probably find that the minds of the great mass of the population in both empires are poisoned with false legends, which

grossly distort our purposes and aims. We cannot help that, though we should do our best with all the means at our disposal to dissipate it. But what seems to me all important is that, both here and in America, we should realize, and act as though we realized, that the League of Nations is neither a vague political abstraction nor an empty rhetorical formula, but that it is a concrete and definite ideal, the embodiment in practicable shape of by far the most urgent constructive problem of international statesmanship.

I trust that the best and most instructed minds among us, on both sides of the Atlantic, will, without any prejudices to the supreme necessity of winning the war, contribute all that they have of expert knowledge, resources, and practical suggestion to the common stock. Let no one suppose that it is an easy task which will yield to the simple solvents of sentiment and good-will. It needs, if its difficulties are to be overcome, all the resources of the hardest and the clearest thought. But there is much to encourage those who confront it in the experience of the past. Changes which seemed at least as utopian have passed, and passed rapidly, from dreams into realities. We have seen the abolition of private war. We have seen the reconciliation of disconnected and jarring races and interests in the lasting unity of federated commonwealths. This is a new step, a long step, a large step in advance on the road of human progress. But it can and it must be taken. And when the goal is reached, as it will be, and that perhaps sooner than many expect, due honor will be paid to one of the first and greatest of its pioneers—to President Wilson.

Austria's Leaders Accept Germany's Policy

By COUNT CZERNIN

Former Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister

[In an Address in the Austrian Upper House in Reply to the Austrian Premier, Delivered July 18, 1918]

IF the Premier [Dr. von Seidler] really treads the path he has indicated there is no doubt that we shall place ourselves unconditionally under him. Our policy suffers from the defects of the system whereby we pursue a different course in our domestic and foreign policies. In our foreign policy we steer, thank God, a German course. We are laboring very intensively on an extension and deepening of the German alliance. In our domestic policy it must, it is true, be admitted that the Premier, whose good qualities I recognize, for some time has been endeavoring to enter upon a clear course.

A domestic policy which is in accord with foreign policy can only rest on the majority, which in its nature is German. Only the separation of Galicia from the Austrian complex of lands can bring about a decisive step forward. A wavering domestic policy deprives Austria of her power of resistance and encourages our enemies, who are quite openly working for a revolution within the empire. That was not always so. So long as the Entente hoped to be able to separate us from Germany and bring about a separate peace it treated us benevolently. Only when it became convinced that we are incapable of felony, and that we shall wage a war of defense for Germany's interests exactly as for our own to the end, did their protection give place to an attempt at revolution.

As long as the war lasts the monarchy can only be an ally or an enemy of Germany; it can never be neutral. I say nothing of what honor and the obligations of the alliance demand, although that alone would be a sufficient reason for not even mentioning the idea. Base acts have often enough occurred in the history of the world, but when they are also idiotic, then—. An internal policy which does not follow the same course as our foreign policy damages not only the

relations of our alliance but also our influence in Europe for the attainment of a world peace. The war is at the bottom a duel between Germany and Great Britain. The moment Germany and Great Britain can come to an understanding the world war is at an end, despite the French and Italian Utopia of conquest.

[Count Czernin added that he had read the last statement of the Imperial Chancellor relative to Belgium with great satisfaction, and he thought he might hope that the clear mind of this eminent statesman offered a guarantee in Germany, too, that this war would have reached an end at the moment when their enemies renounced their Utopian plans of conquest. Count Czernin continued:]

The Imperial Chancellor, Mr. Lloyd George, and our Foreign Minister [Count Burian] are all, according to their declarations, inclined to examine peace proposals, but none of them will make them themselves. The way out of this dilemma would be if each of the two groups of powers would communicate their peace proposals to a neutral power which, by comparing the peace proposals of both sides, could form an idea as to whether an agreement were possible or not. If only there were the slightest prospect of an understanding an attempt should be made. Absolute confidence between Berlin and Vienna is also a condition of the Austro-Polish solution.

[The speaker said he had recently become very skeptical regarding a solution of the Austro-Polish question. He no longer believed in it, because neither the Austrian Poles nor the Austrian Ukrainians had finally decided upon the matter, but the fact remained that those prerequisites might be established between Vienna and Berlin. That formed the basis of his entire line of thought. He protested against the allegation that the Brest peace was not a peace of understanding, stating in this connection that the union of Courland and Lithuania to Germany took place at their direct desire after the Russian Government had proclaimed free self-determination as the right of all individual peoples. The Rumanian peace was also a peace of understanding, and the best proof thereof was that Rumania herself would protest most loudly if this peace should be annulled and if it had to give up Bessarabia again.]

Views of Baron Burian and Baron Hussarek

Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, in a communication sent July 16, 1918, to the Prime Ministers of Austria and Hungary, discussed the differences between the Central Powers and the Entente as follows:

If our enemies continuously demand atonement for wrong done, and "restitution," then this is a claim which we, on our part, could urge with much more justification against them, because we have been attacked, and the wrong done to us must above all be redressed. But this kind of interest will hardly prevent, to a considerable degree, the unraveling of the terrible war entanglement.

The enemy's obstinacy in regard to his territorial demands concerning Alsace-Lorraine, Trentino, Trieste, the German colonies, &c., appears to be insurmountable. Herein lies the limit of our readiness for peace. We are prepared to discuss everything, but not the cession of our own territory.

The enemy not only wants to cut from Austria-Hungary what he would like for himself, but the inner structure of the monarchy itself, too, is to be attacked, and the monarchy to be dissolved, if possible, into component parts. Now that it is recognized that ordinary war methods have not sufficed to defeat us, then suddenly the interest in our internal affairs arose supreme. The Entente, however, discovered its sympathy for our internal affairs at so late a period of the war that many an enemy statesman who now prates about the monarchy's national questions as a war aim had probably no idea of their existence at the beginning of the war. This fact can be recognized from the amateurish and superficial manner in which our opponents discuss and attempt to solve these complicated problems. This method, however, appeared to them to be useful. They have, therefore, organized it as they have organized the blockade, and in England they have now also a Propaganda Minister. We wish to place this attack on record, but without any useless indignation or whining.

The choice of this new means of fighting us, however, does not show too great confidence in the success of our enemy's

previous efforts. We are certain that it will be unsuccessful. Our opponents start from a completely mechanical misjudgment of the character of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and prefer, in their satisfaction, to overlook the present difficult internal problems and the fact that these States, with their various nationalities, are no accidental structure, but a product of historical and ethnographical necessity which carry in themselves the fundamental principle of life and race. They therefore possess, and this applies fully to Austria and Hungary, the necessary elasticity and adaptability to the changing events of the times, the ability to reform themselves according to the necessities of their standard of development, and to solve all internal crises without uncalled-for foreign interference.

Our enemies want to paralyze us by an offensive of irritation and so render us helpless. They want to crush our very powerful organism in order to make the weak parts one after the other serviceable to their own purposes. In this they will fail.

According to their uninvited prescriptions, one-half of Austria-Hungary's population may perish in order to make the other half happy. For that purpose this senseless war must be continued.

As has always been the case for centuries past, the States and races of the monarchy will settle their internal problems in agreement with their ruler. The monarchy resolutely declines foreign interference in any form just as it does not meddle with the affairs of foreigners.

We have never prescribed a program for our enemies as to how they shall deal with their domestic questions, and when we have occasion frequently to recall that it is not all happiness and harmony with our enemies in their domestic affairs, and that they have their own problems in Ireland, India, &c., we did so only by way of exhortation to reciprocity, giving the advice: "Sweep before your own door."

Our enemy's inflammatory activity is not content with trying to stir up our races against one another, but it does not even scruple, by means of circulating monstrous and base calumnies, to sow distrust between the races of the monarchy and the hereditary dynasty.

Baron von Hussarek, the new Austro-Hungarian Premier, in unfolding his policy in the lower house of Parliament, said on July 27:

> In firm union with Germany, with which we are united in unshakeable friendship and loyalty, and with which we are about to be more closely united, it is now imperative to enforce a successful end to this terrible struggle. After a year of severe trial it is now time to realize the intentions which the Central Empires' statesmen repeatedly have unanimously stated, which threaten no one, and which aim at a general reconcilation of the people. The Austrian Government will contribute all in its power to the attainment of this ardently desired end.
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> For the attainment of this aim the outward manifestation of power alone does not suffice. There must also be a development of internal strength. An absolute condition, therefore, is continual constitutional co-operation with Parliament, to which the Government will scrupulously adhere.

In presenting his Cabinet to the upper house of Parliament on July 30 Baron Hussarek declared:

> We are ready to conclude an honorable peace as soon as our opponents renounce their hostile plans aiming at our destruction or repression. So long as our opponents take the standpoint of one-sided dictation there is nothing for us but to continue the war and carry it on so vigorously that it will be shortened.
>
> As in war, so in peace, Austria will not stand alone. Our alliance with Germany is a real affair of the heart and will deepen under the influence of peace. There is nothing menacing in this alliance, the warlike contents of which were forced upon the Central Powers by their opponents and will cease as soon as they extend the hand of peace.

Baron von Hussarek said that the Dual Monarchy could remain fully confident in its army and alliances to obtain a good and honorable peace.

Belgium as a Pawn

The Caustic Reply of the British Foreign Minister to Count Hertling

By ARTHUR J. BALFOUR

[An Address Delivered on Belgian Independence Day at London, July 20, 1918]

FOUR years ago the people of Belgium, like the people of Great Britain and of France, had no premonition of the disasters that were, within a fortnight, about to overwhelm them. Belgium was pursuing the peaceful and tranquil tenor of her national life, a model of industrial efficiency and political freedom, neither dreaming of making war nor fearing that others would make war upon her. The change from that day is indeed a tragic change, for we now see this martyr among the nations, her land trampled by a foreign and remorseless enemy; stripped of all means by which she can carry on her national interests; reduced to a servitude which in some cases amounts, I fear, almost to a slavery—tortured, crushed, helpless. And yet, though that is the picture of what has occurred to Belgium since July 21, 1914, I think there never was a moment when her virtue shone out more clearly in the face of mankind, and when the infamy of her oppressor caused bitterer hate or profounder loathing among all civilized nations.

The Germans, I believe—I know—calculated that, however unjustifiable by the laws of God and man and the rules that govern the commerce of civilized nations, however infamous her conduct might appear, success, striking, rapid, and overwhelming, would cause all those crimes to be buried in the past, and that she would shine out among all nations, if not the most beloved, at least the most feared, at least the greatest. Germany has made many miscalculations in this war. Indeed, she has never made a moral calculation which was not utterly wide of the mark, and her habitual practice has not been abandoned in this case. The crime of which Belgium is the victim is not forgotten, is not likely to be forgotten, never will be forgotten. It is an eternal stain upon the fame of the German people which nothing they can do, even were they to repent tomorrow of their political crimes, would ever wipe out.

BROKEN CONTRACTS

Mankind are not mere worshippers of brute successes which the German moralists assume. There is such a thing as the human conscience and the human memory, and if and when this war ends successfully, when Belgium again takes her place among the free and independent and prosperous nations of the world, it will be vain for the Germans to try and put aside the memory of all that they have done. It is burned into the conscienc of civilized mankind; nothing will efface it.

To me it seems that, perhaps from the very nature of the polemic in which we have all been more or less plunged since the war began, we have been inclined, from the fact that Germany broke all her treaties in attacking Belgium, to lose the full perspective, to see out of its correct proportion the real character of the deed that she then performed. It is perfectly true that the attack on Belgium becomes doubly infamous from the fact that the attacker had promised to be the defender, and that those whom Germany was overwhelming were the very people whom Germany herself had solemnly promised to defend. It is also true, and cannot be forgotten, that Germany's utter disregard of treaties is something we are bound to remember whenever we base a policy upon German promises.

The Germans tell us—and I hope in this respect that they tell us truly—that

the war is not going to be a prolonged one, and that peace negotiations are visible already above the horizon. I do not associate myself with those prophecies one way or the other. All I say is that when the time comes when Europe has to consider around a council table how to protect itself against a repetition of the horrors and abominations of which Germany has been responsible, it will be impossible for European statesmen to forget that a German promise is not a binding contract—and that the peace of the world rests on frail foundations indeed if it rests on nothing more solid than a solemn pact. That again, I agree, is a most important fact which we can not and ought not attempt to forget. There is another aspect again connected with the Belgian outrage which must be ever present to the minds of the citizens of this country, for it was the fact—and the fact is a mere historical truth—that we were pledged to defend Belgium, which wiped out every doubt that could touch the conscience of any man of British birth as to whether it was or was not his duty to take part in this great struggle.

A "FLIMSY EXCUSE"

Therefore, from all these three aspects I do not deny that the breach by Germany of her treaty obligations is of the deepest as well as of the most sinister significance. Do not let us forget that had there been no treaty binding Germany to protect Belgium, had Germany violated no paper contract at all, the infamy of attacking a small, friendly, and neutral State—first attacking it, then conquering it, then oppressing it—all for no other reason than that Germany wanted to get at another foe, that would remain, if the Treaty of 1839 had never been brought into existence, one of the most shocking episodes of the war—and one which, of all others, is of a character which it behooves mankind, by some league of nations or other machinery, to see shall never recur in the future.

I am aware that the Germans in the earlier days of this controversy were good enough to observe that Belgium had brought all these misfortunes upon herself, because instead of trusting to Germany and silently permitting Germany to use her country she had defended to the best of her ability that neutrality which we were all pledged to protect. What a flimsy excuse is this! But flimsy as it is, I am not sure that the general public appreciates its full cynicism. At the very time that Belgium was being attacked by the German armies, Switzerland, another small country, another free country, announced that it was prepared to defend its neutrality against all attacks. How did the Germans deal with that situation? They sent a document, of which anybody who takes the trouble can obtain a copy, in which they congratulated the Swiss upon their courage and foresight (I forget the exact words, but that is what it comes to,) and which told them how pleased they were to learn that the Swiss were determined at all costs to maintain their position as a neutral power. So that you have at the same moment Belgium attacked and told that neutrality is a thing which a weak nation ought not to raise against a nation so much more powerful—and I presume so much more cultivated—than themselves, while another nation, also a small nation, is told that it is doing well in publishing to the world that it will not allow its neutrality to be interfered with, and is making all preparation to prevent it being interfered with. Who can doubt that if it had suited the German high command to attack France through Switzerland, instead of through Belgium, it would have been Belgium that would have received the congratulations of the German Government, and it would have been Switzerland who would have been trampled under the German heel?

WHAT IS A "PAWN"?

But, surely, the crowning insult has been leveled against Belgium by the German Chancellor in his last speech. He then told the world, the German world in the first place, and listening nations in the second place, that Germany did not propose to keep Belgium forever, but that Germany did intend

to use Belgium as a pawn. The word "pawn" ought not to be unfamiliar to the German Chancellor, for it has been used in connection with the future peace arrangements both by President Wilson and by the German Chancellor himself on a previous memorable occasion. You may remember that when Germany did not think that things were going quite so well with her as she thought, when Count Hertling made one of his recent speeches, he dwelt at length in the Reichstag on President Wilson's well-known four points. This is what Count Hertling said: "The second of President Wilson's "points is that peoples and provinces "shall not be bartered about from sover- "eignty to sovereignty as if they were "mere chattels or pawns in a game for "the balance of power. This clause," went on the German Chancellor, "in "President Wilson's pronouncement can "be unconditionally assented to. Indeed, "one wonders that the President of the "United States considered it necessary "to emphasize it anew."

THE SUPREME INSULT

Compare with that the more recent utterance of the same orator, in which he says that "the occupation and present "possession of Belgium only means that "we have a pawn for future negotiations." Now what does a "pawn," in the sense in which it is used by the Chancellor, really mean? It means that having attacked Belgium without provocation, having conquered it, and having treated it when conquered without pity, having deprived it of every material good and of all the moral benefits that attach to freedom, he is prepared to give it up provided he can get some other territory in which the Germans can exercise their peculiar gifts.

When he talks of a pawn and of exchanging Belgium for some other district, some other country, some other colony, it may be it only means that he will consent no longer to misgovern and oppress Belgium on condition that the powers permit Germany to misgovern and oppress some other areas in Europe or elsewhere. That is what treating Belgium as a pawn means—that and nothing else. And to me it seems that of all the outrages to which Belgium has been subjected none has been more insulting.

Against the dark background of these infamies, military infamies, political infamies, administrative infamies, the brightness of Belgium's glories and virtues shine out with special and immortal lustre. Whether we think of what her people have endured, or what her army has done and is doing, or what her heroic monarch has performed for his country — whether we look at all three as one indivisible and patriotic whole, our admiration warms and glows at the contemplation of this unique endurance, this unique flight of courage, faith, endurance, and patriotism. Bitter must be the thought in every Belgian heart of what Belgians in Belgium are now suffering. Let them, however, take courage. Let their spirits rise in the mood of profound cheerfulness, for these dark days are not going to last forever, and when they come to a conclusion, when peace again dawns upon this much tormented and cruelly tried world, when Belgium is again free and prosperous, then Belgians, whether they have spent these unhappy years in exile, or, an even harder fate, have spent them in their own country, they will be able to look back upon this time of cruel and unexampled trial, and they will say to themselves, to their children, and to their descendants, that Belgium, though her existence as a political entity is less than a century, has within that period shown an example of courage, constancy, and virtue to mankind for which all the world should be grateful.

Belgium Under the Iron Heel

Intolerable Conditions of Life in Belgian Cities Under German Domination

[By a Belgian Lawyer Who Escaped from the Country and Told The London Times What He Had Seen]

ON the smallest pretext, a mere suspicion, an anonymous letter, &c., the most honorable citizens are arrested, imprisoned, and completely isolated. Some have never been examined, and are released after a few months' captivity without being allowed to know the cause of their arrest. Others are subjected to constant cross-examinations and sometimes to severe ill treatment to force them to confess their supposed crime. The prisons of Turnhout, Antwerp, and Charleroi have been converted into torture chambers. At Turnhout, a German officer named Flieger strikes the accused in the face with a whip. In Antwerp, the two brothers Meyer and the Director of the prison are the chief torturers. Several of their victims have become mad. If brute force fails, the Germans try to extract confession through false promises, as in the case of a citizen of Brussels who had been corresponding with his son at the front. His letters having been seized, he was solemnly promised that if he mentioned the name of the messenger the latter would not be prosecuted. He was weak enough to speak, and his accomplice was condemned to eight months' solitary confinement.

If this method fails, the examiners adopt sterner means, depriving the prisoner of food, drugging him, or putting in his cell a spy in disguise who will try to gain his confidence. Sometimes even false documents are produced which are supposed to be signed by an accomplice and the prisoner is told that, his friends having confessed their crime, it is no use for him to resist any longer.

The prisons are overcrowded, three and four men being confined in a cell designed for one. The bedding is not changed for months and the prisoners receive one towel a month, which must be used for everything. Most of the food is uneatable, and the prisoners—whether accused or convicted—are subjected to the worst ill-treatment. If they do not spring to attention before their guards, if they speak in the courtyard, if they turn their head when at attention they are mercilessly struck in the face. Sometimes, during the night, those who are condemned to deportation are warned to be ready to go in the early morning. If they shout with anger or even cry with anguish on receiving the news their guards rush into the cell and knock them about until they fall senseless on the floor. This is not hearsay. I have had the opportunity of meeting several trustworthy people who have been the eyewitnesses and the victims of such scenes, particularly in Antwerp.

As a lawyer, I am able to give some details of the sittings of the German Military Court. In Brussels, these sittings take place in a large room on the second floor of the Ministry of the Navy. The Judges sit from 8 o'clock in the morning till late at night. The Public Prosecutor, after explaining the case in German, examines the German agents and the witnesses for the prosecution. The advocate, usually chosen by the accused's relations, has a most difficult and painful task, as he is not allowed to see the dossier and cannot even interview his client. He knows practically nothing of the case when he comes into court and has to improvise his defense during the proceedings. The accused is cross-examined in German, the questions being translated by an interpreter. The severity of the German Judges is well known. No week passes without three or four executions taking place. In Antwerp

twenty-four people were recently condemned to death in one day.

The Germans themselves estimate at 100,000 a year the number of condemnations and fines inflicted on the Belgians. Though this figure is certainly below the mark, such persecutions only affect a minority and are not the worst evil which the people have to stand.

The cost of food and fuel inflicts untold sufferings on the whole nation and threatens the existence of every Belgian home. The following figures give a fair idea of the increase in prices since the beginning of the war:

	1913.	1916.	1917.	April, 1918.
A pound of meat..	$0.35	$0.60	$1.41	$2.00
A pound of butter.	.35	.60	2.50	3.50
A pound of bacon.	.50	1.10	2.50	....
A pint of milk.....	.05	.08	.25	....
One egg	.02	.08	.25	....
Meal, per pound...	.03	.50	1.00	....
Sugar, per pound..	.06	.50	1.60	....
Potatoes, per lb...	.01	.07	.25	....

The principal cause of this increase in the cost of food is the creation by the Germans of their Zentrale, which requisitions almost everything under the pretext of stopping profiteering. The consumer is thus obliged to buy from smugglers, who run great risks in infringing the regulations forbidding the transport of potatoes, butter, and other foodstuffs from the country to the towns. Free fights occur frequently between the soldiers and the smugglers when the latter are in sufficient force, and in some cases German sentries have been killed. The average cost of the daily life of a family of two adults and two children, which before the war was 62 cents, is today $3.50, and a yearly budget of $230 for food expenses alone has risen to $1,240.

The rich people are spending their capital, the people of the middle class are completely ruined, and the laboring class, the majority of whom are unemployed, are on the verge of starvation and entirely dependent on relief from outside. Most people have lost 25 per cent. of their weight, the cases of tuberculosis have increased by 100 per cent., and the doctors, in spite of their untiring devotion, can no longer cope with the work. The mortality, which was 8.5 per 1,000 in 1913, was 19.30 in 1917, and the birth rate has decreased from 17 per 1,000 to 13.7.

The shortage of coal is due mostly to the lack of means of transport, the railways and even the barges on the rivers and canals having been requisitioned. In Brussels a ton is worth anything between $50 and $60. In Flemish communes the Germans have given special facilities for transport and purchase to their Activist friends, who are monopolizing the trade and are able to sell at a much lower price, ($20 to $30 a ton,) realizing at the same time a net profit of over $5 per ton. They insure in this way the fidelity of this little band of traitors. A similar organization was set up for Brussels, but it was boycotted by the public.

A similar policy with regard to the Activists has been pursued lately in every department of public life. Some of them fill several offices, being, at the same time, professors in the German-Flemish University at Ghent and chiefs of some department of the new Flemish Ministry in Brussels. The place of every patriot who resigned was promptly filled by some Activist without any claim or right to it. Young undergraduates have been made professors, and small employes are at the head of important offices. This policy is not without some inconvenience when dealing with such a motley crowd of shady characters. About a dozen Activists who had been given important posts in the new administration have had to be dismissed for accepting bribes.

The importance of the separatist movement has been greatly exaggerated abroad. At the demonstration which took place at Antwerp in February last, and to which the rank and file of the movement had come from the smallest village in Flanders, only between 300 and 400 men formed the procession. Altogether at that time the Activists certainly did not number 1,500 out of a population of 6,500,000. Since then, after the anti-Activist campaign started all over Flanders, their number has greatly diminished. Secret meetings of patriots were held at night to take the

necessary measures in view of the forthcoming visit of Activist leaders. At Ghent they were booed, at Antwerp stones and mud were thrown at them, and for two days they were hunted from house to house; at Tirlemont peasants armed with whips broke up their procession, and the garrison of Louvain had to be called out to rescue them from the hands of an infuriated mob; at Malines they were beaten.

I am inclined to think that the separatist movement has strengthened the morale of the Belgians instead of deteriorating it. The pact made by the Activists with the enemy has stirred the people's deepest energies. "We have "lost everything" you hear them say, "we have lost our liberty, our comfort, "our flag, our King, to preserve our "honor. Shall we allow this band of cor- "rupted spies to pose as our representa- "tives and to stain our good name?" By shaking hands with the German Chancellor the members of the Council of Flanders have prevented many from having anything to do with the humblest of his representatives in Belgium.

Saving Belgium From Starvation

Exactions of the Invaders

LORD ROBERT CECIL of the British Foreign Office, speaking in the House of Commons on Aug. 6, 1918, stated that the Germans had levied war contributions to a total of 2,330,000,000 francs (about $466,000,000) upon Belgium, besides enormous fines upon localities, firms, and individuals. These monstrous exactions, he said, must certainly be taken into account when peace terms were being arranged.

The Belgian Legation at Washington issued the following official statement on Aug. 8:

> Article 51 of the fourth convention of The Hague stipulates concerning requisitions in an occupied country of war material which can serve only the armies of occupation that they "must be proportionate to the resources of the country."
>
> In Belgium the Germans have interpreted this article so liberally that the stipulated restriction no longer has any meaning; they have possessed themselves by seizures, purchases more or less voluntary, and requisitions of the food stores and of the agricultural products on the pretext that they were necessary for their so-called army of occupation, which in reality was their fighting army. There has resulted a great scarcity of the very essentials of existence.
>
> With the same scorn of all the obligations to which they themselves subscribed, the invaders do not trouble themselves at all to feed the people, so that without national and foreign aid the people would be in danger of dying of hunger. It is to the great generosity of the United States that the Belgians owe their escape from destruction by famine. They will never forget it.
>
> One may realize the enromous importance of American aid by considering the following tables. There are to be found there the quantities of products, according to their weight, brought to Rotterdam and sent on to Belgium in the care of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. These totals would be much larger if the Germans had not too often carried off the stores of the "relief."
>
> There have been sent from the United States (reported April 2, 1918):

Cheese, tons	31,023
Flour, tons	52,158
Meat, bacon, and lard, tons	983
Corn, tons	14,369
Rice, tons	2,674
Pease and beans, tons	4,080
Coffee, tons	34
Milk, tons	53
Potatoes, bushels	9,491,250
Miscellaneous, tons	9,000
Clothing, tons	123,000

> In addition, large purchases have been made in several countries. They represent a total weight of 2,789,406,000 kilos.

FAMINE PRICES

To the list of wartime prices given in the foregoing article may be added a few items that appeared in the Teutonized Brussels press at the end of April, 1918: At the slaughter house of Anderlecht an ox was sold by weight for 13,000 francs, ($2,600.) That makes up to 25 francs ($5) a kilo and 35 francs ($7) for the best cuts. Spinach, 2 francs (40 cents) a kilo, (2 pounds 3 ounces;) salad, (today

it is weighed in the shops as are drugs in a drug store,) 40 centimes (8 cents) for 100 grams, (3½ ounces;) turnips, 1 franc 30 centimes (26 cents) a kilo. A ray at the market of Brussels was sold for 18 francs ($3.60) a kilo.

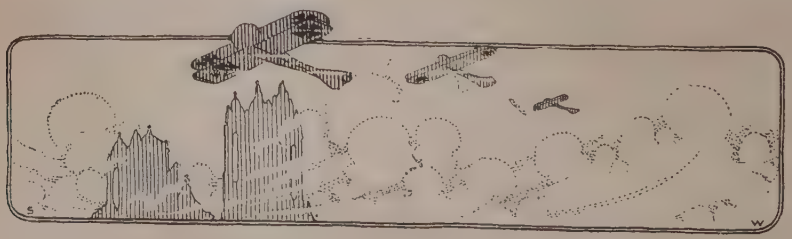
From the same source comes this picture:

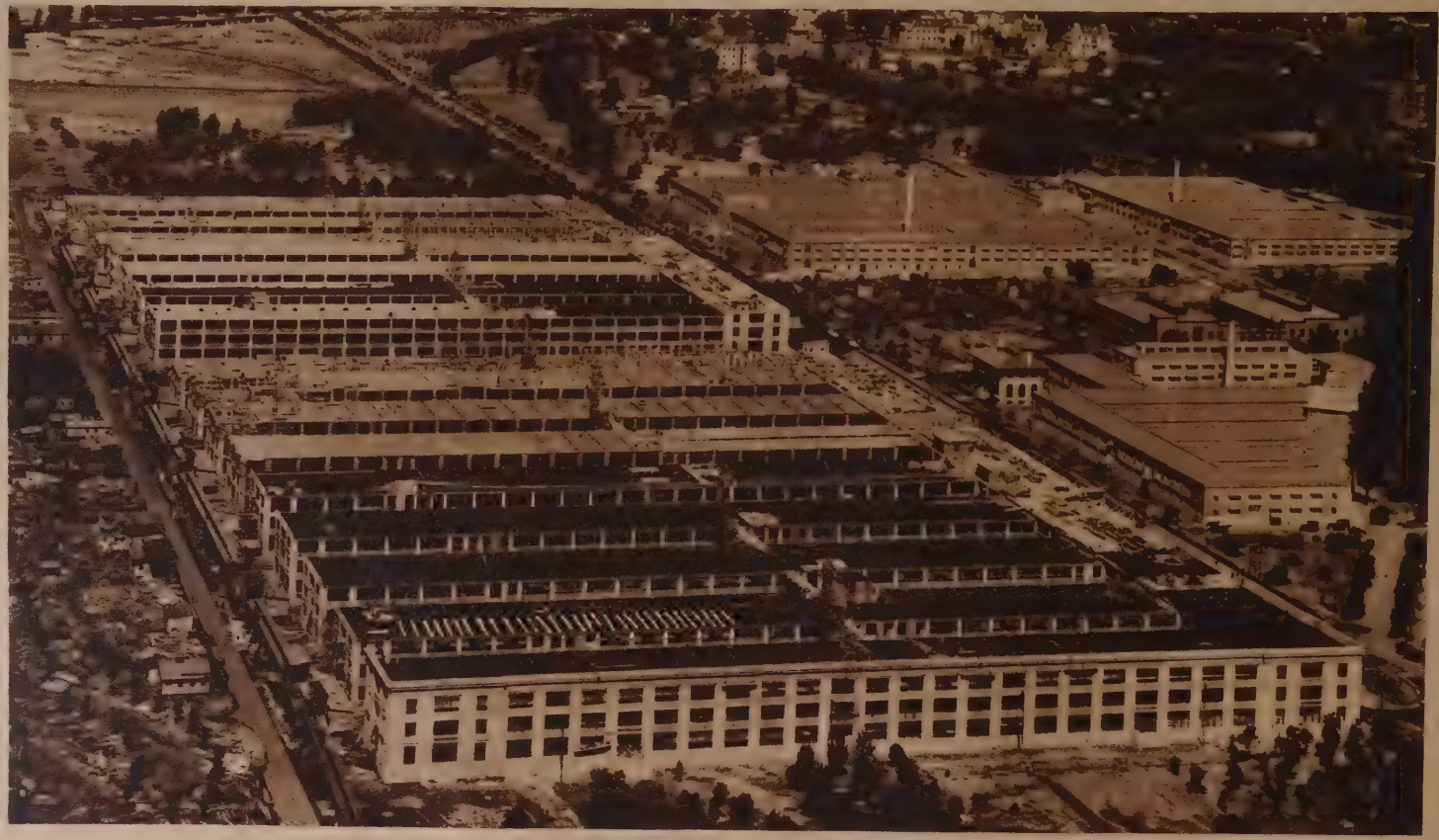
> Eleven o'clock at night. The pedestrians hurry to catch the last train. The Place de la Bourse is alive under the bluish light of the street lamps. At the corner of the Monico Restaurant in the shelter of a French window is seated an old man. Before him we see a basket in which are several articles. We stop. We walk around him. On a plate are spread out four or five slices of bread that etiquette calls a "sandwich" of liver sausage 2 francs 75 centimes, (55 cents.) At one side a diminutive tart, which seems to be made of rice, 3 francs 50 centimes, (70 cents.) Also some apples at 1 franc 25 centimes, (25 cents,) and boxes of matches at 25 centimes, (5 cents.)

A Belgian interned in Holland obtained permission to wear civilian dress. His wife, who had remained at Verviers, Belgium, joined him and the interned prisoner wrote recently to one of his friends as follows: "My wife has come "with my personal effects; however, a "number of people came to her, before "she left, and offered her for my Sunday "suit and overcoat, 500 francs, ($100;) "for a pair of velvet trousers, which cost "me 7 francs ($1.40) before the war, 40 "francs, ($8;) for my shoes, 250 francs, "($50,) &c." Since this woman left, the situation has not improved. Wooden shoes are taking, more and more, the place of leather footwear; even the young girls who care most for appearances are obliged to wear wooden shoes.

The following statement regarding continued deportations of Belgian workmen to Germany was made public Aug. 1, 1918, by the Belgian Legation at Washington:

> It is known that at the beginning of the year 1918, in spite of all their promises to the neutrals, as well as to the Pope, the Germans again deported from Lokeren (Eastern Flanders) to the western front, to labor at military works, 27,000 men of the middle and working classes.
>
> It is announced at present that 200 of these unfortunates have been able to return to their native towns. They are all in a lamentable state of health, and for the most part tuberculous; but dysentery and typhus, underfeeding, cruel treatment, and blows have made very many victims among the men deported from Lokeren, and nothing marks the spot where they have been buried.
>
> We learn that Louis Franck, Alderman of Antwerp, condemned once before by the Germans to pay a fine of 1,000 marks because of a speech too strongly stamped with patriotic loyalty, has just been arrested, condemned to two months in prison, and incarcerated in solitary confinement at Bonn, forbidden to communicate with the outside world.
>
> According to the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, M. Franck was punished for having refused, in the name of the Communal Administration, to place at the disposal of the enemy the storehouse of the port and the force of workmen which is attached to it, the German requisition constituting a violation of the liberty of labor forbidden by the Belgian law.
>
> News has come of the arrest and deportation into Germany until the end of the war of M. Braun, Burgomaster of Ghent, dismissed from office by the occupying authority at the request of the Activists. M. Braun will be accompanied by his associate, M. Maurice de Weert, an Alderman dismissed at the same time as the Burgomaster.
>
> Up to the present four members of the Board of Aldermen of Ghent have experienced the severity of the enemy—M. Lampens, Deputy, imprisoned and deported; M. de Bruyn, Alderman of Public Instruction and of the Beaux Arts, deported; M. Braun and M. de Weert, the two most recent victims of the German terror, deported.





The new United States War Department building at Washington. It is the largest office building in the world

The first American troops on German soil. They are marching through Massevaux, (German Masmuenster,) in Alsace, a town reconquered by the French

American Government's Peace Terms

United States Senate Leaders of Both Parties Firmly Opposed to German Proposals

The attitude of the United States toward peace proposals was clearly stated by the leaders of the two political parties in the Senate Chamber on July 25, 1918. The addresses were made by Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, the Democratic whip, who has consistently represented the views of President Wilson on the floor of the chamber, and by Senator L. Y. Sherman of Illinois, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate. The two Senators, representing the two opposing political parties, which constitute the entire membership of the Senate, are completely in accord in their views respecting the terms of peace. As the Senate is the treaty-making body of the United States Government, these utterances may be regarded as the irreducible minimum of any peace terms that could be ratificd by this Government. Both utterances are presented herewith.

The Price of Peace

By J. HAMILTON LEWIS

Democratic Whip of the United States Senate

[Address Delivered in the Senate Chamber, July 25, 1918.]

I HAVE for three or four mornings received protests in rather flaming language and in accusatory form, all charging this Government with having for its object the obeying of the demand of the capitalist power—whatever that means—in going into Russia, in refusing to "recognize the Bolsheviki," and in "intruding ourselves in their affairs just at a time," as the petitions charge, "when the rights of those who claim to represent the will of the people are about to be enforced." These petitions charge that this Government has the object or desire of intercepting the men who represent what they call "real democracy"; that we are upon the eve of some intervention that they claim is in violation of all the policies which heretofore we have professed. They call attention to our friendship in the past shown in the democracy of Greece and the passage by Congress of resolutions in behalf of the different lands of South America when these were protesting against kingly oppression and fighting for their liberties. They invite attention to the fact that we raised a voice against foreign Governments attempting to lay a strong hand upon the revolutionists of Cuba when Cuba sought freedom.

I deplore that one of these petitions referred to the "capitalist-owned" Republican Party, to the "capitalist-owned" Democratic Party, to the Senate as the slave of this wealth that merely bided its time to surrender, to the House of Representatives as the tool of tyranny, and everywhere asserts that this present Administration watches for an opportunity to ally itself with "those interests that are destroying democracy and are marching on over liberty."

I never have refused to present petitions to this body whenever they came respectfully, even when I was very much opposed to the subject matter of the petition; but I do not feel that I am under any obligation to any people who may call themselves my constituents to present resolutions to this body which are couched in such unbecoming accusations—so unwarranted, in fact—as these in their reflections upon Senafors who are loyal and faithful in their public service to their country, however much they may differ from each other on local subjects. I decline to present these petitions, and

I do not want the cover of cowardice or the excuse that I did not receive them or that I forgot them, or that I have been prohibited from presenting them by any particular rule of the Senate. I wish to say that I decline to present them. I decline to present them, not because I would not present to the Senate any protest from any American upon any subject touching government, but I do not feel that, in such language as they are framed, in such accusations as they are modeled, they should be presented here or that I could sponsor their presentation.

VON KUEHLMANN'S TERMS

I think we are confronted at this time with a most attractive and consoling aspect, so far as the European war is concerned, particularly as to the east. If history is a guide to us, all preceding action anticipating surrender, concessions, compromises equivalent to the confession of defeat are now being duplicated by the course of the Imperial German Government. A short while past the officials of this Government asserted to the world that it was their object to hold all those lands which had become their conquest, and all of those people that had become subjugated by the power of the sword. This was before America landed her soldiers and gave evidence of what we may call proof earnest of what we could do, what we would do, and what we had entered this war to do.

It is interesting to note that we have from von Kühlmann, Foreign Minister, the statement that Germany is now ready for peace, and the further statement that this peace cannot be obtained by arms nor is it expected that it shall be by arms. The appeal is now made that there be some diplomatic arrangement entered into by which there be some diplomatic tribunal established before which the propositions of peace may be made. One would have imagined when this proposition was made by von Kühlmann that it would have met indignant repudiation on the part of the Kaiser, it was so at variance with all the past boastings that had occupied those eminent leaders in their defiance to any movement in behalf of justice and liberty, particularly as against us who were the envoy, as we felt, of just government administered by the will of the people.

Promptly after this von Kühlmann message we are moved to consider that von Hertling, the Chancellor, comes forth now to proclaim that it was never the intention of Germany to hold Belgium as a vassal nor to continue it as a prize. That the only object in holding Belgium is that it may be treated, to use his words, as a "pawn," something as a basis of trade. Where? Evidently in that anticipated diplomatic convention that is about to be called or that is desired, referred to by von Kühlmann, and as one of the considerations for the peace terms to be asked by Germany.

Now that is followed with the statement of an intimation to surrender Serbia, Rumania, a part of the Bulgarian country, and to yield all of those concrete demands as to military conquered countries of Europe—propositions for which we have contended as necessary to democracy and to liberty.

What does this mean? If there be those in this country who are now charging the United States with the object of intervening in the east in any form of intervention for the purpose of suppressing liberty, let them understand that any move this Government may make in harmony with the other Governments working to the common end of obtaining justice for the world is not addressed to suppressing anything in the east or intervening with a view of disturbing a free Government, whether it be Russia or any other Government that is at peace or on its way to liberty, but that our action, whatever it is to be, is to prevent the success of the design of Prussia, which is demonstrated to my mind, exhibited very clearly, by those two professions on the part of von Kühlmann and Hertling.

OSTENSIBLE CONCESSIONS

What are they? Some time ago I took the liberty of making a statement on this floor, and, I think, it was the distinguished senior Senator from Minnesota, [Mr. Nelson,] who forecast my views in

an expression of his own. We then said that in the lapse of time Prussia took for her military drives, and while she indulged the suggestion of what she called her peace move or peace drive, the real object was to tender to us an apparent evidence of granting all that we had asked in the way of freedom of the seas and government by the consent of the governed. Then she would make the offer to do something with Belgium satisfactory to the world and yield up the smaller possessions—particularly Northern France and Alsace-Lorraine.

I made bold then to offer the suggestion that all this when it came forth would be in consideration of our yielding to Germany the undisturbed privilege to possess all of that eastern country which she had overrun and taken by sword and cannon—that part of Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, and a portion of Russia leading to an eastern outlet from sea to sea of which she is now in full control. This extends from Finland over across the Baltic and down to the Caspian. I said then that it was my opinion that her purpose was to make tender to the world that she was yielding everything we sought for in return for those things in the east, which, at the time we entered the war, she would say were not in our consideration and could not have been within our purpose, for when we entered the war she would say that those particular territories of Russia had no interest to us, and that, therefore, whatever has transpired concerning them was in defense of Germany against the advance she charges Russia had made upon her and not in opposition to any assault she had made against the Russians.

I am free to tell you there is information in this community that the suggestion has now been made by Prussia and Austria, filtered through Italy, and will find its way in a more official form and outwardly to all the people that Germany's proposition for peace is now that she will before the world tender Belgium, Rumania, something of privileges to Serbia, an apparent concession to the world of freedom of the seas for which America went to war, and the consent of the governed to the different localities now subjugated, and for herself will ask in turn that as to all of this country of the east of which she has become possessed she be allowed to deal with it herself without our interference, the interference of Britain or that of France or of any other of the Allies, her object being that she may obtain the east and hold it—the thing that has been long her object—an increased population of 250,000,000 of people and a property of hundreds of billions of dollars.

PRUSSIA'S CHIEF OBJECT

I have held within myself that the principal object of Prussia in this war was to capture the east, that she might hold the east there to work her power in multiplied form for future destruction of her opponents. I think I see now that the proposition that will be before us in the immediate day has for its design to awaken the American public to the idea that we are now fighting uselessly; to give the impression that the men who are dying, crossing the Marne, moving forward in their valor and glory, are having their lives spent without a purpose; to impress mankind that Germany is tendering to the United States everything for which she went to war and yielding to the Allies every land for which they went to war, and to charge that the continuance of this conflict and the pushing of the allied armies forward into German territory is in direct violation of the things for which we said we went to war. The purpose is to awaken revolt on the part of every mother of a boy and every father of a son; to spread the cry in this country, echoing, "Gentlemen, why not accept the terms of Germany; she gives everything for which you went to war, she tenders a yielding to every proposition that you have ever asked; she only asks to be let alone as to those matters which were not the concern of America when she went to war and which Germany has obtained by virtue of her power in her defense after she was wrongfully assailed by Russia." Germany will present to the United States that it was Russia that prepared to assail her and that when she mobilized she did so only with the single object of

meeting this advance. She is now saying this through von Hertling, although we recall that Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador for Britain, at London, but a short while ago gave out that when the war came on through the action of Serbia it was the result long calculated and ordered, notwithstanding the efforts of Britain and Russia to arbitrate, that the suddenness of action was in order that Prussia might take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded for quick assault. This ex-Ambassador has not been called to account for this confession.

I think I see clearly the move to advance upon our people with this false doctrine with a view to awakening, if they can, dissent in our nation, to create in Britain the feeling that all that Britain has gone to war for is now conceded, in the alleged granting of the rights of France and the rights of the sea. The object is to give to France the idea that all that for which France fought—Alsace-Lorraine and her northern border and fixed borderland—is now being conceded, and yet with all of that we still fight. The charge will be made that at last we are in the open, confessing that we are fighting for the possession of territory, to rob Germany of the field which is hers, and that in nowise were these zones which we entered to protect of concern to a people in whose interests and for whose welfare we have heretofore never professed any purpose or protection.

PERIL IN SIBERIA

Therefore, what will it mean? It will mean that if Germany by way of Esthonia, by way of Rumania, or by way of Vladivostok can get into the east she will have all of the soldiers, the vast millions, of this newly conquered eastern country—Russia and her accessories—and she will promptly organize them into an army of stupendous force.

Remembering the grievance that she feels of our aid to the allies, as she calls it, and our entering this war just at the moment she felt her triumph, she will, by way of Vladivostok, assail us from the Pacific or, coming around and out of the Persian Gulf into the Mediterranean, assail us from the Atlantic, and it will be our country, the United States, which will be the very first to pay the penalty of yielding to these artful suggestions which are being made now with a view to arousing our countrymen to protest against further war. Therefore, if the United States shall find it necessary, in conjunction with those who are co-operating with us, to enter into Russia or into Siberia, let it be understood that it is not for the purpose, as charged by these petitioners or by other people, of intercepting any free government in those lands nor of taking one inch of anybody's territory or preventing the establishment of any democracy under law, but of preventing conversion by Prussia of these peoples—some innocent, some corrupt—into her service, by which she would possess everything from Poland to Vladivostok in the east, then convert all that force against us to the destruction of the things for which we did go into the war and be herself enabled to return to the conflict with a multiplied force and reopen the bloody conflict which she precipitated on this earth in the present war.

NO FALSE PEACE TERMS

For that reason we enter, for our protection as well as for the salvation of liberty to the hoping people of Russia, not as intruders, not as trespassers, but we do warn Prussia that we see through her designs; we understand this new profession of peace, this false propaganda; we inform her that we are not lured by its false glare; by it we are not deceived. And we announce that the course we will take is the course we should take for the preservation of those who rely upon us, and, above all, for that sure defense of America, whose soil and whose future is in danger unless we shall guard those interests in the east that could be converted against us by way of the Pacific.

I would protest against such peace terms and stand against them wherever I could make my voice heard, and I express to the people who send these petitions, as I do to my eminent colleagues here, that our duty here in the face of war and the real designs on the part of

Germany is to take the course that is in the mind and intention of our Government respecting the protection of Russia, the preservation of the East, and the proper salvation of America on the Pacific.

Therefore, I have assumed to offer these suggestions, and I might also say to my people that I trust that the object of these publications, which may come to us in apparent innocence, may not be misunderstood; that it shall be made known that it is with the view of inducing our people to believe that peace can be had upon their own terms, with the object of tendering as the consideration of that peace that we yield those peoples and those countries which to surrender would mean very shortly afterward their oppression and our destruction. We answer all these approaches of Germany beseeching that we halt and listen to deception by replying in the words of the parable, Our hand is to the plow; we will not look back; our order is advance!

Germany Must Be Vanquished

By L. Y. SHERMAN
Republican Senator from Illinois

[Following the Speech of Senator Lewis in the Senate Chamber, July 25, 1918]

I DO not wish to hear any peace talk or any intimation of peace while Germany occupies Belgium or flies her colors above a single foot of French soil. Neither do I wish to hear any intimations of peace until Germany has disavowed her piratical warfare on the sea and given pledges to the civilized world that the submarine shall cease its mockery of humanity, not only now but under guaranties for Germany's future behavior. I only desire to add to what my colleague from Illinois [Mr. Lewis] has forcefully intimated, that peace cannot be considered so long as Germany has failed to disavow the reasons that impelled us to declare war against her. There can be no peace on our part while such a public enemy remains at war with this country and with our allies.

The only time I myself care to consider whether peace shall be discussed in this chamber is when the power of the United States and her allies have driven Germany from Belgium, from France, have taken her by force off the high seas, and when the colors of this Republic are triumphant over the helmet of the Prussian. When that is done, when military force on land and sea have demonstrated even to the apostles of brute force in this world that we can meet them on their own terms and conquer them, I am willing to talk about peace and to listen to some terms for the adjustment of this trouble. Never will there be peace without victory, but there must be peace with a conclusive and overwhelming victory over our public enemies. Until that shall be done it is idle to talk or think peace; until that time has arrived our duty in this chamber is to talk of force, without limit, without stint, and to the utmost—swift, unrelenting, and decisive war. To that end let our airplane development be thoroughly investigated by the authorities now in charge of it, and in addition to that let us vote not only additional appropriations and men for all proper purposes, but let us see that those appropriations are made effective and that the existing waste be stopped. Let our economical development proceed, but let the expenditure of millions upon millions without adequate result be checked. I understand that these things are incidental to hasty preparation, and I speak in no spirit of criticism, but only in a spirit of making our action effective so that we may continue the means of waging unrelenting war until we have produced decisive victory, out of which shall come a permanent peace.

We have in our camps in this country some of the best of our generation; we have across the sea others of the best of our generation. The two years that will

end with present appropriations made or to be made will show an expenditure of $50,000,000,000 that is to be raised by present and future taxation. When the best of our blood, when the countless billions that come from our resources, from our accumulations and our daily toil are to be spent in waging a war of this kind there is but one way to talk peace, and that is through the agency of our army and navy and to continue pressing back the line that is now north of the Marne until the colors representing the enemy that began this war four years ago shall be thrust back beyond the Rhine, until not one acre of French territory remains under the guns of Germany. Let them then ask for peace.

NO PEACE WITH BURGLARS

Shall I begin to talk peace with the burglar in my house at night? When I awaken from my slumbers and find a murderous ruffian rifling my household or destroying my family, shall I, when I recover the power of speech, ask this cutpurse for peace, or, rather, shall I gird my armor about me, seize whatever weapons I have and appeal to the god of battles and let the invader ask for peace after he shall have been subjugated? That is the time when and the source from which peace must come—not from us, who are the outraged victims on land or sea; not from us, who took up arms justly a year ago last April to meet this invader of the world's peace. So, I repeat, let this great cutpurse of empires understand that the free Governments of the world are today meeting with their blood and treasure his efforts to dominate the earth.

Most of this is futile. I realize, as a certain Senator said to me in private conversation, that we are talking about nothing to nobody most of the time here. That was a very apt summing up of the situation. I only make that as introductory to the further statement that when victory shall have been achieved, when it is properly time to talk peace, we shall not have anything to say about it.

A commission is now gathering data. That commission is headed by an unofficial representative of governmental power. Editors of newspapers, statisticians of renown, statesmen who have never held office, legislators who never legislated, judges who have never judged and who could not if they tried, gentlemen of various talents, many of them habitual dwellers in air castles, idealists, the dreamers of the generation, are found on that commission. When they, some of them practical men and some of them impractical men, have secured a wealth of information about the world and it comes time to gather about a peace table and to arrive at a tentative peace, the treaty will be written without our knowledge or consent.

It will be perfected and then this gem and brooch of all human wisdom will be put before us for instant ratification. We will not even have the poor consolation of the comprehensive and peculiar knowledge that percolated through the brains of the men who prepared it. We will be poor children of blind impulse, wandering in the wilderness without even a voice to guide us. The babes in the wood would be comparatively well provided for when covered with leaves alongside of the Senatorial members who will be asked to vote "sight unseen" for the peace treaty that will suddenly be thrown unheralded before us. I shall animadvert in proper terms and under proper conditions upon this mysterious commission now gathering information on some future occasion, but when we are talking about peace I wish it to be remembered that this mysterious agency of unofficial government is lightening our labors and relieving us of any mental agitation.

NO TERMS WITH KAISER

There can be no permanent peace in the world so long as Germany is dominated by the Kaiser or the militaristic party—which sometimes excuses his actions because they are involuntary, his Generals, it is alleged, forcing him into a certain line of conduct. Taking that for what it is worth, the coterie of Prussians that surround him or the Kaiser himself can never make a peace with free Governments that will be permanent. There must be a complete overthrow of

both Kaiser and his council; an overthrow not by diplomacy, but an overthrow by the decisive and swiftly driven power of armies and navies. With such a Government as that of Germany there can be no permanent peace. It will be an armed truce that converts the world into a military camp. There must be a complete transmutation of the power of the German people, a complete change until their Government is responsive to the better thought and the humanities that still are found in the hearts of some, at least, of the German people.

They are public enemies now; they have roused the most brutal impulses that are latent in the American people. This brutalizing of all concerned is the regrettable feature of this war, but until we have reached the point where Germany can form a Government that is responsible to German opinion in its better sense, the nation for which Heine wrote, the nation that felt its responsive heart thrill when Goethe was the literary genius of his generation, when Schiller had sympathetic readers, and when their humane instincts appealed to the better element and nature of the German people—until there is a new spirit born in Germany, until the arbitrary house that has sought to make the Prussian people the dominant race of the world is overthrown, there can be no permanent peace, and there will be none.

Until that time is reached America must fight with all the resources she can command.

Fourth Anniversary of the War

Observance of the Occasion Throughout Great Britain—Official Messages Interchanged

THE fourth anniversary of the beginning of the war was observed throughout Great Britain on Aug. 4, 1918, as a day of prayer and remembrance in churches of all denominations. In Hyde Park, as elsewhere, shrines were erected where thousands laid flowers in memory of the dead. One newspaper, quoting Lincoln's Gettysburg address, said:

> Not in the spoken or written words expressed in any age can we find such a text for today as the shortest and most eloquent speech ever made by Lincoln. In full knowledge of what his words mean, let us wage war until war, for all time, is ended.

King George, Queen Mary, and members of both houses of Parliament attended special services at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. The Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the sermon.

The ceremonies at Westminster were impressive and historic. In addition to the King and Queen, Dowager Queen Alexandra and the Duke of Connaught, as well as other royalties, Premier David Lloyd George and many other distinguished people attended. The Lord Chancellor and the Speaker of the House of Commons, wearing their robes of state and preceded by the mace bearers, led the members of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons.

St. Margaret's Church for nearly three centuries has been the official church of the House of Commons, but this solemn consecration, attended by the royal family and members of both houses of Parliament, was unprecedented. Many thousands gathered in the Summer sunshine to watch the novel scene.

It was an impressive procession which assembled at Westminster Palace and marched slowly the short distance to St. Margaret's, the state robes of the peers and officials lending a pleasant touch of color. Premier Lloyd George, walking with Arthur J. Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, headed the Commons in the procession both coming and going.

The arrival of the royal carriages, with King George, Queen Mary, and Princess Mary in one and Dowager Queen Alexandra and Princess Victoria in another, was greeted with great cheering by the

onlooking crowds. The King wore an Admiral's uniform, while the women of the royal family all wore mourning for former Emperor Nicholas of Russia.

The congregation included the Premiers of British Dominions, with other representatives of the empire. The peers and members of the Imperial War Conference sat on the north side of the nave and the members of the House of Commons on the south. The Speaker of the House of Commons and the Lord Chancellor read the lessons. The Archbishop of Canterbury in his sermon declared:

> Four years of war have taught us much. They have taught us in plain prose war's unspeakable hatefulness, and those who have been in touch with all the realities of such a war are the first to resolve that, please God, a repetition of its ghastly horrors shall become impossible among men.

After the benediction, and while the congregation was still kneeling in prayer, the great doors were thrown open, flooding the entrance with sunshine. Simultaneously the national anthem pealed from the great organ, and the crowds outside uncovered and joined in the singing. As the royal and other processions departed with the same formality as when they entered, there was an outburst of cheering.

Twenty thousand persons gathered in Hyde Park, where a special open-air service was held with the Bishop of London officiating and attended by the Lord Mayor. With the Bishop on the platform were representatives of all denominations, while the singing was led by a band of Salvation Army members.

Public prayer for victory for the Allies was said also throughout France on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the declaration of war.

NEW WAR PRAYERS

Among the forms of prayer for use on the day in the Church of England services throughout the United Kingdom were the following:

For the King and all who are set in authority under him:

> Almighty God, the Fountain of all Goodness, we humbly beseech Thee to bless our Sovereign Lord, King George, the Parliaments in all the dominions of the King, and all who are set in authority under him; that they may order all things in wisdom, righteousness, and peace, to the honor of Thy Holy Name and the good of Thy Church and people; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For the British Empire:

> O Lord God of our fathers, Who in Thy goodness hast led this people hitherto by wondrous ways; Who makest the nations to praise Thee, and knittest them together in the bonds of peace; we beseech Thee to pour Thine abundant blessing on the dominions over which Thou hast called Thy servant George to be King. Grant that all, of whatever race or color or tongue, may, in prosperity and peace, be united in the bond of brotherhood and in the one fellowship of the faith, so that we may be found a people acceptable unto Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

There was a definite and clear prayer for victory:

> Almighty God, Who rulest all things by Thy power, we beseech Thee to grant that our warfare may be crowned with swift and final victory, and that, laying aside the sins which hinder the coming of Thy Kingdom, the nations of the world may serve Thee in freedom and in peace; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The following was an entirely new prayer for the Royal Air Force:

> O Lord our Governor, Who hast given unto men dominion over earth and air and sea; we beseech Thee to look upon Thy servants who are called to serve their country in the air: give them courage, a steady nerve, and a ready mind; be with them in all times of sudden peril; and make them to know Thy power to save them to the uttermost from all evil, whether in life or death; through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

A new prayer for prisoners of war was as follows:

> O merciful Father, look with Thy tender compassion upon all prisoners of war: supply all their needs, and hasten the time of their release: let Thy love protect them and Thy presence cheer them, that day by day in weariness and hardship they may have strength to endure patiently, and may find peace in Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The following was a new prayer for the harvest:

> Almighty God, who by Thy dear Son hast bidden us to ask of Thee our daily bread; prosper the labor of the men and women working in our fields, and grant us such favorable weather that we may

in due time gather in the fruits of the earth; protect the sailors who bring us food from distant lands; and give us grace day by day to deny ourselves and to remember the needs of others; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The suffrages included appeals for harmony between Great Britain and her allies and thanks "for the powerful and timely aid of the United States of America" and "for the success already granted to our arms." The new prayers included the following:

For men under training:

Almighty God, Who knowest and rulest the hearts of men, look mercifully upon those who are now being trained for war; give them the spirit of discipline and loyalty, and strengthen them with Thy grace, that, withstanding all temptations that beset them, they may show themselves now worthy defenders of the cause of their country and true followers of Jesus Christ, for the sake of the same, Thy Son our Lord. Amen.

For absent friends:

O God, Who art present to Thy faithful people in every place, mercifully hear our prayers for those we love who are now parted from us; watch over them, we beseech Thee, and protect them in all anxiety, danger, and temptation; and teach us and them to feel and know that Thou art always near and that we are one in Thee forever; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For the sick and wounded:

Have mercy, we beseech Thee, upon the sick and wounded; relieve their pain, comfort and cheer them in weariness and depression; if it be Thy will, give them health again, and make Thyself known to them as their present Friend and Saviour, whether they live or die; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

MESSAGE OF THE PREMIER

On Aug. 5 the British Premier issued a message which was read simultaneously throughout the kingdom to the audiences in the theatres, concert rooms, moving-picture houses, and other places where people were assembled:

The message which I send to the people of the British Empire on the fourth anniversary of their entry into the war is: "Hold fast!"

We are in this war for no selfish ends. We are in it to recover freedom for the nations which have been brutally attacked and despoiled, and to prove that no people, however powerful, can surrender itself to the lawless ambitions of militarism without meeting retribution, swift, certain, and disastrous, at the hands of the free nations of the world. To stop short of victory for this cause would be to compromise the future of mankind.

I say "Hold fast!" because our prospects of victory have never been so bright as they are today. Six months ago the rulers of Germany deliberately rejected the just and reasonable settlement proposed by the Allies. Throwing aside the last mask of moderation, they partitioned Russia, enslaved Rumania, and attempted to seize supreme power by overthrowing the Allies in a final and desperate attack.

Thanks to the invincible bravery of all the allied armies, it is now evident to all that this dream of universal conquest, for the sake of which they wantonly prolonged the war, can never be fulfilled.

But the battle is not yet won. The great autocracy of Prussia will still endeavor, by violence or guile, to avoid defeat, and so give militarism a new lease of life.

We cannot seek to escape the horrors of war for ourselves by laying them up for our children. Having set our hands to the task, we must see it through till a just and lasting settlement is achieved.

In no other way can we insure a world set free from war.

Hold fast! LLOYD GEORGE.

President Wilson on Aug. 4 sent this message to the King of England:

America cordially extends her hand to Great Britain upon this anniversary of Great Britain's entrance into the present war, in which the forces of civilization are engaged against the forces of reaction, and rejoices with her that the two nations stand side by side in so great a cause.

Secretary Lansing also cabled Arthur J. Balfour, expressing "the profound satisfaction which Americans feel that their armies and navy are associated in this great crusade for liberty with such brave and loyal comrades in arms as these who are fighting on land and sea under the Union Jack."

King George, replying to the message from President Wilson, said:

I am proud that my forces and those of the United States are fighting side by side, and you may rest assured of our unswerving determination to continue with all our strength until a victory of right over wrong is achieved.

Field Marshal Haig, Commander in Chief of the British forces in France,

issued the following special order of the day, dated Aug. 4:

The conclusion of the fourth year of the war marks the passing of the period of crisis. We can now with added confidence look forward to the future.

The revolution in Russia set free large hostile forces on the eastern front, which were transferred to the west. It was the enemy's intention to use the great numbers thus created to gain a decisive victory before the arrival of American troops should give superiority to the Allies.

The enemy made his effort to obtain a decision on the western front and failed. The steady stream of American troops arriving in France has restored the balance. The enemy's first and most powerful blows fell on the British. The superiority of force was nearly three to one. Although he succeeded in pressing back parts of the fronts attacked, the British line remained unbroken.

After many days of heroic fighting, the glory of which will live for all time in the history of our race, the enemy is held. At the end of four years of war the magnificent fighting qualities and spirit of our troops remain of the highest order. I thank them for the devoted bravery and unshaken resolution with which they responded to my appeal at the height of the struggle. I know they will show like steadfastness and courage in whatever task they may yet be called upon to perform.

Homage to the British Sovereigns

Notable Addresses by David Lloyd George and Herbert Asquith

ON the occasion of the silver wedding anniversary of the British King and Queen notable congratulatory addresses were delivered in the House of Commons by Premier Lloyd George and former Premier Herbert Asquith. Mr. Lloyd George said regarding King George:

Those of all parties who have been privileged to serve as his Ministers during these four years can best testify to his undaunted courage, under the most dismaying conditions, and how in hours of anxiety he has watched all the vicissitudes of this terrible conflict and fulfilled in every sphere of council and action all the functions of a constitutional Monarch in the hour of his country's peril. His constant thought for those who on land and sea are undergoing endless dangers for their country, his solicitude and that of the Queen for those who are suffering pain for their native land, their tenderness for those who are bearing the more poignant and enduring pangs of grief—all these have sunk deep into the hearts of the people, who will never forget them.

I feel, as one who has had a good deal to do with the munitions of this country, that I should also dwell for a moment on the help which the King gave by his visits to the yards and factories and workshops of the country, where men and women have been toiling hard to equip the nation's armies and navies for this great struggle. Wherever they went they encouraged and inspired those who toil, and when perplexities and misunderstandings threatened to weaken the arm of Britain, when all her might was needed, the King's and Queen's presence invariably helped to smooth difficulties. They went there not merely to persuade and to encourage, but also to inquire and to help to remove the causes of irritation.

In all these tasks the Queen has been the supporter and partner of our sovereign; the truest and wisest of mothers in her own home, she has displayed the same motherly care for the people over whom the King reigns. All this has strengthened the monarchy in times when systems of government have been put to the severest, sternest, and most certain trial that the world has ever known. When thrones were tottering—some ancient thrones—when monarchs were being deprived of their sceptres in other lands, Britain's throne became more firmly established than ever on the only foundation which is lasting—the affection and good-will of the people.

No King and Queen ever won a more sure place in the regard and loyalty of all classes of their subjects, and the war which has severed so many ties has only strengthened the bonds which unite the sovereign and his people. At a crisis in our fate, when the integrity of the empire means more to civilization than it has ever done in our past history, the position won by the occupants of the throne in the minds of the people of the empire is a matter of imperial moment. The stability of the throne is essential to the strength of the empire, for it is not merely a symbol of unity, it is in itself a bond of unity. It is therefore no mere traditional tribute of loyalty, but a heartfelt and spontaneous expression of the

people's affection, esteem, and good-will which greets this anniversary of their Majesties' wedding.

Former Premier Asquith in his address said:

If there are any people who are disposed to think that, apart from social and ceremonial duties, the function of a constitutional sovereign is that of a benevolent cipher or detached looker-on, I can assure them they know very little of the truth. This is not an occasion on which it would be appropriate to define or defend the office of the monarchy in a democratic age and country. But what concerns us today is not the abstract merits or practical utility of the institution, but the manner in which it has been worked in times of almost unexampled difficulty by our present King and Queen. The earlier years of their reign had more than their share of trouble and anxious time, but through them all, as I can testify, the King, with the ever ready sympathy and co-operation of her Majesty, never lost head or heart or nerve, always leaned toward policies of reconciliation and appeasement, diligently thought out day by day the problems whether of his own duty or of the nation's need, showed unfailing consideration for those who had the privilege to serve him, and when he had accepted the final counsels of his constitutional advisers adopted and acted on them with whole-hearted sympathy.

It is four years ago this month since the King, with the object, if possible, of surmounting the most formidable of all our domestic difficulties, brought together, unhappily without result, the Buckingham Palace Conference. The clouds to which my right honorable friend referred were already gathering on the international horizon. The first preoccupation of the King, as of his Ministers, was, if and so long as it could be done without breach of our national honor, to avert the unimaginable calamities of European war.

When the full history of the closing days of July, 1914, is unveiled it will be known—till then it cannot be known—with what unwearying tact and assiduity his Majesty strove for peace. But it was not to be, and even with the incomplete evidence that has yet been given to the world there is no longer any question at whose door lies the guilt and responsibility for this war. There was a saying in the ancient world that it is rule which tests the real quality of a man. Let me add to that, it is the experience of war, and of such a war as this, that tests the real quality of a democratic King. Few who have not seen him at first hand can realize the gravity of the burden which from the first day of the war has lain on the shoulders of the King and Queen or the extent to which they have voluntarily added to its weight by countless self-imposed tasks and duties. They have won for themselves by the worthiest of titles an impregnable place in the hearts of the people and an undying memory in the country's annals. It is fitting that this House should offer as it does today a tribute of its gratitude and affection to the Crown and its expression of the heartfelt prayer that their reign may be prolonged to witness the garnering of the fruits of an honorable peace.

The Fraternity of English and French

By MAURICE BARRES

Member of the French Academy

[On the Observance of Bastile Day in England, July 14, 1918]

WE of the two countries love and admire each other in the persons of our sons, our brothers, and our friends, who are fighting shoulder to shoulder, in those of our families who are enduring the same anguish. It is important that we should choose from time to time days on which we can demonstrate clearly the closeness of this union. These are precious days, days that strengthen our will. July 14 is a date which recalls the dawn of the French Revolution. The English, with a sort of official solemnity, are turning their thoughts to France.

Do you, our friends in England, think of Locke, of his influence on Voltaire, on Condillac, on Rousseau, of all that your philosophers and your politicians contributed toward our revolution? Are you going to think of Burke, of Carlyle, of all that you detested in that Revolution? Truly, these great memories play but a small part in today's commemoration. Brands from the national conflagration, sparks of genius forging its

work in solitude, have crossed the Channel at times to make us burn with the same fire; but beneath these scorchings of the surface and these casual impressions we remain at heart French and English—souls that have been molded differently by nature and society.

France and England have never ceased to develop, each in its own way, their own ideas, and to manifest more freely from age to age their two-fold originality—witness their contrasted dispositions. In a brief space it has come about that our ideals have been wedded. We could trace our fraternity of today to certain isolated occurrences in the past; we could explain that the taking of the Bastile on July 14, 1789, was an event that accorded with the traditional respect of the English for the liberty of the subject and with their horror of arbitrary action. But how pedantic, artificial, and strained explanations of this kind would be! If our nations fraternize on this 14th of July, 1918, it is for no reason dating from before the last your years. We have only to gather together some fragments and memories in order to explain our friendship. Only one single point must be borne in mind. It is that four years ago we entered upon a common life in the course of our daily experiences. For four years it has deepened the life of every one of us, and we have discovered in ourselves fundamental truths on which we are absolutely in agreement.

In the midst of the destruction of the established order, and when Germany had recognized as her system the abandonment of all generosity and the terrorizing of the world, we discovered that we English and French were brothers, faced with a common danger, and that in concert with our Allies we desired to uphold the sacred arch of civilization, while the Germans wished to hurl it down and crush us beneath its ruins. The defeat of Teutonism is for the two nations a matter of life or death. We Frenchmen have a whole-hearted interest in the maintenance of the integrity of English power, and you English in that of French power.

To perish together or to conquer together—that is the motto for France's Day.

The Road to France

By DANIEL M. HENDERSON

[This poem won the prize of $200 offered by the National Arts Club of New York for the best patriotic poem]

Thank God our liberating lance
Goes flaming on the way to France!
To France—the trail the Ghurk found!
To France—old England's rallying ground!
To France—the path the Russians strode!
To France—the Anzacs' glory road!
To France—where our Lost Legion ran
To fight and die for God and man!
To France—with every race and breed
That hates Oppression's brutal creed!

Ah France—how could our hearts forget
The path by which came Lafayette?
How could the haze of doubt hang low
Upon the road of Rochambeau?
How was it that we missed the way
Brave Joffre leads us along today?
At last, thank God! At last we see
There is no tribal Liberty!
No beacon lighting just our shores!
No Freedom guarding but our doors!
The flame she kindled for our sires
Burns now in Europe's battle fires!
The soul that led our fathers west
Turns back to free the world's oppressed!

Allies, you have not called in vain!
We share your conflict and your pain!
"Old Glory," through new stains and rents,
Partakes of Freedom's sacraments!
Into that hell His will creates
We drive the foe; his lusts, his hates!
Last come, we will be last to stay—
Till Right has had her crowning day!
Replenish, comrades, from our veins,
The blood the sword of despot drains,
And make our eager sacrifice
Part of the freely rendered price
You pay to lift humanity—
You pay to make our brothers free!
See, with what proud hearts we advance
—To France!

Historic Fourth of July Utterances

English and French Statesmen and Journalists Pay Memorable Tributes to the United States

A historic message from the United States to Great Britain, issued officially in London on July 4, 1918, read as follows:

The President, the Government, and the people of the United States desire it to be widely known how greatly they appreciate the gracious and cordial observance of Independence Day in Great Britain. With the forces of Great Britain and those of the United States fighting shoulder to shoulder for the supremacy of democracy and freedom, the remarkable demonstrations of Independence Day throughout the British Empire, and in fact in all friendly nations, are an added evidence of unity and fraternity which cannot but be an inspiration to the Government and people of the United States.

The August issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *presented the text of many other official interchanges in honor of the Fourth of July. Herewith appear further utterances in England and France that made the day memorable.*

American Independence Day

By WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL

[AN ADDRESS DELIVERED JULY 4, 1918, IN CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, AT THE ANGLO-SAXON FELLOWSHIP MEETING]

WE are met here today, in the City of Westminster, to celebrate the 142d anniversary of American independence. We are met also as brothers-in-arms, passing together through a period of exceptional anxiety and suffering; therefore, we seek to draw from the past history of our race inspiration and encouragement which will cheer our hearts and fortify and purify our resolution and our comradeship.

A great harmony exists between the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and all we are fighting for now. A similar harmony exists between the principles of that declaration and what the British Empire has wished to stand for, and has at last achieved, not only here at home but in our great self-governing dominions throughout the world. The Declaration of Independence is not only an American document. It follows on the Magna Charta and the Petition of Right, as the third of the great title deeds on which the liberties of the English-speaking races are founded. By it we lost an empire, but by it we also retained an empire. By applying its principles and learning its lesson we have preserved unbroken communion with those powerful Commonwealths our children have founded and have developed, and who, in this time of stress, have rallied spontaneously and nobly to our aid.

The political conceptions embodied in the Declaration of Independence are the same as those which were consistently expressed at the time by Lord Chatham, by Mr. Burke, and others, who had in turn received them from John Hampden and Algernon Sydney. They are political conceptions which spring from the same source. They spring from the same well, and that well is here by the banks of the Thames in this famous island which we have guarded all these years, and which is the birthplace and the cradle of the British and American races.

It is English wisdom, it is that peculiar political sagacity and sense of practical truth which animates the great document which is in the minds of all Americans today. Wherever men seek to frame policies or Constitutions which are intended to safeguard the citizen, be he rich or poor, on the one hand from the shame of despotism and on the other from the miseries of anarchy, which are

devised to combine personal liberty with respect for the law and love of country, and wherever these desires are sincerely before the makers of constitutional law, it is to this original inspiration, which is the product of the English soil, which is the outcome of the Anglo-Saxon mind, it is to that that they will inevitably be drawn. We therefore feel no sense of division in celebrating this occasion, and we join in perfect sincerity and perfect simplicity with our American kith and kin in commemorating the glorious establishment of their nationhood.

We also, we British who have been so long in this struggle, express our joy and gratitude for the mighty aid and the timely aid which America has brought, and is bringing, to the allied cause. When I have seen during the last few weeks the splendor of American manhood striding forward on all the roads of France and of Flanders, I have experienced emotions which words cannot describe. We have suffered in this country, and in gallant France they have suffered still more, but we have suffered so that we can feel for others. There are few homes in Britain where you will not find an empty chair and an aching heart, and we feel in our own sorrow a profound sympathy for those across the Atlantic whose dear ones have traveled so far to face dangers we know only too well. Not British hearts only, but Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and South African hearts, beat in keen common sympathy with them.

All who have come across the great expanses of the ocean to take part in this conflict feel in an especial degree a sympathy, an intense and profound sympathy, for the people of the United States who have to wait through these months of anxiety for the news of battle.

NOT COUNTING THE COST

The greatest actions of men or of nations are spontaneous and instinctive. They are not the result they gain by exact calculations of profit and loss, of long balancing of doubtful things. They happen as if they could not help happening. I am persuaded that the finest and worthiest moment in the history of Britain was reached on that August night, now nearly four years ago, when we declared war on Germany, war for freedom and civilization.

Little could we know where it would carry us or what it would bring to us. Like the United States, we entered the war a peaceful nation, utterly unprepared for aggression in any form. Like the United States, we entered the war without counting the cost, a cost that has been far more terrible than our own most sombre expectations, without seeking reward of any kind. What is the reward, the utterly unexpected reward, which is coming to us beyond the obvious promise and hopes we cherished, supremely and irresistibly in consequence of our unhesitating response to the appeals of Belgium and of France? Territorial indemnities, commercial advantages—what are they? Such matters are utterly subservient to the moral issues and moral consequences of this war.

Deep in the hearts of those whom the Declaration of Independence styles "our British brethren," deep in the hearts of your British brethren lies a desire to be firmly reconciled before all men and all history to their kindred across the Atlantic Ocean, to dwell once more in spirit with their kith and kin, and stand once more in battle at their side in a true union of hearts. One prophetic voice predicted the arrival of a day of struggle which would find England and the United States in battle. It seemed to most of us that our desire for union and reconciliation in sentiment with the United States would not be attained in our lifetime. It has come to pass already, and every day it is being emphasized, and every day it is being made more real and more lasting.

However long the struggle may be, however cruel may be the sufferings we have to undergo, however complete may be the victory we shall win, however important may be our share in it, we seek no nobler reward than that, we seek no higher reward than this, this supreme reconciliation.

That is the reward of Britain; that is the lion's share. A million American soldiers are in Europe. They have arrived

safely and in the nick of time. Side by side with their French and British comrades, they await at this moment the furious onslaught of the common foe, and that is an event which, in the light of all that has led up to it, and in the light of all that may follow from it, seems, I say it frankly, to transcend the limits of ordinary mundane things. It is a wonderful event; it is a prodigy; it is almost a miraculous event, which fills us all—it fills me—with a sense of the deepest awe. Amid the carnage and confusion of the immense battlefield, amid all the grief and destruction which this war is causing and has still to cause, there comes surely over the most secularly minded of us a feeling of hope that the world is being guided through all this chaos by something higher than, better than, it has ever yet enjoyed. One feels in it the presence of a great design of which we only see a small portion, but which is developing and unfolding at this moment, and of which we are the necessary instruments in ourselves and in our generation. No event since the beginning of the Christian era has been more likely to strengthen and restore faith in the moral government of the universe than the arrival from the other end of the world of these mighty armies of deliverance. One has a feeling that it is not all a blind struggle; one has a certainty that not for nothing is the suffering, not too late is the effort, and not in vain do heroes die.

There is one thing more I want to say, and it is a great thing to say. The essential purposes of this war do not admit of a compromise. If we were fighting merely for territorial gains, or were engaged in a dynastic or commercial quarrel, no doubt those would be matters to be adjusted by bargaining. But this war has become an open conflict between Christian civilization and scientific barbarism. The line is clearly drawn between the nations where the people own the Governments and the nations where the Governments own the peoples. Our struggle is between instruments which peacefully endeavor to quell and quench the brutish, treacherous, predatory promptings of human nature, and a system which has deliberately fostered, organized, armed, and exploited those promptings to its base aggrandizement.

ONLY ONE SOLUTION

We all are but mortals. No race, no country, has a monopoly of good or evil, but face to face with the fact of this war who can doubt that the struggle in which we are engaged is in reality, literally, and instantly, a struggle between the forces of good and the forces of evil? It is a struggle between right and wrong, and as such it is not capable of any solution which is not absolute.

Germany must be beaten. Germany must know that she is beaten. Germany must feel that she is beaten. Her defeat must be expressed in terms and facts which will for all time deter others from emulating her crimes, and will effectually safeguard us against their repetition.

But the German people have, at any rate, this assurance, that we claim for ourselves no natural or fundamental right that we should not be obliged, and even be willing, under all circumstances to secure for them. We cannot treat them as they have treated Alsace-Lorraine, or Belgium, or Russia, or as they would treat us all if they had the power. We cannot do it, for we are bound by the principles for which we are fighting. We must cleave to those principles, for they will arm our fighting strength, and will enable us to use with wisdom and with justice the victory which we shall win. Whatever the extent of our victory, these principles will protect the German people. The Declaration of Independence, and all that it implies, must cover them.

When all those weapons in which German militarists have put their trust have been broken in their hands, when all the preparations on which they have lavished the energy and schemes of fifty years have failed, then the German people will find themselves protected by those simple, elemental principles of right and freedom against which they will have warred so long in vain. So let us celebrate today not only the Declaration of Independence, let us proclaim a true

comradeship of Britain and America, to stand together till the war is done, in all trials, in all difficulties, at all costs, wherever the war may lead us, right to the very end. No compromise on the main purpose, no peace till victory, no pact with unrepented wrong—this is the declaration of July 4, 1918, and that is a declaration which I invite you to make in common with me. To quote the words which are on every American lip today, and for which I ask the support of this declaration: "With a firm reliance on the protection of a Divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

British-American Union Ever Memorable

By the Editor of The London Times

TODAY we celebrate as a nation the Declaration of Independence. For the first time since they used to keep the birthday of George III. together, England and America join in a common solemnity. King George V. and his Queen take part officially in commemorating the birthday of the great Republic; the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack float side by side over Westminister Abbey and the houses of Parliament; services of thanksgiving and praise are held in Canterbury Cathedral, at St. Paul's, and in scores of other churches in this island. Throughout the land the day will be observed with a warmth and an enthusiasm seldom shown on our own national holidays. Statesmen and orators will do their best to convey to the Americans who have come among us, and to the hundred millions of their fellow citizens beyond the ocean, something of the feelings with which we greet this day, forever memorable in the history of the world.

They are solemn feelings, for in this raising of the hearts of our two nations we recognize the symbol of the greatest event of our time. From the first we have felt its immense significance, not only in the terrible struggle which we have still to fight out, but for long generations, to whom all its sacrifice and anguish will be the story of a bygone world. For almost a hundred and fifty years we have gone our several paths. Now they bring us together, to ameliorate the condition of mankind. They have led to this common goal after wide divergencies and after controversies not a few; but they have led to it at last because the great moral forces, which ultimately direct the destinies of nations, have always been the same among the English-speaking peoples of the world. Long ago some few prophetic thinkers foresaw this result and ardently desired its accomplishment. To us it has been given to witness the fulfillment, and to feel in our every fibre that in this supreme sphere of national consciousness, where politics and morals melt into each other, England and all who have gone out from England are at one.

This war was the test. None who had shared our heritage could stand aloof from it and preserve our holiest traditions. By it German "militarism" deliberately challenged them. The Kaiser, in contradiction to the latest professions of his statesmen, blurted out a truth which we proclaimed from the beginning when he said the other day that it is a struggle between two "world views," one or other of which must prevail. It was the recognition of this fact which compelled America to join in the war. She could not stand idly by while the armed apostles of naked force were striving to impose their yoke upon the world. Her conscience, her faith in her own principles, forbade it. Her sense of duty, and no selfish aim, constrained her to join the champions of freedom and of law.

Freedom and law have been her guiding stars from the remote days when love of them drove the first settlers from shores where they were obscured for a time. She faithfully followed them when they led her to sever the constitutional ties that bound her to the mother country, as she follows them now when they

bring her back to our side. Then, and now, and at all times, her conception of them, and of all that gives them their content and meaning, is essentially our own. When she took arms for the cause whose birth we celebrate with her today many of the loftiest and the purest minds in England ardently supported her. Pitt proposed in Parliament the recognition of the Philadelphia Congress. Edmund Burke, in one of his most famous speeches, said of the new community: "English privileges have made it all "that it is; English privileges alone will "make it all it can be." For long the object of the colonists was the vindication of what they deemed their legal rights and nothing more. Adams himself declared that he would have given all he possessed to see the position restored which existed before the contest, "Our larger ideals," as Mr. Page has well phrased it, have been unchanged. They came down to us both through the long centuries of our undivided history. They have been saved from material alteration by all that is common in our religious and political thought of every day, in our institutions, our laws, our language, our literature, and our domestic life. "The same human coin rings true "to each of us, and the same rings "false."

We have been kept apart by lesser things. This life and death conflict for fundamentals brings us together. It will also, we are firmly convinced, keep us together in a "union of hearts" stronger and more abiding than history has ever known between great sovereign and independent States. There is no bond like the bond of blood shed in a common struggle for the attainment of the same high ends. That will unite all the allies to each other and to America, but it will be strongest and most enduring among those whose conceptions of these ends is most nearly identical.

'Interdependence Day"

By the Editor of The London Telegraph

WHAT our American brothers-in-arms may think of the way in which London celebrated Independence Day it is for them to say. But we can speak with confidence as to what Londoners thought of the fête day which they celebrated yesterday for the first time. July 4 will henceforth stand to the British people not, indeed, for independence, but, as was well said by one of the American speakers at the magnificent Anglo-Saxon fellowship meeting in Westminster, for interdependence—the interdependence of the two great English-speaking peoples, which after long severance have come together again, and mightily rejoice in the reunion.

It was a great day for London, and equally so for Paris, and efforts were made with complete success to show the oneness of Great Britain and of France with the Republic of the West, whose armies are now gathering so swiftly for the decisive struggles of the war. Nothing will give greater pleasure across the Atlantic than the presence of the King and Queen at the baseball match at Chelsea. That mark of understanding and attention will appeal to the heart of America far more than any military pageant or review, and the handing out of a ball by the King to the players—an act which will seem trivial and incomprehensible to the German mind—is likely to do more toward the removal of a century-old prejudice in America against the name "King George" than the ablest diplomacy or the most persuasive rhetoric. The spectacle of the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes flying together on the Victoria Tower of the Houses of Parliament was another eloquent symbol, and we believe that there is no precedent for the special service of Holy Communion which was celebrated in every church of the diocese of London. Every one felt—the religious and secular, each in his own way, and both together in the common way of ardent patriotism—that this Independence Day had a special signifi-

cance for Great Britain and for America, and for the spirit of liberty which has brought them together in arms.

The sight of American soldiers has now become a familiar thing in London and many English provincial towns. Wherever they are seen they are heartily welcome, for surely there can be no imagination so dull as not to realize something at least of what their presence means, and, even more perhaps, something of what their absence would mean at this critical hour of the great war. * * *

One other aspect of Independence Day was powerfully emphasized at the Westminster meeting. It was drawn from the language of the famous Declaration of Independence itself. Even that document contains a reference to "our British brethren," and speaks only of political severance. There is no occasion to strain the plain, well known facts of history to a false and misleading interpretation, for no sensible person will seek to gloss over the lamentable heritage which the War of Independence—but still more the miserable war of 1812—left behind it. But there stand the actual words of the Declaration, and for fifty years and more the best minds and the most generous hearts in both countries have been working for complete reconciliation, recognizing that in spite of all their differences the springs of action, the modes of thought, the political and moral instincts, the tests of right and wrong, and the ultimate aims and goals of both, are essentially the same. When America won her liberty from Great Britain it was British liberty that she won; and it has remained British in character ever since, strong enough to permeate and dominate all the other race elements which have entered into the making of the American Nation.

The greatest prize which Great Britain and the British Dominions can hope to win from this war is an enduring union of sympathy and interest with America. That will, indeed, be in Mr. Churchill's happy phrase, "the lion's share." We believe that America holds the same view, and that to the English-speaking races and to France the guardianship of liberty has been intrusted. To that great end yesterday's celebration of Independence Day in London, Paris, and New York will, we believe, most powerfully contribute.

Observance of the Day in France

Addresses Delivered by High Officials at the Historic Celebration in Paris on July 4

PARIS celebrated the Fourth of July with genuine emotion, as revealed in the eloquent speeches of some of the nation's foremost orators, who, standing in the Place d'Iena beside the statue of Washington, reviewed the great procession that filed into the square from the newly named Avenue du Président Wilson and voiced the esteem and gratitude of France. All the way from the Place du Trocadéro to the Place d'Iena the streets were massed with people, and clusters of humanity seemed to hang even from the walls of the houses as the procession passed. Everywhere the flags of the two Republics were intertwined, and almost every man, woman, and child in the dense throngs was waving or wearing the Stars and Stripes. At 9 in the morning the Place de la Concorde was already black with people. The crowd came in great waves, overflowing all the avenues and streets, and swirling about the Strassburg statue, the "grand quandmême" of the lost provinces, and shouting madly, "Vive l'Amérique! Vive Wilson!" as the first platoons of Americans débouched into the Champs-Elysées, preceded by two bands and a drum major of majestic stature. Overhead, both here and in the Place d'Iena, hovered airplanes, at times performing the most daring feats of aerial gymnastics.

On six open platforms, flanked with tall flagstaffs bearing the colors of all the allies, were gathered almost all the high officials of France and of Paris,

from President Poincaré and his Cabinet Ministers to the Prefect of Police; the members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies; Marshal Joffre; Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, and Signor Orlando, Italian Premier; Baron Sonnino, Italian Foreign Minister, with the Ambassadors of most of the Entente nations, large and small.

After a military band had played the "Marseillaise" and "The Star-Spangled Banner," addresses were delivered by Adolphe Cherioux, Vice President of the Municipal Council; Anthonin Dubost, President of the Senate; Paul Deschanel, President of the Chamber of Deputies; William G. Sharp, American Ambassador, and Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Three of these addresses, specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, are here presented:

A New Epoch in History

By ADOLPHE CHERIOUX

[VICE PRESIDENT OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF PARIS]

IN the person of President Wilson we desire to honor not only a great man, but also a great people. I doubt whether one could find many examples of such perfect and entire harmony between the soul of a nation and the soul of the leader in whose hands it has intrusted its destinies; and perhaps the happy star under which the United States was born is most evident in this, that in every crisis of its history it has found the man it needed to lead it, the living incarnation of the nation's highest, purest, strongest impulses, of its noblest and deepest purposes.

Shall I evoke the memory of the father of American liberty, of that Washington under whose shadow we stand today, and of whom it could be said that by his modesty and simplicity, by his passion to serve, apart from all personal ambition, he modified the world's idea of human greatness? Do not those words, more than a century old, which he spoke after his first victories, seem to be of today: "May these events teach all tyrants "that the best and only road which leads "surely to honor, glory, and true dignity is justice"? And these, too—was it from the mouth of Washington or from that of President Wilson that they came: "We have sown a seed of liberty and "union that will germinate little by little "through all the earth. Some day, on the "model of the United States of America, "The United States of Europe will be "created"?

Washington could not foresee the monstrous German ambitions or know that for his dream of the United States of Europe we should be obliged to substitute that of a society of free nations; but under the difference of formulas palpitates the same living soul, the same high thought of concord and of justice, that of which President Wilson has made himself the herald and apostle, that for which, fraternally mingled with those of free America, our soldiers are lavishing their life blood without measure.

In the inestimable aid which America brings us we appreciate the material side of it, which has surpassed all expectations, and which will yet surpass our surprise; but we appreciate, perhaps still more, the spirit in which this help is given. I shall not sadden any of our beloved allies if I say that inside our great alliance the particular friendship that has always united France and the United States has taken on a degree of warmth hitherto without example in the history of nations. President Wilson in his messages, American authors and journalists in their books and articles, have found it in their hearts to speak of France—of France as the war has revealed it to them, France of the Marne and Verdun—in terms that have touched our most secret emotions, our inmost hearts.

Even here in Paris the American Red Cross is taxing its ingenuity to serve us in a thousand ways, adding to the most magnificent generosity the most exquisite

delicacy, caring for our wounded, assisting our bereaved families, re-educating our mutilated and blind soldiers, devoting themselves to our orphans, sending the little ones to the country, in short, daily acquiring new titles to our gratitude. Yonder, on the front, our poilus, connoisseurs in matters of heroism, have immediately put the American soldiers into their own ranks, and it is not only an excellent comradeship, it is a veritable spirit of brotherhood that has sprung up between the two.

Gentlemen, the blood shed in common today is completing that which was begun by the blood shed in common 130 years ago. This holiday, which we are celebrating together, marks the supreme crowning of our ancient friendship. Let it no longer be said that an intimate union of nations is impossible, for here we have such a society already realized between these two sister Republics. But what am I saying? This society of free nations already enfolds all the peoples that are fighting the good fight with us against the powers of oppression and iniquity. Today we honor the United States of America; soon, on July 14, our American friends will be with us at the City Hall to welcome and honor our other allies.

A flame has been kindled which will spread and grow, and in whose crucible will be consumed all petty national jealousies as well as immoral imperialistic ambitions. In the words of Goethe, a new epoch is beginning in the history of the world, and, despite all our bereavements, all our sufferings, all our ruins, happy will be the men privileged to see it and take part in it.

Long live President Wilson, gentlemen! Long live the United States of America! And may the Franco-American friendship live and thrive and grow forever!

What America Gives and Gains

By ANTHONIN DUBOST

[PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH SENATE]

IT was with unanimity of heart and spontaneity of spirit that the Government and people of France decided to celebrate America's Independence Day as fully as one of their own anniversaries. Better than an official edict, our hearts have decreed this provisional celebration. Provisional because other great dates are coming, other anniversaries to celebrate a vaster independence, that of the world, the most formidable and righteous insurrection, that of the free nations against the nations of prey and domination.

That this insurrection should unfold its murderous tragedy, that this independence should be fought for and won on the soil of France is an honor to which she has been condemned by a sort of fatality or predestination. That this powerful and perhaps permanent coalition of free nations has placed its heart in the very heart of France is a supreme honor, of which the nation that created the crusades and the revolution, and whose great thinkers founded the religion of humanity, will know how to render itself worthy.

But that the great American people, guarded by the ocean and free apparently to build in its own way, should have resolved to throw itself into the thick of the bloody and epoch-making conflict of European hatreds—this is a new grandeur that blinds us and that, in the lightning flash of its revelation, discloses to us some of the higher steeps which our destinies are to climb, some new and higher order: Magnus nascitur ordo.

These great events that are unfolding could not, indeed, be completed without you, Americans! I will even dare to say to you, henceforth our brothers, that without this ordeal you would have missed something precious. For neither the happy equilibrium of your institutions, nor even the annals of your own independence, nor yet your immense prosperity, would have sufficed to give you the final cement that always binds and

completes nations—the cement of suffering.

This is what, 120 years after the immortal Washington, the immortal Wilson has understood. Into the unfinished kneading of the many races that go to the making of your nation he has dropped the supreme leaven of sacrifice. Yes, it was by the heroic death of her youth in the Champagne and on the Vosges, fighting through many centuries, that France made and remade her chastened soul; and it is there that America in her turn is going to raise herself into the fullest and highest life of a great nation.

You have seen, too, that the security of America is inseparably bound up with that of the world, that one cannot accept a share in the spirit of pillage and conquest, and that, in short, liberty is not received, it is won by fighting. What an extraordinary favor of destiny that America in the two greatest moments of her history should have found the necessary man!

Gentlemen, this is not yet the day to celebrate victory; it is rather a time in which to fortify our hearts for the new trials through which victory must be purchased. Before separating and returning each to his separate task let us bow before the great Washington, who knew how to remain calm in adversity and moderate in success!

American Ideals in the War

By PAUL DESCHANEL

[PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES]

ON this Fourth of July, so close to our own July 14 and our Aug. 4, the United States and France are of one heart and one soul. They offer to the noble family of allies, united in the same ideal, their fraternal friendship and their inflexible resolution for the supreme cause.

Rome created law, England civil and political liberty; the United States founded modern democracy; France contributed the revolution of 1789; and now these far-reaching acts are culminating in the greatest historical event of all time, and together we are taking part today in what may be called the Human Revolution.

The immortal glory of President Wilson—who at first was resolutely pacific, who sought for his country a rôle of mediator between the belligerents, and who accepted war only in the last extremity, when it had been proved to every American that the German Government, through its submarine warfare and its intrigues, was attacking the essential principles of the Republic—the double glory of President Wilson is that he proclaimed for all nations those maxims of liberty, loyalty, and justice which the founders of the Republic had proclaimed for the Union, and that at the same time he threw into the service of these ideas the force of the New World.

Thought and action—are these not the whole of life? On the Acropolis, the temple, a divine marvel, crowns the abrupt rock, rugged instrument of defense and struggle; they protect each other—the unique beauty of the holy mountain, the harmonious symbol of right in arms! And is this not all of man? Nature, back of her splendor, is an abyss of iniquity. Her daylight smiles upon the greatest crimes. The law of nature is reciprocal extermination, and this was also the law of primitive humanity. Slowly, in man, conscience was formed, and from conscience, little by little, justice was born; yesterday, rules of right between men; tomorrow, rules of right between nations.

This is what President Wilson desires, this is what he proclaims in the name of his nation; this is the desire of the leaders of free England, and this is what we desire with them; that the principles of morality and of public right which have shaped the consciences of adult human societies shall be made to prevail. Ah, gentlemen, if the adverse idea were

to triumph even for an hour, the idea of supremacy, of hegemony, such as Prussia has imposed successively on Silesia, on Poland, on Denmark, on Alsace-Lorraine, on Belgium, and now upon Russia, Finland, the Ukraine, and Rumania, if such acts were to be the habitual order of the world and were to be held up as examples for peoples who were to be the eternal toys of violence and intrigue, there would follow such a crumbling of justice, such a disaster of right, that man would have to turn his face from heaven and abase it to earth, like the brute beast groping in the obscurity of instinct!

Oh! no outraging word shall issue from my lips against the young men who, in the enemy's camp, are dying for their country, for duty, for their ideal. But what ideal? The Emperor has just told us once more. He had told it long ago, for example, at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1902, at Münster in 1907. It is the national doctrine, taught in all the schools, in all the universities, in all the barracks: The superiority of the Germanic race and its dominion over the other races. Germany is living the precepts that have made her greatness and power; strength is the supreme good, weakness the one evil. Even those who have been called the most French of the Germans have never spoken otherwise.

We and our allies are fighting for another ideal. We desire that all nations, the small as well as the great, shall be able to live in security, peace, and honor. President Wilson invites them all—including Germany herself—to the banquet of life; but in so far as Germany wishes to take the place of the others, the others will have to defend themselves against her. It rests with Germany to decide whether she will enter the society of nations by respecting their rights, or whether she will see them league themselves against her for their legitimate defense.

And we Frenchmen, who in 120 years have suffered five invasions, and, between one war and the next have endured perpetual alarms—1875, 1887, 1905, 1908, 1911—are we too ambitious if we demand, not only for our own peace of mind, but for that of Europe and the world, that this constant menace shall be lifted from our capital, that the shadow of the German eagles shall cease to darken our sky?

When the Germans, seeking to justify their repeated aggressions, call up the memory of Jena, they appear to forget that both before and after that date they appealed many times for the help of France.

Are we too ambitious if we wish for Russia a Government that shall avenge and make reparation for a shameful treaty—which Germany, moreover, immediately violated?

Our great Paris—so calm, in which the shells strike the stones, not the souls of men, and which can be reproached only with an excess of smiling temerity—Paris acclaims this splendid flood of American youth, whose spirit burns for battle, and whose valor the enemy already feels.

O Washington, thy gentle soul leads our armies, united once more, toward honor, and thy pure sword, always lowered before law, is pointing them to victory!

Boycotting Germany

The Seriousness of the World Movement Against German Trade

By H. G. WELLS

MANY people even in England do not realize the extent and seriousness of the world movement to boycott German shipping after the war. This is a movement essentially of seafaring men round and about the world, a movement independent of any Governments and treaties, and one that will go on in defiance of any Governments and treaties. It is what the Germans would call a "hate" movement. It has been fed by a series of submarine atrocities, of which the Black Prince story is only one of the culminating examples, into such an organized and enduring will to exclude and injure Germans as no race nor nation, not even the scalping and outraging Red Indians in Colonial America, has ever had to face.

From 1871 up to the very outbreak of the present war no German sailor, it is well known, dared to join the crew of a French ship, and French ports were extremely uncomfortable places for Germans; that enduring detestation, however, was a pale thing to the bitter hostility that now awaits the German seaman and skipper and passenger upon the high seas and in the ports of all this planet today. This movement against German seamen and ships is not confined to allied countries; the seamen of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are joining in; the dockers of South America; and its full significance is probably only understood as yet in seagoing circles.

I have recently had a talk with that strange figure of will and passion, Havelock Wilson, the President of the British Seamen's and Firemen's Union. He is a very ominous figure indeed for Germany, because he is a very representative figure. He sits in an upper room in Victoria Street, twisted and crippled by rheumatism, scheming to draw together the willing threads of this worldwide net against German ships and trade and men. He told me of how the transport workers of the world are being drawn into the scheme—how he hopes to bring in the miners, so as to control the coaling of German ships—how, side by side with the Seamen's and Firemen's Union there grows up his big Merchant Seamen's League, open to landsmen of all sorts in sympathy with this plan.

"We are going to boycott German goods," he told me, "as well as ships and men. Any ship with any German goods on board will be a tainted ship, and it will neither sail nor unload nor get coal if we can prevent it. In a little while we shall have things so arranged that before coal starts for any coaling station in the world we shall be sure that it is not going to coal a German ship."

"How much of this will you be able to carry out?" I asked.

"Every bit of it," said Havelock Wilson. "However the war ends, whatever treaties they make * * * you don't realize the passion in it—the strength of will. * * *"

He began to tell me story after story—they were familiar enough, except that his passion colored them—of murders, deliberate drownings, the mockery of wounded and dying men, that has made the U-boat and the German name loathed wherever seamen gather. "D'you think men are going to forget that?" he asked. "Or that * * *?"

"And there is to be no peace?"

"Not while Germany is an empire—not while she clings to militarism. No!"

Here is something like a natural force at work against imperialist Germany, a natural force she has awakened by her own acts. Long after the war ends Hamburg may still enjoy the quiet of a blockaded city if she will not disavow the dream of German militant imperialism,

scheming against the world. And while the native and natural resentment of all the seaports of the world thus threatens Germany, other men, with less passion but with no less determination, are planning schemes for protection against her that would have been incredible four years ago.

Thinkers like Herr Dernburg predicate the Great Britain of 1920 as though she was going to be an unchanged continuation of the Great Britain of 1913, as individualistic, planless, disorganized, and chaotic. They think of the Allies as the same divided States, with conflicting fiscal policies and economic rivalries. Much of Germany's strength in the war has lain in her collectivism, and it is manifest the German mind does not begin to realize what vast strides toward collectivism and international unity have been made by her antagonists under the pressure of the war. Such a bill as the Imports and Exports bill, for example, now before the House of Commons, which proposes to continue the present war power of the State to regulate imports and exports upon strategic lines for a period of five years after the war, would have been impossible in 1913. It is only one of a great number of symptoms that point to the rapid spread of ideas of concerted and organized economic action against Germany. These are but the first small crystals of a great possibility of organized opposition. If Germany continues to organize against the world, most certainly the whole world will organize against Germany.

Consider, for example, the line recently taken by the Washington Chamber of Commerce. This body, representing the whole business community of America, has, by a vote of 1,204 to 151, passed the following resolutions, which may well set any reasonable German weighing the utterances of Herr Dernburg very earnestly:

Whereas, the size of Germany's present armament and her militaristic attitude have been due to the fact that her Government is a military autocracy, not responsible to the German people; and,

Whereas, the size of the German armament after the war will be the measure of the greatness of the armament forced on all nations; and,

Whereas, careful analysis of economic conditions show that the size of Germany's future armament will fundamentally depend on her after-war receipts of raw materials and profit from her foreign trade; and,

Whereas, in our opinion the American people for the purpose of preventing an excessive armament will assuredly enter an economic combination against Germany, if Governmental conditions in Germany make it necessary for self-defense; and,

Whereas, we believe the American people will not join in discrimination against German goods after the war if the danger of excessive armament has been removed by the fact that the German Government has in reality become a responsible instrument, controlled by the German people; therefore, be it

Resolved, that the Chamber of Commerce of the United States earnestly calls the attention of the business men of Germany to these conditions and urges them also to study this situation and to co-operate, to the end that a disastrous economic war may be averted and that a lasting peace may be made more certain.

These resolutions give the form as the British bill gives the spirit of the new movement against Germany. They do but foreshadow the worldwide organization that is bound to arise if Germany persists in her fantastic dream of world dominion. She is compelling mankind to create an economic prison about her because she will give mankind no chance unless this is done. The French and Italians are temperamentally individualistic, the Anglo-Saxons are "free traders" by disposition. It is with the utmost reluctance that they are being welded into an iron league against Germany. But they are being so welded now. Germany will have it so.

Dr. Mühlon's Revelations Regarding the Kaiser

A SIGNIFICANT statement by Dr. Wilhelm Mühlon, former Director of the Krupp works in Germany, was printed in the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE among the corroborative documents appended to the now famous memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky*, the German Ambassador in London at the outbreak of the war, wherein the ex-Ambassador laid the responsibility for the war upon the German Government. The importance of Dr. Mühlon's testimony lies in the fact that, as head of Germany's great munition works in the period prior to the war, he had exceptionally close relations with leading men and was in a position to see the inner workings of the Pan-German plot; he was, furthermore, one of those rare Germans whose critical faculty survived the frenzy of August, 1914.

Dr. Mühlon became more and more critical of the policy of Berlin, and finally, withdrawing to Switzerland, took the courageous step of publishing his criticisms of the German Government. In June, 1918, there appeared at Zurich his book, entitled "Die Verheerung Europas," ("The Devastation of Europe,") containing his diary written between the months of August and November, 1914. The author stated that the publication was prompted by no feeling of personal bitterness toward any one in Germany, but that its motive was "rather one of "indignant protest against the immoral "system and the barbarous worship of "material things that has plunged Ger- "many and Europe into unspeakable dis- "aster." His book, he said, was addressed to his own compatriots.

Shortly before the appearance of his book Dr. Mühlon was visited by a British journalist, F. Sefton Delmer, at Gumligen, near Berne, Switzerland. Mr. Delmer describes him as a stalwart Bavarian in the prime of bodily and mental vigor, thus contradicting the statements of the German journalists who had sought to discredit Dr. Mühlon's earlier criticisms by asserting that he was a neurasthenic whose mind was no longer strong. Mr. Delmer obtained the following typical passages from the former Krupp Director's diary:

Aug. 5. 1914.—From a moral standpoint our invasion of Belgium is nothing short of a catastrophe, for it means that we have out-Bismarcked Bismarck in unscrupulousness. It means that even if we again come out victorious we shall have forfeited the trust not only of Europe but of the whole world.

Among my friends I find no comprehension of my attitude. One says: "If we "had not raided Belgium, France would "have." Another says: "You must have "confidence in the General Staff. It would "not have done what it has done without "urgent reasons." A third, a man of high culture and high position, says: "Ques- "tions of right or wrong, justification "or no justification do not concern us. The "chief thing is that we are stronger, and "that if any one questions this fact we "should smite him on the mouth till he "grows wise."

Aug. 6.—The words of the Kaiser yesterday to the leaders of the Reichstag parties are characteristic. "And now "step forward," he said, "and give me "your hands and swear you will stand "with me to your last gasp, and that you "will see it through." Each gives him his hand, not daring within such pricincts to do otherwise, and for fear of lending a discordant note to a great hour. It fits in with the whole picture that the Kaiser immediately afterward, lapsing into the taproom tone, asks, "Who is going to the "front?" and says: "And now we will "squeeze the very life out of them."

Aug. 11.—The newspapers are full of indignation about England's infamous breach of international law in confiscating the ships now building for Turkey in English private docks, but the Berlin War Office and Admiralty, as I happen to know, from the first day of the war confiscated all the artillery and shipping material in the German private yards ordered by Argentina, Norway, Brazil, and other

*A dispatch dated July 15, 1918, stated that Prince Lichnowsky had been expelled from the Prussian House of Lords on account of this memorandum, notwithstanding that the Kaiser—so it was said—had interceded in his behalf.

neutral States. Our Government told the firms to get out of their contracts the best way they could.

"PERSECUTING GERMANY"

Aug. 16.—In Berlin people jeer at the English Fleet. Stories are going about that the German Fleet has been searching the seas for the English and have been right up to Scotland without being able to find a trace of them, and so had to return home. They say that this reluctance of the British Fleet is probably due to the unpopularity of the war in England.

Aug. 18.—The German press is full of cock-and-bull stories about Alsace. I have came to the conclusion that the Germans spread truth or lies indifferently according to the needs of the moment.

Aug. 22.—Innumerable royal and Ministerial admonitions to prayer to Almighty God to protect us poor invaded and persecuted Germans. What disgusting hypocrisy and chicanery. At the root of all this official piety there is nothing but cynical contempt for the masses and criminal fear lest this crime should come to light.

Aug. 23.—People blame our diplomats for muddling the war. My opinion is that these diplomats have been handicapped by the power, the vacillating character and the continual interference of the Kaiser in their work. Only men who would dance to his piping could remain in office, and such men were always determined to remain in office come what might. They are full of the desire for power but have no convictions.

Aug. 25.—German trust is the trust of barbarians. Their faith is in their numerical superiority and in the superiority of their armaments. If Germans get the upper hand in Europe there will be a general flight of Europeans to land overseas.

Aug. 30.—A General writes in the Tag: "Belgium is and must remain German, "not because we need the few million rap- "scallions who live there, but because we "need their land, their mineral resources, "and most of all their coast, so that we "can get our knife into the English."

Sept. 1.—It is nothing short of tragedy for me that both in small things and in large I think so differently from the rest of my countrymen. If ever the conversion of Prussians takes place it will be due, I am convinced, not to the recognition of what are called fair truths, but to the material failure of their policy. Every day brings new proofs that France did not, as the Germans maintain, plan the invasion of Belgium. But go on spreading your lies, oh, barbarians! the time will nevertheless come when the truth will hurl you into the abyss.

Pending the publication of Dr. Mühlon's book in English the following further extract, translated from the German by The New Europe, throws an interesting light upon German psychology in August, 1914:

What was the public temper in Germany? All classes of the population realized that the Vienna ultimatum to Serbia meant war against Serbia and consequently a world war. They felt that in view of the longstanding alliance Germany must renounce all criticism and take her stand by the side of the Dual Monarchy, since a defeat—even a diplomatic defeat—for that country would be a defeat for Germany. The tension immediately became acute, as it was felt that the clearing up of the situation and decisive action would very quickly follow so as to give the Triple Entente no time for further treacherous (listig) combinations which could rob Germany of her chief advantage, a swifter readiness for war.

One can say that the German people waited anxiously for the breaking of the storm (Entladung) and hailed it as a relief. There had been too many war scares already, foreign policy had been changed too often and had made too many unsuccessful ventures, the burden of armaments had grown too heavy and constant. And yet at the same time the uncomfortable consciousness was steadily growing stronger that German prestige in the outer world was not rising but falling. Germany had become rich and powerful, but the dislike of all foreign countries for everything German had grown to incredible proportions. The Germans were looked upon as a foreign body in the European community, something to be removed, divided up, or absorbed. * * * The Germans were regarded as a plague, and it was the highest and richest among them who were most hit by this dislike. The simple German man of the old style was still tolerated, because he was not in the way. All this the Germans had experienced, down to the smallest man; even if he did not cross the frontier, he knew that everywhere abroad the German was unpopular, the people avoided him or held their noses.

This was a dreadful conflict, for at home those who set the tone behaved as though the German was a beacon to all the world and its ideal for the future. His morale, his strength, his principles, his aims were, according to them, higher and deeper than those of all other peoples. It is true that no one knew exactly how, and that no one felt inwardly conscious of the truth of this contention. On the contrary, one saw in Germany itself the strongest contrasts and found mutual incompatibilities: South and North, Catholic and Protestant, Junkers, Democrats, and Socialists, Emperor and Fed-

eral Princes—the list of such contrasts could be increased indefinitely.

KULTUR REJECTED

But, in particular, the irreconcilable attitude of the Poles, Danes, Alsatians, and Lorrainers seemed to prove to the German people that no foreigner could bring himself to recognize the moral superiority of the dominant German tendency, that no one would willingly remain, learn, and adapt himself, and indeed, would not even yield to force, but that every one would, so to speak, rather mount the scaffold than submit. Where then, one asked one's self, is the great idea, the lofty program, the clearer light which Germany holds before herself, and which justifies her leadership? We do a great deal of work, and do it methodically. We have become more prosperous and more exacting, but have our progress and our achievements in other directions kept pace? Did we not mean more for the culture of the world and the progress of human thought at the time of our greatest political disunion and economic poverty than we do today?

In short, Germany was torn by doubts, in a medley of opinions, suspicious toward its own preachers, pessimistic as to the official course of the ship of State. It saw itself being led by a group of Prussian-Protestant bureaucrats, soldiers, agrarians, and industrialists toward what were alleged to be great and splendid times; but it did not notice any progress. (Aufsteig.) Those of a different opinion had better hold their tongues. Every opposition was, from the outset, outlawed, even socially; only the ever-increasing burdens of taxation pressed upon all alike. No wonder that the German people wished to see matters at last put to the test, that it felt itself set free from a nightmare when it saw that at last we should know where we are. One might almost say that the question, how it would end, fell into the background, as compared with the strong feeling: "It could not go on like "this, there must be a clearing up, the "load must be shaken off. If it ends "badly, then we shall find a new orien-"tation—more modest, simpler, more "sympathetic, better. If it ends well then "we the people, shall have done it, and "we can demand the right to lead a life "more worth living and to come to terms "with our present enemies—who today "hem us in and misunderstand us—as "soon as they have been overthrown."

How great a part such feelings, if not conscious estimates, played in very wide circles, was, in my opinion, to be seen from the fact that even the press of the Left (like the Berliner Tageblatt) at once emphasized the gravity of the situation and its consequences, virtually without criticism. The Government should for once act and justify itself and not be able to say that it had been prevented. This attitude then was taken by the very press which was otherwise in the habit of blaming most severely the Government's policy and measures. The press of the Right naturally went with the Government, had no attitude of its own, and was at bottom far more timid because it did not understand to what an extent the sense of the untenable character of existing conditions, both at home and abroad, had penetrated even the lowest ranks. * * * The Centre's press was for unrestricted support of Vienna, if only because the Dual Monarchy upholds in all its peoples the Catholic idea.

Only the Social Democratic press raged against Austria and said that not a drop of German blood must flow for this cause, and that the world's peace must be upheld by the proletariat, if necessary by force. But even the Socialist leaders eventually gave up all resistance and demanded full support of the Government, when they saw that their whole following wished no further controversy and no separate attitude, but wished the Government to be free to act with the whole people behind it, so that failure might finally condemn the Government, or success bring new life, thanks, and progress for the German masses. The millions of Socialist workmen did not wish to separate themselves on this occasion from the people to whom they belonged and whom they wished to win over more and more for themselves. After all, it was the people that had to wage and endure the war, and one must stand by it, not injure and oppose it by refusing obedience to the Government. The Socialists suddenly had enough of quarreling. They wanted to go with the nation as a whole, to ally themselves still more closely with it, and then to attain their aims more easily in conjunction with it. It was certainly not from love of the Government that they acted.

Germany's Financial Burden

Lord Emmott, in the British upper house, July 3, 1918, in discussing the British Government's Financial bill, gave the following facts regarding the deplorable state of Germany's finances up to June, 1918.

GERMAN finance was dishonest in the sense that their figures were unreliable, he said. For instance, they still took credit for their pre-war revenue, about $750,000,000 in all. In that pre-war revenue there was an item of about $180,000,000 from customs, but owing to the blockade the commodities that were going into Germany at the present time were so small that no large revenue such as that could possibly be raised from customs at present. In regard to excise, which produced $160,000,000, the chief items were brandy, malt, and sugar. Far less of all these commodities was being consumed in Germany at the present time than was the case before the war, and yet they were taking credit for receiving the same amount that they received in peacetime. In addition to Germany crediting herself with the old peacetime revenue when she did not receive it, on the other side she did not debit herself with the $350,000,000 that was paid in peacetime for the upkeep of the army and navy. The acknowledged deficit for this year of $720,000,000 was arrived at by overestimating her receipts and underestimating her expenditure. It was a fictitious figure, and did not represent the facts, which apparently the German Government dare not disclose to its people.

Only very few people had an elementary knowledge of German finance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had estimated that the German debt on March 31, 1919, would amount to $40,000,000,000. That was not only the funded debt, but the unfunded debt, because there was always an unfunded debt in Germany of approximately $5,000,000,000. He calculated that the pensions after the war would cost Germany at least $750,000,000, perhaps a great deal more. It was calculated that $3,600,000,000 was the amount that Germany would have to meet if the war ended about March 31 next. The corresponding figures for Great Britain, as stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were $3,250,000,000, made up of its pre-war expenditure and of roughly $1,000,000,000, and the extra amount to which Great Britain was committed for education and other items and the additional sum that would be required for pensions after the war and the interest on sinking fund. The net debt, it was estimated, would stand at the end of the current financial year at $40,280,000,000.

As regarded Great Britain the whole of the $3,250,000,000 was provided in the Finance bill of this year with the taxes that had been levied before this year.

Germany had provided by permanent taxation less than one-half of the amount which she would require if the war came to a close with the present financial year. From taxation of all kinds, whether permanent or temporary, Germany proposed to raise $720,000,000, but that amount was arrived at by the German method of overestimating receipts and underestimating expenditure. Toward meeting that, $600,000,000 of new permanent taxation was proposed in Germany this year, but only $2,500,000 of that would accrue during the year. Great Britain had budgeted for $4,210,000,000 this year by financial arrangements, which in a full year would produce $4,330,000,000. The total extra taxation raised by Germany from the beginning of the war was stated in the budget speech in the Reichstag to be $1,000,000,000 from indirect, $1,775,000,000 from direct taxes, including the capital increment levy, and $500,000,000 raised by the Federal States, making the total sum which would be raised toward the cost of the war by extra taxation since the war began up to the end of March, 1919, $3,375,000,000. The sum which Great Britain should have raised by the same time would be $8,430,000,000. Germany had paid interest to some extent by loans.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Spanish Cartoon]

So Near and Yet So Far

—From Iberia, Barcelona.

FRANCE: "Nor this time, either! There are two million Americans on the way."

[American Cartoon]

On the Road to Paris

—*From The Dayton Daily News.*

[American Cartoon]

The Conflict of the Ages

—From The Brooklyn Eagle.

"The Past and the Present are in a death grapple."—President Wilson.

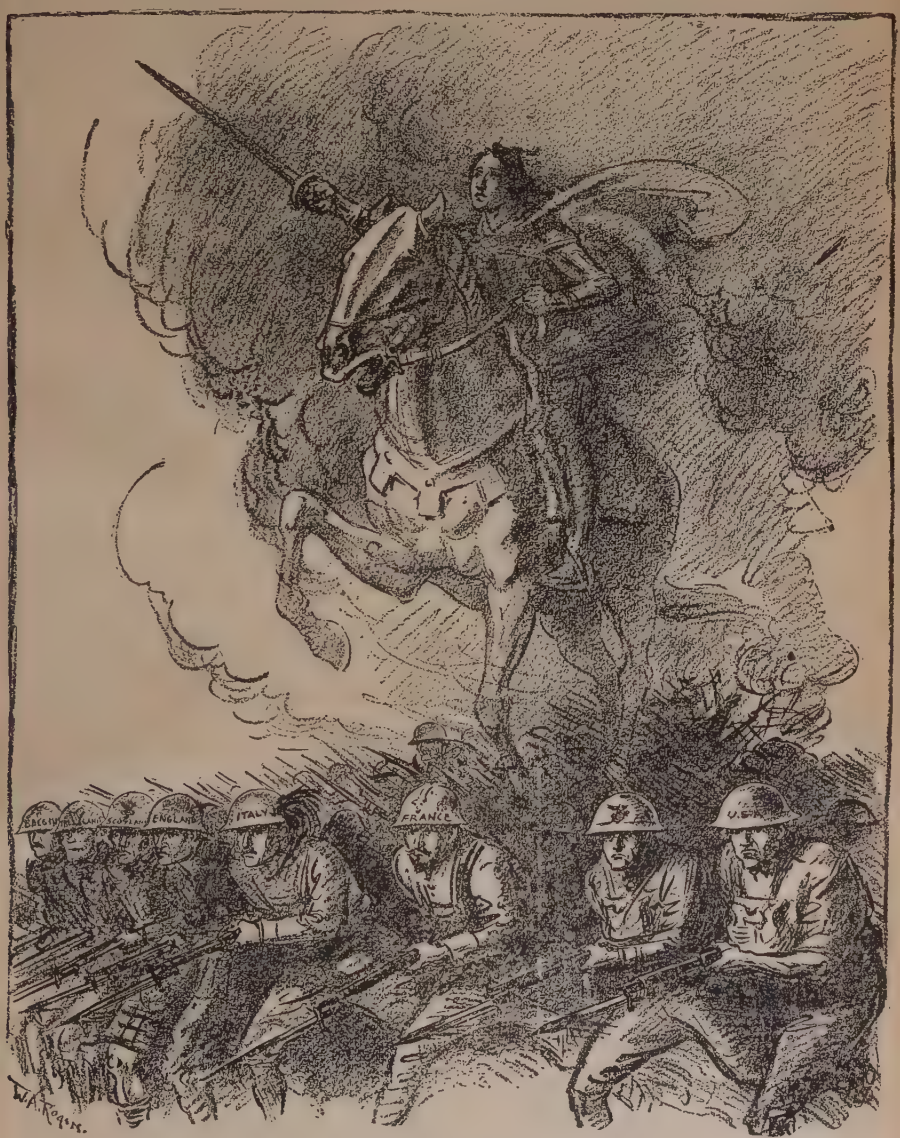
[American Cartoon]

A Thousand Years Late

—*From The New York Herald.*

[American Cartoon]

Forward With the Spirit of France



—*From The New York Herald.*

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Peace Angel Prepares to Visit Earth

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

ST. PETER: "So! Now I have fitted on the gas mask."

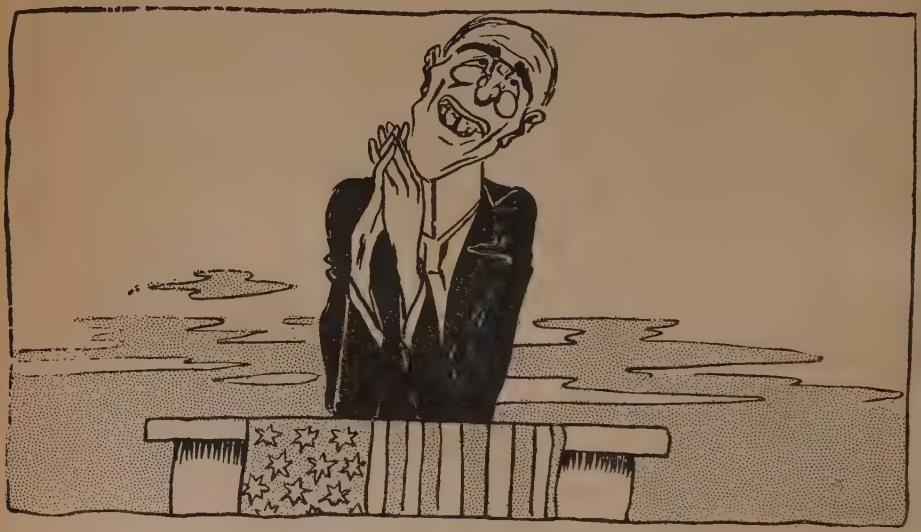
[American Cartoon]

Will the Chain Hold?

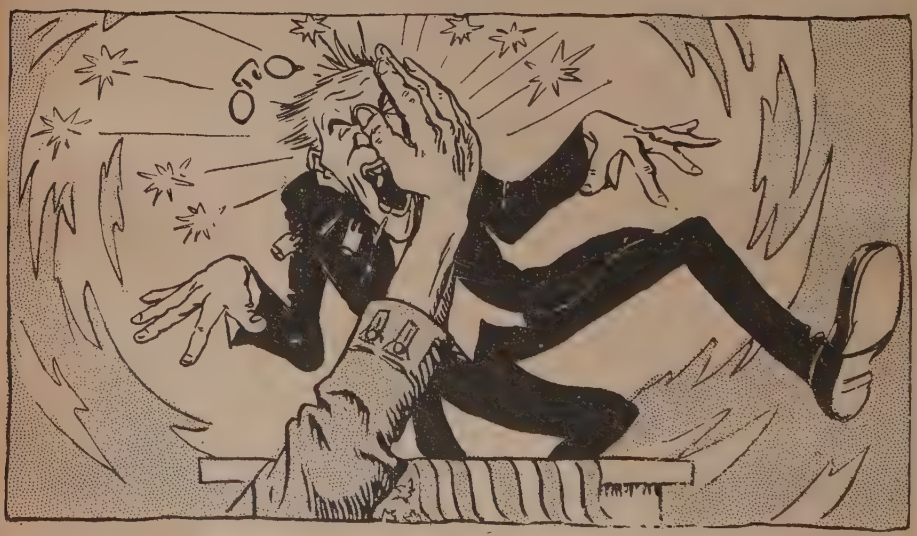
—*From The San-Francisco Call-Post.*

[German Cartoon]

A Little Job for Hindenburg



This child, as his speeches show, is no angel;



—*From Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

Therefore we hand him over to you for proper discipline.

[Spanish Cartoons]

The Unexpected

—*Iberia, Barcelona.*

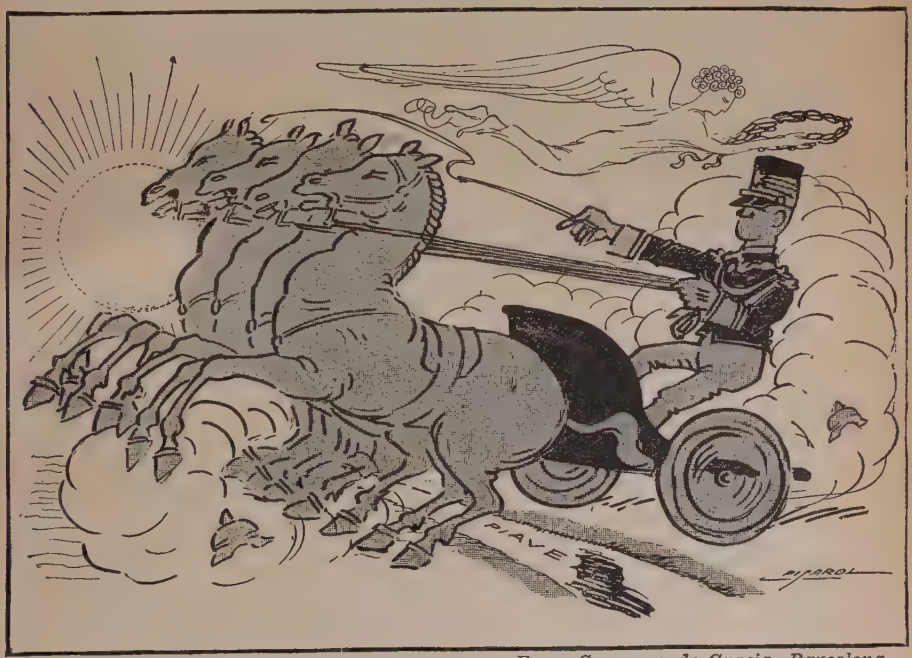
"Who would have thought that those miserable twins, Justice and Right, could have made such a resistance!"

Germania's Plight

—*Iberia, Barcelona.*

Good heavens! Another German offensive!

The Successor of Garibaldi



—*From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.*

Italy's commander sweeps the enemy back over the Piave.

"BY THE DAWN'S EARLY LIGHT"

—*From The Dayton Daily News.*

[Australian Cartoon]

Proving His Bona Fides

—*From The Sydney Bulletin.*

THE HAWKER: "I vant to make a deal so much dot I put up der price higher and higher, and STILL she don't go off!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Old Austro-Hungarian Barrel

—*From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

COOPER KARL: "With this new hoop I hope the old thing will hang together a bit longer."

[American Cartoon]

Another Vacation Spoiled

"But you promised to take me to the seashore this Summer!"

—From The New York Times.

[Italian Cartoon]

Held!

—*From Il 420, Florence.*

[English Cartoons]

A Happy Prospect for Karl

—The Passing Show, London.

Souvenirs for Gretchen

—London Opinion.

[Australian Cartoon]

Bolshevist Statesmen at Work on a Platform

—Sydney Bulletin.

[American Cartoon]

No Trespassing

—New York Evening Post.

"Salome" in the Paris Opera

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

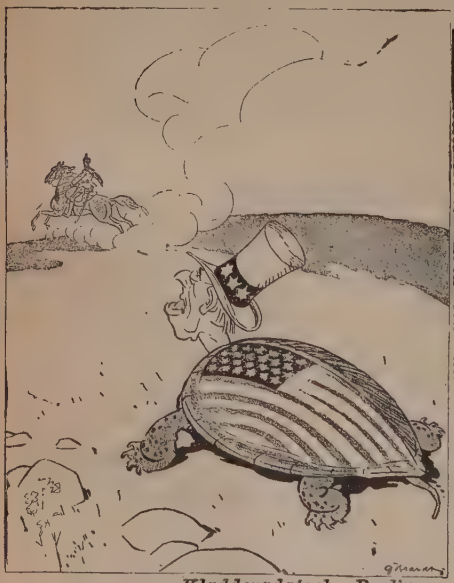
SALOME (Clemenceau): "Give me the head of Joseph Caillaux."

The Entente Cry-Babies

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

"Come, Uncle Sam, oh, come and save us!"

The Race



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

"For the Germans as well as for the Allies these weeks have been a race between Hindenburg and Wilson."—Lloyd George's Edinburgh speech.

Still Unsatisfied

—Nebelspalter, Zurich.

DEATH: "Not high enough yet."

The Skeleton in Armor

The German Army Is Said to Be Suffering From the Grip

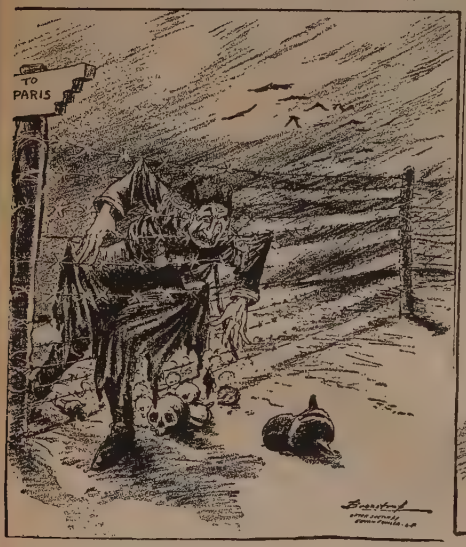
—Detroit News.

Remember the Lusitania!

Effects of Kühlmann's Speech

—Central Press Association.

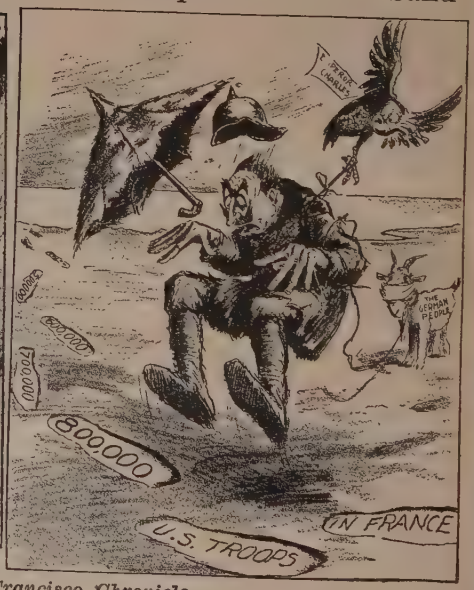
Stopped by the Stars and Stripes



Another German Gas Attack

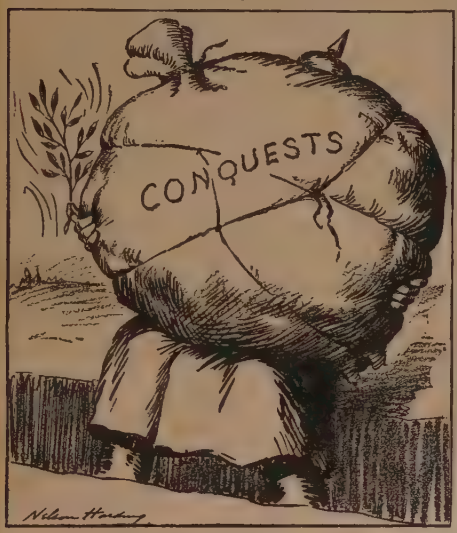
From the Mire

The Footprints in the Sand

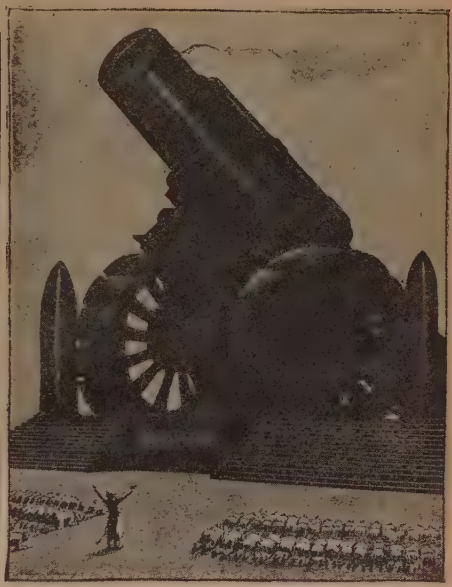


—From The San Francisco Chronicle.

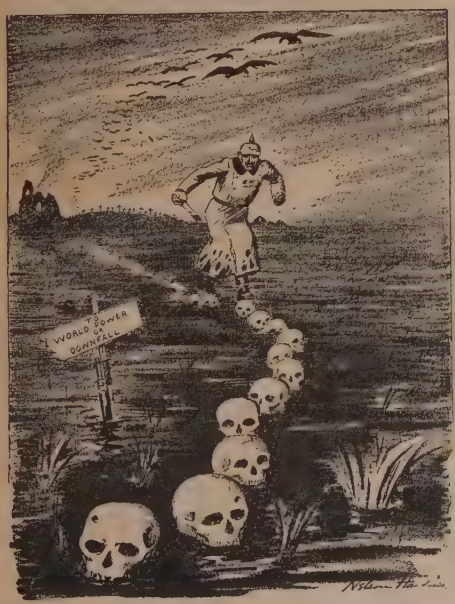
Trying to Wave the Branch and Hold the Bundle



"Gott"



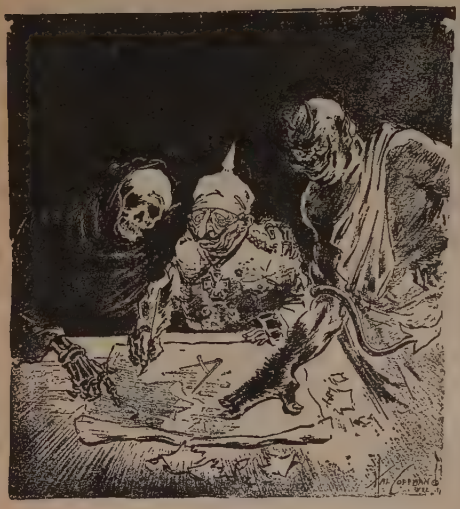
Stepping Stones



High Tide

—Nelson Harding in Brooklyn Eagle.

The Kaiser's War Council



—*Washington Times.*

"The Face That Launched a Thousand Ships"

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

The End of a Perfect Day

—*New York World.*

Pinching the Mailed Fist

—*Newark Evening News.*

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